AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

COMPILED FROM

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological,
And other TABLES.

In TWENTY VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καλανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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THE

TO

His GRACE the DUKE

OF

MARLBOROUGH.

THE Nature and Deſign of this Work may, in ſome Degree, atone for the Liberty we take in prefixing to it the immortal Name of MARLBOROUGH. For whoſe Protection ſhould we court in publiſhing an *Univerſal Hiſtory*, wherein are diſplayed the Atchievements of all the Heroes of former Ages, if not your GRACE's, who are Grandſon to the greateſt Hero of our Age? Whoever impartially peruſes the following Hiſtory, and compares the ſo much exalted Heroes of Antiquity with the late Duke of *Marlborough*, will find, that their mighty Acts now ſerve but as Foils to ſet off his more glorious Enterpriſes and Succeſſes. Moſt of

thoſe great Conquerors were, we may ſay, but licenſed Thieves, Subverters of States and Empires, Plunderers of the Subſtance, and Enemies to the Rights, of Mankind; whereas the generous Duke of *Marlborough* drew his Sword in the noble Cauſe of Liberty, againſt the ambitious Attempts of a powerful and inſulting Nation, defeated its beſt-concerted Meaſures, and delivered not *Britain* only, but all *Europe*, from impending Slavery.

NOR have Arms alone reflected an extraordinary Luſtre on Your GRACE's Family; Letters too have greatly contributed to its Splendor. The Earl of *Sunderland* Your Father, altho' engaged in the moſt arduous Scenes of publick Life, hath enriched this Nation with a Monument of Love and Value for the liberal Arts, which other Nations may well envy, but few can equal. No Wonder then, that Your GRACE, in whom the eminent Prerogatives of two ſuch illuſtrious Families have centered, ſhould be ſo much the Darling of this happy Nation. But it is not the Luſtre alone, which is derived on You from Your noble Progenitors, that entitles You to the Love and Eſteem of Mankind. The Excellency of Your own Virtues heightens the Glory which You received by Inheritance: Among the many good Qualities, which we might here take occaſion to celebrate, without riſquing the uſual Cenſure incurred by Dedicators, we ſhall only ſingle out that truly noble and generous Spirit, which is ſo becoming Perſons of Your eminent

eminent Station. Providence ſeems to have put Wealth in Your Hands merely that You might deſpiſe it, and ſhew by Your Example in theſe Times of Corruption, that the Value of Gold is to be meaſured only by the Opportunities it gives of exerting Good Nature. That Greatneſs of Mind, which You happily join to Greatneſs of Fortune, will make the Duke of *Marlborough* live, when mean Men, of the ſame Rank, are, in ſpite of their Treaſures ſo carefully hoarded up, buried in Oblivion. The Humanity of Your Temper, Your obliging Affability and Condeſcenſion, might be a noble and juſt Subject of Panegyric: But it is not our Intent here to enter into a Detail of Your GRACE's Virtues and Perfections. We are too conſcious of our own Inabilities to attempt it. We ſhall therefore only add, that if Your GRACE's Patronage can recommend this our Performance, to all who love and honour the Duke of *Marlborough*, its Reception will be Univerſal. What we lay before You has been hitherto kindly received by the Public, both at Home and Abroad; which, we hope, will in ſome meaſure excuſe the Liberty we take in ſuing for Your GRACE's Protection. To have intirely depended on Your Good Nature, without any kind of Merit in the Work itſelf, would have been unpardonable.

BUT we have already treſpaſſed too much upon Your GRACE's Patience; wherefore we ſhall only beg leave to aſſure You, that our greateſt Ambition is, that this Addreſs, and the following Hiſtory, be acceptable to Your GRACE, and that we may be allowed the Honour of Subſcribing ourſelves,

MY LORD,

Your Grace's

Moſt Obedient,

Moſt Devoted,

Humble Servants,

The Authors.

THE

PREFACE.

HISTORY is, without all doubt, the moſt inſtructive and uſeful, as well as entertaining, part of literature; more eſpecially, when it is not confined within the narrow bounds of any particular time or place, but extends to the tranſactions of all times and nations. Works of this nature carry our knowledge, as Tully obſerves, beyond the vaſt and devouring ſpace of numberleſs years, triumph over time, and make us, though living at an immenſe diſtance, in a manner eye-witneſſes to all the events and revolutions, which have occaſioned aſtoniſhing changes in the world. By theſe records it is that we live, as it were, in the very time when the world was created; we behold how it was governed in its infancy, how over-flowed and deſtroyed in a deluge of water, and again re-peopled; how kings and kingdoms have riſen, flouriſhed, and declined, and by what ſteps they brought upon themſelves their final ruin and deſtruction. From theſe and other like events occurring in hiſtory, every judicious reader may form prudent and unerring rules for the conduct of his life, both in a private and publick capacity. But, as the eminent advantages accruing to us from this valuable branch of learning have been ſufficiently diſplayed by many others, we ſhall not trouble our readers with a minute detail of them, but haſten to what is peculiar to the Work, which we now offer to the Publick.

WE promiſed in our firſt Number to prefix to this Volume, when it was compleated, a Preface, wherein, after ſome account of the method we have obſerved, and the authors we have chiefly followed in the work, we ſhould examine the different computations of time, the coins, weights, and meaſures uſed by the ſeveral nations whoſe

hiſtories ſhould be therein delivered, with ſuch other particulars as we ſhould judge uſeful and neceſſary. This promiſe is what we now intend to diſcharge, and to begin with a ſuccinct account of the method we have purſued.

OUR intent was to write a general hiſtory of mankind, from the earlieſt account of time to the preſent. Purſuant to this deſign, before we enter upon the hiſtory itſelf, we have thought it neceſſary to premiſe, by way of introduction, an account of the Coſmogony, or production of the earth, as being the theatre on which the ſcenes of the enſuing hiſtory were to be acted. In this preludious diſcourſe, after having related, without omitting any thing that was really curious or entertaining, the various opinions both of the antient and modern philoſophers, concerning the formation of the animate and inanimate World, we proceed to the only authentick and genuine hiſtory of the creation, that which has been left us by Moſes. The opinions of the philoſophers are, for the moſt part, abſurd, incoherent, and contradictory; whereas the Moſaick account, if rightly underſtood, carries with it all the marks of truth and probability, even though it be regarded only as a human compoſition, abſtracted from divine authority. Having attended the earth through its ſeveral degrees of formation, ſeen it perfected, cloathed with trees and plants, repleniſhed with animals, and at laſt man, for whom the whole was deſigned, and to whom the dominion of it was expreſly given by its maker, introduced and placed in it; we take ſome notice of the opinion of thoſe who think mankind were in being before Adam, whom they ſuppoſe to have been the progenitor of the Jews only; we touch upon ſeveral enquiries that have been made concerning the time and ſeaſon of the creation, the place where Adam was created, *&c.* and cloſe the introduction with ſome account of the creation of the angels, of the nature, power, employments, *&c.* of thoſe ſpiritual beings, that ſo eminently concerned themſelves in the affairs of mankind, at leaſt in the firſt ages of the world. The introduction, we hope, will not be thought of a diſproportionable length; ſo copious a ſubject, as the origin of the world and mankind, could not be well reduced into a narrower compaſs. If there ſhould be ſome little obſcurities or inconſiſtencies, where we have delivered or explained the opinions of the old philoſophers, we need not ſay much to excuſe ourſelves to thoſe who know in what uncertainty and confuſion the hiſtory of thoſe philoſophers and their opinions have been left by the antients.

FROM

FROM the coſmogony, or formation of the earth and things that were made for the uſe of man, we proceed to the general hiſtory of the world till the flood, but premiſe ſeveral curious enquiries touching the ſituation of the garden of Eden, the ſtate of innocence and its continuance, the two trees, the prohibition laid on the firſt pair, the tempter and his puniſhment, the fall of man, and the effects it had on human nature, and on the earth, with the different opinions touching the manner in which the change in the conſtitution of man and of the earth was effected. The chronology from the creation to the deluge is what we likewiſe thought neceſſary to ſettle, before we entered upon the hiſtory of the antediluvian world. As Moſes hath not ſet down the particular time of any tranſaction before the flood, except only the years of the patriarchs, all we can do in this period is to determine that point, which might have eaſily been done, were there no varieties in the ſeveral copies we now have of Moſes's writings. But as the Hebrew, the Samaritan, and Greek verſion of the Septuagint, vary very much from one another, and ſome writers prefer one copy and ſome another, we have exhibited theſe varieties in ſeveral chronological tables of the years of the patriarchs, adding to the computation of the Hebrew, of the Septuagint, and of the Samaritan pentateuch, the numbers of the years of the patriarchs, as delivered by Joſephus, and corrected by Dr. Wills and Mr. Whiſton, the numbers in the preſent copies of that hiſtorian being greatly corrupted. Having thus ſtated the chronology before the flood, we deliver the hiſtory of the antediluvian patriarchs, as tranſmitted to us in the writings of Moſes, which are the only to be depended upon in thoſe early times. However, we have thought it not amiſs to collect the moſt material pieces of hiſtory to be found in profane authors, relating to the times preceding the flood; among which though there be ſome which bear apparent marks of truth, yet we believe the greater part will be judged to deſerve little credit: However, as every thing, which has the leaſt pretence to ſo great antiquity, cannot but be entertaining and curious, we hope our labour in collecting them will not be condemned as uſeleſs.

FROM the hiſtory of the antediluvian world, we paſs to that of the flood, where we produce profane teſtimonies of that wonderful cataſtrophe, relate various conjectures of antient and modern writers, as to the manner in which that dreadful devaſtation was brought on the earth, give ſome account

account of the ark, whereby Noah and his family, with ſuch kinds of living creatures as he took in with him, were delivered from this deſtruction; and laſtly, before we diſmiſs the hiſtory of the old world, take a tranſient view of the antediluvian ſtate of mankind, of their religion, policy, arts, and ſciences, of the alterations which have been wrought in nature by the flood, of the longevity of the antediluvians, and the cauſes of it, as well as of the prodigious fertility of the firſt earth. To theſe we add an enquiry touching the ſituation of mount Ararat, and the various opinions about it.

HAVING thus collected, in the beſt manner we could, what we have found worth notice, from writers of various times, religions, and countries, relating to the antediluvian world, we proceed to the general hiſtory from the deluge to the birth of Abraham; but firſt ſettle the chronology from the deluge to the departure of Abraham from Haran. This is one of the moſt difficult periods to ſettle in all chronology, not only becauſe we have no aſſiſtance therein from profane hiſtory, but alſo on account of the great diverſity between the ſeveral Moſaick writings. However, it is no ſmall ſatisfaction, that the great differences between the ſeveral copies end here, and that, being once got below the birth of Abraham, we enter upon a more certain ſeries of time, about which chronologers do more generally agree; the variety of the copies making a difference of but a few years, not of ſeveral ages, as we find before this period: For the better exhibiting of which we have inſerted chronological tables of the years of the poſtdiluvian patriarchs to the call of Abraham, according to the computation of the Hebrew, of the Septuagint, and of the Samaritan Pentateuch. Having ſtated the chronology, we come to the hiſtory of Noah after the flood, and of his deſcendants to Abraham, preſenting the reader with whatever we find curious or entertaining, not only in ſacred, but profane writers, namely, in the ſmall remains which are left us of the Phœnician antiquities collected by Sanchoniatho, and which are ſuppoſed to relate to the earlieſt times. As the planting of nations in the two firſt general migrations, the forming of ſocieties and governments, the riſe of arts and ſciences, the beginning of ſtates and monarchies, fall within this period, we give the reader as diſtinct an account of theſe important facts, as the records which have reached us will allow of.

FROM

FROM the general hiſtory of the Migrations of the children of Noah, of the peopling of the earth by them, and the ſettling of the firſt governments, we deſcend to the particular hiſtories of each kingdom; beginning with that of Egypt, which is without doubt one of the moſt antient nations of the world, having been peopled either by Ham, or his ſon Mizraim, with his own iſſue, which inhabited ſeveral parts of it, under the names of Mizraim, Pathruſim, Caſluhim, and Capthorim. This hiſtory we purſue from the firſt original of the Egyptian nation to its conqueſt by the Perſians, when the ſevere prediction of the prophet [a] was fulfilled, *There ſhall be no more a prince in the land of Egypt*. And here to acquaint the reader, in a few words, with the method we have followed in delivering the particular hiſtories of each nation; we begin with accounting, in the beſt manner we can, for the name or names which each nation bears; then we proceed to a deſcription of the country, containing an account of its ſituation, extent, climate, diviſions, fertility; of its animal and vegetable productions, of the natural and artificial curioſities it contains; of its cities, rivers, mountains, lakes, and whatever elſe worthy of notice is to be found in each Province. Next we inquire into the original and antiquity of the inhabitants, conſider their laws, government, religion, cuſtoms, inſtitutions, language, commerce, learning, trade, navigation, and alſo endeavour, as far as ſo intricate a ſubject will allow, to ſettle the chronology of each nation. Laſtly, we deliver the ſeries and hiſtory of their kings, which comprizes the wars, treaties, revolutions, and all the moſt remarkable events of each country. Thus we may ſay, without vanity or oſtentation, that no hiſtory has hitherto appeared in any language, which can with more juſtice challenge the title of an univerſal hiſtory than the preſent, ſince it comprizes not only the hiſtory of all nations and countries, but of all religions and religious ceremonies, of all arts and ſciences, of the laws that have been any where obſerved, of trade, and navigation, and, in ſhort, of whatever has been invented for the uſe and convenience of human race. But to return to the ſequel of our hiſtory:

AFTER delivering the ſucceſſion of the kings of Egypt, according to the Greek and Latin authors, we thought it might be deemed an omiſſion, if we ſhould take no notice of

[a] Ezek. xxx. 13.

of the ſeries of the Egyptian kings given us by the oriental writers. Wherefore we have ſet down their names, and briefly mention their principal actions, as related by the eaſtern hiſtorians, leaving the reader to judge what credit ought to be given them.

NEXT to the hiſtory of the Egyptians we give that of thoſe nations, with whom the children of Iſrael waged war before, or upon, their ſettling in the land of Canaan, namely, the Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Edomites, Amalekites, Canaanites, and Philiſtines. From theſe we proceed to the hiſtory of the antient Syrians, Phœnicians, and that of the Jews, from Abraham, founder of the Jewiſh nation, to the Babyloniſh captivity. We have enlarged ſomewhat on the latter, giving a diſtinct account of their patriarchs from Abraham to Moſes, of their Egyptian bondage, deliverance, and 40 years wandering in the wilderneſs; of their wars with the inhabitants of Canaan and the neighbouring nations; of their religion, government, laws, cuſtoms, learning, arts, commerce, with an accurate deſcription of the land of promiſe, &c. We have alſo ſettled the Jewiſh chronology, from the call of Abraham to the Babyloniſh captivity, and then proceeded, firſt to the hiſtory of the judges that governed Iſrael, from the death of Joſhua to Saul their firſt king, and thence to the reign of Zedekiah, when the city of Jeruſalem was burnt, and the whole nation carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar. Having thus delivered the hiſtories of the moſt antient kingdoms, till they were ſeverally ſubdued by the great empires, and became parts or provinces of them, we enter upon the hiſtory of the ſaid empires, and cloſe this volume with the hiſtories of the Aſſyrian empire to its conqueſt by the Medes and Babylonians, and of the Babylonian empire to its deſtruction by Cyrus.

NOW to ſay ſomething of the authors we have chiefly followed in the work, for we have advanced nothing without quoting our authors, that the reader may, for his fuller ſatisfaction, recur, if he pleaſes, to the originals; Moſes is the only authentick writer of what happened before, and for ſeveral ages after, the flood. He is by univerſal conſent allowed to be the moſt antient hiſtorian now extant; for, whether he was contemporary with Inachus, as Juſtin Martyr, Tertullian, Julius Africanus, Joſephus, Tatian, Clemens of Alexandria, Porphyrius, and others ſuppoſe, or lived in the time of Cecrops, the firſt king of Athens, as

Euſebius

Euſebius affirms, it is certain, that his hiſtory was compoſed, not only before all the hiſtories, but even before the fables, of the Greeks; ſince, according to the calculation of the former, he wrote 675 years before the Trojan war, and according to that of the latter 275 years before that æra. His hiſtory as well as the Jewiſh laws, whereof he was author, are comprized in five books, known under the title of the Pentateuch, which is univerſally received both by the Jews and Chriſtians as penned by him, if we except Abenezra and Spinoſa among the former, and ſome modern criticks among the latter, if their avowed principles can permit us to call them chriſtians, who denied him to be author of it, and who have been learnedly confuted by a late writer [b]. Beſides the Pentateuch, there have been ſome other works aſcribed to Moſes, though without any certainty, ſuch as the book of Job, which ſome ſuppoſe to have been compoſed by him, during his 40 years abode in Midian, and have this argument on their ſide, that it appears to have been written before the deliverance of the Iſraelites from the Egyptian bondage; otherwiſe it were abſurd to ſuppoſe, that either Job or his friends, conſidering what kindred and country they were of, could be ſo ignorant of the wonders which God had wrought in favour of that oppreſſed people, or ſo forgetful of them, as not to have urged them in the ſtrongeſt terms, during their long and intricate controverſy about the various diſpenſations of providence. Moſes is alſo ſuppoſed to have wrote eleven pſalms, viz. the 90th, 91ſt, and ſo on to the 100th. Origen [c], believes him to have tranſlated the book of Job out of the Syriack into Hebrew. Some few fragments of other books are likewiſe quoted by ſeveral of the antients as wrote by him; ſuch as, 1. his Apocalypſe, out of which St. Paul is by them ſuppoſed to have taken thoſe words, *For in Chriſt Jeſus neither circumciſion availeth any thing* [d], *&c.* 2. his Leſſer Geneſis; 3. his Aſcenſion; 4. Aſſumption; 5. his Teſtament, and myſterious books. St. Jerom, who quotes a paſſage or two out of his Leſſer Geneſis, tells us, that they had it in Hebrew in his time [e]. The Sethites, an antient ſect of hereticks, quoted his teſtament and his myſterious books or diſcourſes; but all theſe were ſo far from bearing any authority in the church, that they fell into contempt and oblivion, in proportion as chriſtianity prevailed.

THOUGH

[b] Abbadie. Verit. de la Relig. Chriſtien. [c] Origen, in Job.
[d] Gal. vi. 15. [e] Epiſt. 127. ad Fabiol.

THOUGH the writings of Moſes be the only records to be depended upon in the early times, yet we have not omitted to give ſome further accounts, relating to the ſame period, tranſmitted to us by profane writers, namely, by Sanchoniatho, Manetho, and Beroſus. Sanchoniatho, a Tyrian according to Athenæus and Suidas, according to others of Berytus, is ſaid by Porphyry the philoſopher [f], Euſebius [g], and Theodoretus [h], to have lived about the time of the Trojan war: whence Bochart, Huetius, and others ſuppoſe him to have been contemporary with Gideon. But theſe writers are certainly miſtaken in their chronology, and Sanchoniatho muſt be of a much later date, ſince he ſpeaks of Tyre, which was built but 91 years before the deſtruction of Troy, as a very antient city. He muſt therefore have lived, as Suidas thinks, ſome conſiderable time after that war, but the number of years we cannot percifely determine. If what is ſaid of Sanchoniatho be true, viz. that he dedicated his book to Abibal king of Tyre, who was Hiram's father, and Solomon's ally, he muſt have been contemporary with David, who did not begin his reign till ſeveral years after the Trojan war. He compiled the Phœnician hiſtory, according to Porphyry, from the antient monuments and memoirs which were imparted to him by one Hierombalus a Prieſt, whom Bochart, Huetius, and ſome others take to be Gideon, he being in the book of Judges ſometimes named Jerobaal. But this conjecture is reſuted by others [i]. He is ſaid to have likewiſe made uſe of the regiſters of the cities of Phœnice, which he found lodged in the temples, and to have carefully ſought out, as Philo Biblius informs us, the writings of Taaut, knowing him to have been the firſt inventor of letters, and the ſame whom the Egyptians call Thoth, the Greeks Hermes, and the Latins Mercury. He wrote alſo the hiſtory of Egypt, and another book of the Coſmogony and Theogony of the Phœnicians. Theſe works were tranſlated out of the Phœnician into the Greek tongue by Philo Biblius, a famous grammarian, who lived in the reigns of Veſpaſian, Titus, Domitian, Trajan, and Adrian. Philo digeſted them into nine books, though Porphyry mentions but eight, perhaps not counting, as Bochart conjectures, his Coſmogony and Theogony. He begins his hiſtory with the origin

[f] Lib. 4. adverſus Chriſtian. [g] Lib. 1. Præparat. Evangel. [h] Lib. 2. de curat. Græcar. affect p. 28. [i] Vandalen. Differ. de Sanchoniath.

by the prieſts attributed to Thoth, muſt have been extant in the days of Manetho, or he could never have appealed to them in ſo public a manner, eſpecially in writing to his prince. The ſtronger prejudice againſt the credit of this writer, ariſes from his chronology. The Egyptians, it is true, pretended to an exceſſive antiquity, and to have certain records for a prodigious length of time paſt. This appears not only from the old Egyptian chronicle, but from the extravagant number of years their prieſts impoſed upon Herodotus, Plato, and Diodorus; but Manetho ſeems to have been much more modeſt, though the ſum of his 32 dynaſties, from Menes to fifteen years before Alexander, (without taking the reigns of the gods and demi-gods into the account) if caſt up, will amount to above 5300 years, which will reach higher than the creation of the world; and Joſeph Scaliger has accordingly ſettled their chronology in ſuch manner, that, by his own way of reckoning, it exceeds the epoch of the creation 1336 years. After Cambyſes had carried away the Egyptian records, the prieſts, in all probability, to ſupply their loſs, and keep up their pretences to antiquity, began to write new records, wherein they not only neceſſarily made great miſtakes, but added a good deal of their own invention, eſpecially as to diſtant times. From theſe materials, for want of better, Manetho collecting his hiſtory, muſt have intermixed a good deal of fable, as there is indeed in the antiquities of all nations; ſince it cannot be expected, that people could have begun to keep records till ſome ages after their ſettlement. It is unjuſt therefore to lay the whole blame of the confuſion and uncertainty, we find in the Egyptian hiſtory, at the door of Manetho: He collected, for ought we know, faithfully from the records he had, and we have ſo little genuine remains of him, and what we have has been ſo mangled by tranſcribers and pretenders to correct him, that they ſcarcely bear any reſemblance of that antient and venerable hiſtorian. Several antient writers of good judgment, as Plutarch, Porphyry, Euſebius, and Joſephus, looked upon him as a writer, whoſe authority was to be depended on; and the curious fragment tranſcribed from him by Joſephus, before his copies had been corrupted, ſeems to confirm this good opinion, being the moſt valuable and authentic piece of Egyptian hiſtory, of ſo great antiquity, that is extant, and the ſeries of kings, which we have thence exhibited, in B. I. ch. 3. ſect 3. is a pretty exact one, connecting the Egyptian and Gre-

clan hiſtories, by acquainting us, that Sethoſis was Ægyptus, and his brother Armais Danaus.

BEROSUS, by birth a Chaldean, flouriſhed under Antiochus Soter, or his ſon Antiochus Theos, and not in the time of Moſes, as ſome, groſsly miſtaken, have imagined. For he dedicated his work to Antiochus, the third king after Alexander, as Tatian informs us, that is, to Antiochus Theos; Alexander was ſucceeded by Seleucus Nicanor; Seleucus Nicanor by Antiochus Soter; and he by his ſon Antiochus Theos. He tells us himſelf in his firſt book of the hiſtory of Babylon, that he was born during the minority of Alexander the Great. He wrote in three books the Chaldean and Babyloniſh hiſtory, which took in that alſo of the Medes. Pliny tells us [a], that his hiſtory contains the events of 480 years. But of that work we have now remaining only ſome few fragments, quoted by Joſephus in his books againſt Apion, and by Alexander Polyhiſtor; for the Beroſus, publiſhed by Annius of Viterbo, is, without all doubt, a ſpurious piece. Joſephus ſays, that he agreed with Moſes in his accounts of the deluge, the fall of man, the ark, in which the reſtorer of mankind was ſaved; and adds, that he mentions the deſcendants of Noah, and their reſpective ages, to Nabulaſſar, king of Babylon; and that, relating the actions of that prince, he ſpeaks of the taking and burning of Jeruſalem by his ſon Nebuchadonoſor; on which occaſion, ſays he, the Jews were carried captives to Babylon; whence enſued the deſolation of that city for 70 years, till the reign of Cyrus. He is quoted by Pliny, Tatian, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Vitruvius, and Euſebius, which ſhews him to have been a writer of good authority. In the ſeries he gives us of the ten kings, whom he ſuppoſes to have reigned at Babylon before the flood, there are ſome ſmall variations in the authors, who have tranſcribed that hiſtorian, which has induced us to exhibit them to the reader's view, in B. I. ch. 1. ſect. 5. of the preſent hiſtory. As theſe ten ſucceſſions exactly anſwer the ten generations from the creation to the flood, the firſt king, by name Alorus, has been ſuppoſed to be the ſame with Adam, as Xiſuthrus, the laſt in the ſeries, plainly appears to be Noah. The reader will find his account of the Chaldean and Babylonian coſmogony, *p.* 29, and the ſubſtance of the few fragments that are ſtill remaining, and relate to the earlieſt times, in B. I. ch. 1. ſect. 5.

To

[a] Hiſt. Natur. l. 6. c. 55.

To Beroſus we may add Abydenus, who flouriſhed ſome time after him, and, in many things, follows him. Abydenus wrote the hiſtory of the Chaldean empire, whereof there are but a few fragments remaining in Euſebius, Cyrillus, and Syncellus. In one of theſe fragments he gives the names and reigns of the ten firſt kings of Chaldea, copied with ſome ſmall variation from Beroſus, as the reader may ſee, in B. I. ch. 1. ſect. 6. In another he ſpeaks of the tower of Babel, and the confuſion of languages, agreeable to the account we have in holy writ. Theſe fragments Scaliger has illuſtrated with learned notes in his book, *De emendatione temporum.* Some confound this Abydenus with Palæphatus, called alſo Abydenus, from the city of Abydus, the place of his birth. Palæphatus was contemporary with Alexander, a favourite diciple of Ariſtotle's, and wrote the hiſtories of Cyprus, Delos, and Arabia.

ERATOSTHENES the Cyrenæan was a man of eminent learning, keeper of the famous library of Alexandria, and greatly in favour with Ptolemy Euergetes, by whoſe order he wrote the hiſtory of the Theban kings of Egypt, the catalogue of which has met with a very favourable reception among the learned, not only as a ſupplement to Manetho, who has entirely omitted that ſucceſſion, but as a certain foundation for fixing the Egyptian chronology. His authority has been by ſeveral writers preferred to that of Manetho, in regard he was not an Egyptian, and took his liſt from the ſacred records of Thebes, or had it from the ſacred ſcribes there. He has given, together with the Egyptian names of the kings, their interpretation in Greek, which the ſkilled in the Coptic tongue allow to be juſt in ſome inſtances; but ſeveral of them are corrupted and unintelligible. This author wrote a great number of books, whereof the catalogue may be ſeen in Fabricius, Galens, Voſſius, &c. but the only piece, now remaining entire, is his deſcription and fabulous account of the ſtars. He ſtarved himſelf thro' grief for the dimneſs of his ſight in the 10th or 12th year of Ptolemy Epiphanes, 196 years before Chriſt.

In the hiſtory of Egypt, beſides Manetho, we have chiefly followed Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus. Herodotus, or, as others call him, Erodotus, is the moſt antient writer among the Greeks, whoſe works have reached us. There is no room left to doubt of the place of his birth, he himſelf having inſerted, at the beginning of his hiſtory, both his name and country; *This is*, ſays he, *the book of* Herodo-

tus *of* Halicarnaſſus. He was alſo ſur-named the Thurian, having accompanied a colony, which was ſent from Athens, to ſettle at Thurium, a city of Magna Græcia on the Tarentin gulf. This happened the third year of the 83d Olympiad, during the archonſhip of Callimachus. Here, if we believe Pliny [1], he wrote his hiſtory, being then forty years old, in the firſt year of the 84th Olympiad, 310 years after the foundation of Rome, and 444 before Chriſt. Before he began his hiſtory, he travelled all over Greece, Italy, and Egypt, to enquire into the origin, traditions, and records of the nations he was to write of. His main deſign was to write the wars of the Perſians againſt the Greeks, from the reign of Cyrus to that of Xerxes; but he extended it to the hiſtory of other nations, namely of the Lydians, Egyptians, and Scythians. This hiſtory he divided into nine books, giving to each of them the name of one of the nine muſes; wherein he has ſince been followed by Cephalion, Bion the rhetorician, and P. Aurelius Opilius; tho' ſome are of opinion, that his books were not by himſelf diſtinguiſhed with thoſe titles, but by the admirers of his performance. He recited his hiſtory, as Lucian informs us, on the publick theatre at Olympia to a crowded auditory of the chief men of all Greece, met to celebrate the olympic games, and was more admired even than thoſe who carried the prizes. Euſebius ſays, that this happened, not at Olympia, but at Athens, on the feſtival of the Panathenæa. On this occaſion it was that Thucydides, tho' then eighty years old, was ſo touched with emulation, that he reſolved to undertake the writing of an hiſtory, and ſtrive to equal or excel Herodotus. The hiſtory of Herodotus has been propoſed by Tully, Hortenſius, Quintilian, and all the beſt judges of antiquity, as a pattern to all hiſtorians. As for the truth of his accounts, we muſt own, that it has been called in queſtion by men of no mean character. Cteſias doubts the truth of what he writes concerning the Medes and Aſſyrians; but we ſhall prove hereafter this hiſtorian leſs worthy of credit than Herodotus. Manetho cenſures him, for advancing many falſities, with regard to the Egyptian hiſtory; which charge is not quite groundleſs, ſince he himſelf owns, that what he relates to have happened before the reign of Pſammitichus, and on the credit of others, is far from certain. But none ever attacked with more virulency, if we may be allowed the expreſſion,

[1] Lib. 12. c. 4.

expreſſion, the credit of Herodotus, than Plutarch, whoſe judgment would be of great weight, had he not himſelf declared, that the reputation of his country had engaged him in the diſpute. Herodotus relates, that, in the expedition of Xerxes, the Thebans, to conſult their own ſafety, abandoned the common cauſe, and joined the Perſians. Tho' this was matter of fact, and Demoſthenes afterwards reproached the Thebans with it, yet Plutarch, who was a native of Chæronæa, a Theban city, could not bear the baſe behaviour of his countrymen to be tranſmitted to poſterity, but vented his reſentment againſt the publiſher of their cowardice in a book wrote for that purpoſe, and entituled, *Of the malignity of* Herodotus. But his exceptions are either trifling, or turn upon facts, which Herodotus himſelf delivers as doubtful. Beſides, he betrays throughout the whole work a great deal of paſſion, prejudice, and ill-nature. On the other ſide, all Greece, by their ſolemn approbation, gave an ample teſtimony of his veracity, at a time when moſt of the tranſactions, which he deſcribes, were very well known. In his whole work there appears an air of ſincerity, which even his enemies have been forced to acknowledge: He examines the truth of the facts which he relates, and for the moſt part acquaints his readers with what others have ſaid on the ſame ſubject. When he relates extraordinary events, he tells us, that he copied them from others, and declares which he believes, and which he ſuſpects, adding, *as it is ſaid*; *as I have been told*; *this does not at all ſeem probable*; *thoſe, who feign ſuch ſtories, relate*, &c. He often repeats, that what he relates ought not be depended on, any further than it appears probable; that the character of an hiſtorian obliges him to relate what he had heard, but that the readers are not bound to believe whatever he has been told. As to the Lydian hiſtory, which ſome look upon as fabulous, it cannot be denied, but that he was acquainted with the tranſactions of that nation, which bordered on the Aſiatic Greek cities, in one of which Herodotus was born, and not above 60 years after the deſtruction of the Lydian empire. He ſeems very ſincere in his Egyptian hiſtory: for he ingenuouſly owns, that all he relates before the reign of Pſammitichus is uncertain, and that he reports the early tranſactions of that nation on the credit of the Egyptian prieſts, on which he did not much depend. His hiſtory of the Aſſyrians and Medes does not at all agree with that which the modern chronologiſts have followed; but moſt of the antients have prefer-

red Herodotus to all others. In his hiſtory of Perſia he differs in many particulars from Xenophon's Cyropædia; but we muſt obſerve with Tully, that the Cyropædia is rather an inſtructive piece, than an hiſtory. The chronology of Herodotus is far from being exact, eſpecially with relation to the Egyptian affairs, extravagant numbers of years having been impoſed upon him, as well as upon Diodorus and Plato, by the Egyptian prieſts, who piqued themſelves mightily on the antiquity of their nation. Herodotus wrote other books beſides the hiſtory now extant; for Ariſtotle [m] finds fault with him, for ſaying that an eagle drank during the ſiege of Nineveh, whereas no bird with hooked talons, as that philoſopher affirms, ever drinks. This paſſage is not to be found in his works now extant, which has made ſome authors imagine, that Ariſtotle quoted it from the hiſtory of Aſſyria, which, in two places of his firſt book, he promiſed to write. But, if he had ever publiſhed it, we can ſcarcely believe, that none of the antients would have ſo much as mentioned it. It is more likely, that his preſent hiſtory was more complete in Ariſtotle's time, than it is now; or even that Ariſtotle thro' miſtake quoted Herodotus inſtead of ſome other author, whereof we have inſtances in other antient writers. Some aſcribe to Herodotus the life of Homer, which in moſt editions is annexed to his hiſtory; but the diverſity of ſtile, and the diſagreement between Herodotus and the author of that piece, plainly evince theſe two works to have been penned by different hands. We refer the reader for further particulars concerning Herodotus, to Henry Stephens, Joachimus Camerarius, and Montfaucon in his book on Judith.

DIODORUS SICULUS was born at Argyrium, or Agyrium, a town of Sicily, and thence called Siculus, or the Sicilian. He flouriſhed under Julius Cæſar and Auguſtus, and began his hiſtory after the death of the former, as he himſelf informs us [n]. He travelled with no ſmall danger over great part of Europe, Aſia, and all Egypt, to acquaint himſelf with the geography of the places, as well as the cuſtoms and manners of the inhabitants. He wrote a general hiſtory from the earlieſt times to the 180th olympiad, that is, to Cæſar's war with the Gauls. This hiſtory he intituled the Bibliotheque or Library, having copied his accounts from the writers of different nations, who flouriſhed before.

[m] Lib. 8. de Anima. c. 18. [n] Lib. 5. p. 208.

before. In his hiſtory of the Egyptians, Aſſyrians, Medes, Perſians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Sicilians, and Rhodians, he follows Herodotus, Cteſias, Beroſus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Philiſtus, Calliſthenes, Theopompus Chius, &c. in what relates to the Macedonians, he depends on Cardianus and Marſias; in his hiſtory of Crete he quotes Epimenides Dorſiadas, Soſicrates, and Loaſthenidas: Of the forty books of his hiſtory, fifteen only are now remaining, viz. the five firſt, the eleventh, and the following to the twentieth. The four firſt books comprehend the theology and hiſtories, preceding the Trojan war, of the Egyptians, Babylonians, Chaldeans, Indians, Scythians, Arabians, Ethiopians, Africans, and Greeks. This part is interwoven with many Fables, which, however, were believed by thoſe nations, whoſe hiſtories he writes. In the 5th book he gives an account of the origin and antiquities of the greater iſlands. The five following books contained the antiquities of all the eaſtern nations, the origins of the Greeks and Romans, and the moſt remarkable tranſactions that happened in any part of the world, from the taking of Troy to the expedition of Xerxes into Greece. The 11th book begins with the expedition of Xerxes into Greece, and ends in the year which preceded the expedition of the Athenians into Cyprus under the conduct of Cimon. The five following books continue the hiſtory of all nations to the time of Philip king of Macedon, whoſe exploits are related in the 16th, as thoſe of his ſon Alexander in the 17th, and of his ſucceſſors to the death of Antigonus in the three next. In the other twenty books our author purſued the hiſtory of all nations, from the death of Antigonus, which happened in the 119th olympiad, to Cæſar's war with the Gauls, that is, to the 180th olympiad. The 11th book and the following were written in the nature of annals, with the names of the Athenian Archons and Roman conſuls to each year. But Diodorus is not ſo exact in his computations, with regard to the Roman affairs, as could be wiſhed; for he places the beginning of Xerxes's war in the firſt year of the 75th olympiad, which, according to him, concurred with the conſulſhip of Spurius Caſſius and Proclus Virginius Tricoſtus; but theſe had been conſuls ſix years before, and thoſe of that year were Cæſo Fabius, the ſecond time, and Spurius Fuſus; a miſtake which is continued thro' the whole ſequel of his annals. In the affairs of Egypt he was likewiſe greatly impoſed upon, as to the numbers of years, by the Egyptian prieſts.

In the hiſtory of the Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, &c. we chiefly follow the ſcripture and Joſephus, from whom, however, we diſſent, when he takes the liberty, as he frequently does, to diſſent from holy writ. Joſephus wrote his hiſtory of the Jewiſh war and deſtruction of Jeruſalem firſt in Hebrew, or, as ſome ſay [o], in Syro-Chaldaic, for the uſe of his own nation, and afterwards tranſlated it into Greek about the ſeventh year of the reign of the emperor Veſpaſian, to whom he dedicated it. This work was, by the emperor's order, placed in the public library at Rome, and the author, as Euſebius and St. Jerom inform us [p], diſtinguiſhed with a ſtatue, an honour conferred upon very few. Beſides his hiſtory, he wrote twenty books of the Jewiſh antiquities, which he dedicated to Epaphroditus his great patron. In theſe books he gives us the hiſtory of the Jews from their firſt origin to the 12th year of Nero, when they began to ſhake off the Roman yoke. This work, as Joſephus himſelf informs us, was completed in the 13th year of Domitian, that is, in the 93d of Chriſt. In his chronology he often diſagrees both with the Septuagint, and the writers of other nations; nay, he is frequently inconſiſtent with himſelf, which we may impute to the careleſneſs and ignorance of his tranſcribers, ſeeing there appears ſuch a diſagreement between the antient manuſcripts of the ten laſt books of his antiquities and the printed copies, that ſome have imagined [q] him to have left two different ones. The veracity of this writer, eſpecially in the books of his antiquities, has been often call'd in queſtion; and truly, his accounts ſometimes not only vary from holy writ, but are diametrically oppoſite to what we read in the hiſtory of Moſes and the prophets, and this after having ſolemnly proteſted, that his deſign was to add nothing of his own, but faithfully to tranſcribe, without the leaſt alteration, what he founded in the ſacred records of his nation. He wrote alſo two books againſt Apion, who, in the third and fourth books of his Egyptian hiſtory, had defamed and traduced the Jews. In this work he ſhews himſelf converſant not only in the hiſtory of his own, but of all other nations, and to have peruſed, as St. Jerom expreſſes it [r], all the libraries of the Greeks. This book likewiſe Joſephus dedicated to Epaphroditus, whence

[o] Sam. Baſnagius, Exercit. in Baronium. [p] Euſeb. l. 3. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. & Hieron. c. 13. catalog. [q] Emericus Bigot. epiſtolæ Reineſii ad Boſium, p. 381. [r] Epiſt. 84. ad Mag. Orator.

whence it is manifeſt, that it was publiſhed before the 95th year of Chriſt, for in that year Epaphroditus was, by order of Domitian, put to death. Beſides his hiſtory and antiquities, he wrote the hiſtory of his own life; and, according to ſome, a diſcourſe on the empire of reaſon, in commendation of the ſeven Maccabees; a book alſo againſt the Greeks, namely againſt Plato, is aſcribed to him; but it is uncertain, whether he was the author of the two latter, ſome affirming, ſome denying, him to have wrote them.

In our hiſtory of the antient Syrians, we have had always before our eyes the books of the kings, the chronicles, and the prophets, and have left Joſephus and the profane hiſtorians, where they ſeem to contradict holy Writ, but at the ſame time acquainting the reader in our notes with their various opinions, and the reaſons that are alledged to ſupport them. The hiſtory of the Phœnicians we have taken chiefly from Diodorus Siculus, Juſtin, Curtius, Pauſanias, Appian, Oroſius, Plutarch, and from Dius, Menander, and Philoſtrates, as quoted by Joſephus. Dius and Menander wrote the hiſtory of Phœnice, and are both commended by Joſephus as very exact in their accounts, having compiled their hiſtories from the antient records that were lodged in the temples. Dius was by birth a Phœnician, and Menander an Epheſian; the accounts of both perfectly agreed, as Joſephus often repeats, with ſcripture. Beſides the hiſtory of Phœnice, Menander wrote the life of Ithobal king of Tyre, wherein he mentioned the drought that happened in Ahab's reign. Philoſtrates likewiſe wrote the hiſtory of Phœnice, and, as Joſephus informs us, gave an exact account of the ſiege of Tyre.

The account we give of the Phœnician kings, from the antient fabulous hiſtory of the Greeks, is chiefly extracted from Apollodorus. This writer was by birth an Athenian, by profeſſion a grammarian, diſciple of Ariſtarchus the grammarian, and Panætius a Rhodian philoſopher, who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes. He wrote his hiſtory, which he intituled The Bibliotheque of the Gods, in the reign of Attalus Philadelphus, king of Pergamus, who died in the third year of the 160th Olympiad, that is 138 years before Chriſt. Of this work there are now but three books remaining, tho' there is no doubt but it contained ſeveral others; for Macrobius quotes the 14th, Hermolaus the 16th; and Photius tells us, that Sopater the Sophiſt, handling the ſame ſubject, copied ſeveral paſſages out of this work, from the firſt to the 24th book. This piece, in

Scaliger's

Scaliger's opinion, is a very judicious performance, and tho' moſtly fabulous, yet ſuch as may give us ſome inſight into antient hiſtory, the fables being founded on hiſtorical truth, and the perſons ſuch as have exiſted, tho' their actions be exaggerated or diſguiſed. The ſame author adds, that we may extract from Appollodorus a more certain and better grounded chronology, than from the rhapſodies of Beroaldus; and Voſſius is of opinion, that, by ſeparating the fabulous ſtories from real events, we may form from his writings a true hiſtory. He begins with Inachus, who is believed to have founded the kingdom of the Argivi, in Abraham's time, and brings his hiſtory down to the time of Theſeus prince of Athens. The books that are loſt reached to 1040th year after the Trojan war, or to the 258th Olympiad.

In the hiſtory of the Jews we have followed the ſcripture and Joſephus, where he agrees with the ſacred hiſtory, not neglecting to acquaint the reader in our notes with the traditions of the rabbies.

The hiſtory of the Aſſyrians, Chaldeans, and Babylonians we have likewiſe delivered agreeable to what we have found in ſcripture relating thereto. We have rejected as an arrant fable the Aſſyrian hiſtory of Cteſias; but as it has been, we may ſay, from all antiquity admitted into the body of hiſtory, we ſhall here give ſome account of that writer. Cteſias was a native of Cnidos, and accompanied Cyrus in his expedition againſt his brother Artaxerxes, on which occaſion he was taken priſoner; but, having cured Artaxerxes of a wound he received in the battle, he became a great favourite at the court of Perſia, where he continued practiſing phyſic for the ſpace of 17 years. Thus far Diodorus Siculus. Photius likewiſe informs us, that he flouriſhed in the time of Cyrus, the ſon of Darius and brother of Artaxerxes, who poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of Perſia. Strabo, ſpeaking of the great men of Cnidos, mentions Cteſias, who, ſays he, cured Artaxerxes; and Xenophon, who was his contemporary, tells us, that Cteſias of Cnidos was a phyſician, and, being taken priſoner, dreſſed the wound, which Artaxerxes received in the engagement. He was employed, as he himſelf witneſſes, by Artaxerxes in negotiations with the king of Salamis, with Conon, and the Lacedemonian embaſſadors; which ſhews what credit he was in at the court of that prince. Cteſias wrote the hiſtory of Perſia in 23 books, whereof the firſt ſix contain the hiſtory of the Aſſyrians and Medes, the other ſeventeen

the

the whole hiſtory of Perſia, from Cyrus to the author's death. He alſo wrote the hiſtory of the Indies. But theſe works are loſt, and all we have remaining of them is an Abridgment compiled by Photius, which is alſo imperfect, he having omitted the hiſtory of the Aſſyrians and Medes. However, we have that hiſtory too abridged in Diodorus, and the names of the kings, which Diodorus left out, carefully ſet down by Euſebius and Syncellus. Cteſias has always been looked upon, by the moſt judicious among the antients, as a fabulous writer. Ariſtotle, who was almoſt his contemporary, declares him a writer unworthy of credit. Antigonus Cariſtius, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, ſays, that he frequently lyes, and relates what is altogether incredible. Plutarch, in his life of Artaxerxes, calls him a vain man, and a notorious lyar. Lucian charges him with relating in his Indica what he had never ſeen or heard; and truly, whoever peruſes that work, muſt immediately conclude him to have been a man of no ſort of ſincerity. His hiſtory of Aſſyria is moſt evidently calculated to aſtoniſh, amaze, and to ſtrain credulity beyond all poſſible bounds. His liſt of the Aſſyrian kings ſeems to be a groſs forgery, it being a medley of Greek, Perſian, Egyptian, and other names. Again, in all long liſts of kings the ſame names, or ſome bearing a near reſemblance to them, are obſerved often to recur. But the names in Cteſias are not alone what may prompt us to pronounce him guilty of forgery; the length of the reigns may be urged as another argument againſt him; except it be anſwered, that in thoſe very early days, ſo nearly bordering on the times of the deluge, ſuch length is not to be wondered at. But this would be no anſwer at all; for at leaſt three fourths of them muſt have lived, when the life of man was reduced to its preſent ſtandard. But yet, ſeveral of the antient hiſtorians, and, what is more ſurprizing, of the modern Chriſtian writers, have blindly followed him, in oppoſition to ſcripture, Herodotus, and other more undoubted authorities. Diodorus Siculus tranſcribed him; Cephaleon, Caſtor, Trogus, and Velleius Paterculus have copied ſeveral accounts from him. Julius Africanus, Euſebius, and Syncellus have adopted, in part, his chronology of the Aſſyrian kings, wherein they have been followed by moſt of the modern chronologers.

We ſhall now give a ſuccinct account of ſeveral authors quoted by us in this volume, with whom perhaps every reader may not be acquainted. Theſe are,

ZOROASTER

ZOROASTER, a Bactrian, whom ſome ſuppoſe to have been contemporary with Nimrod, and king of the Bactrians. Cluverius takes him for Adam; Procopius, Gazeus, and Epiphanius, for Abraham; Huetius for Moſes, Gregory of Tours for Shem, &c. We are in no leſs uncertainty as to the time wherein he flouriſhed; Epiphanius making him contemporary with Nimrod, Euſebius with Semiramis, and Apuleius with Cyrus and Cambyſes. Plato calls him the moſt antient of all the Perſian ſages: Eudoxus, Pliny, and Hermippus tell us, that he lived five thouſand years before the Trojan war: Xanthus of Lydia, according to the teſtimony of Laertius, reckons but 600 years from Zoroaſter to Xerxes. As to his works, Hermippus ſays, that he wrote two millions of verſes. Suidas gives us the titles of ſome of his works, viz. four books of nature, one of precious ſtones, and five of aſtronomical predictions. Euſebius quotes a paſſage from his ſacred hiſtory of Perſia, containing an excellent deſcription of the divine attributes. Theodorus of Mopſueſtia, treating of the magic of the Perſians, produces Zoroaſter's hypotheſis, admitting two principles. Proclus collected the pretended oracles of Zoroaſter in 280 hexameter verſes. He is ſaid to have been the inventor of magic among the Eaſtern nations; but by magic nothing was meant in thoſe days beſides phyſic and theology, as Naudæus proves with very convincing arguments.

MOCHUS, or Moſchus, a Sidonian, lived before the Trojan war, as Strabo informs us, and wrote the hiſtory of Phœnice. He is quoted by Joſephus in the firſt book of his antiquities, by Athenæus, and Tatian, who names two other Phœnician writers, viz. Theodotus and Heſicrates. His hiſtory was tranſlated into Greek by Chætus, or Lœtus; but we have now only a few fragments of it remaining in the above-mentioned writers.

ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR, a celebrated writer in the reign of Ptolemy Lathyrus, and by Sylla carried captive to Rome, wrote a great many hiſtories, as his name witneſſes, and among others thoſe of India and Egypt. Clement of Alexandria quotes a book of his concerning the Jews, wherein were inſerted Solomon's letters to the Egyptian and Phœnician kings, with their reſpective anſwers. Euſebius alſo recites a fragment of the ſame author, relating to the Jews. [s]

ORPHEUS,

[s] Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. l. 9.

ORPHEUS, ſurnamed the Librethian, was a Thracian, and is famous among the antients, not only for poetry and muſic, but alſo for theology. He is ſaid to have been the firſt that taught the Greeks the Egyptian myſteries. Clement of Alexandria ſays, that Homer borrowed ſeveral paſſages from his poems. The antients mention many pieces that were under his name, ſome of which are ſtill extant, viz. an epic poem, entitled, *The Argonautics*; 86 hymns; a poem on precious ſtones and their virtues, and ſeveral fragments of other works, aſcribed to him by Proclus, Tzetzes, and other writers. Plato mentions the hymns of this author in his eighth book of laws: Stobæus and Suidas aſcribe the hymns to Onomacritus, and others, with Clement of Alexandria, to Pythagoras. We alſo find ſeveral verſes cited by Juſtin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Euſebius, and Theodoret, out of the teſtament of Orpheus; but the bare reading of them will convince us, that they are the performance of a more modern writer.

NEITHER have Euſebius, biſhop of Cæſarea in Paleſtine, Africanus, and Syncellus, been excluded from our hiſtory. In their time the libraries of Greece were furniſhed with excellent manuſcripts, which have been ſince loſt. From them they made their collections; and we may judge of their ſincerity by the authors which remain, and which they have faithfully quoted; ſo that where other writers were at a loſs, they have often put us in the way in our purſuit of truth.

IN the deſcriptions of countries we have chiefly followed, among the antients, Strabo, Ptolemy, and Dionyſius Periegetes. Strabo flouriſhed under Auguſtus and Tiberius, and viſited moſt of the Places which he deſcribes; whence his deſcriptions are very exact, if we except thoſe of Germany, wherein he depended on the relations of others. He publiſhed ſeveral works; but his XVII books of geography are the only that have reached us. In theſe he not only deſcribes the ſituation of the places, but often the manners, cuſtoms, laws, and religions of the inhabitants.

PTOLEMY was of Peluſium in Egypt, and flouriſhed in the reign of M. Aurelius Antoninus. In his geography he followed Marinus Tyrius who was almoſt his contemporary. He is often miſtaken as to the degrees of longitude and latitude, and ſometimes ſpeaks of cities, which had been deſtroyed many years, not to ſay ages, before his time, as ſtill extant. Moſt of his miſtakes have been carefully corrected by Ortelius, and Gherardus Mercator, Cluverius, Velſerius,

Velſerius, and others. His Canon is ſo exactly agreeable to ſcripture hiſtory, that if this latter could poſſibly ſtand in need of confirmation, ſo far as it relates to the hiſtory of the great empires of the Aſſyrians and Babylonians, nothing could be ſo effectual towards it as this Canon, which has given birth to one of the moſt famous profane æras, that of Nabonaſſar, the firſt king in it, and without which there would be the greateſt obſcurity in the affairs of theſe people. Nothing is more ſurprizing, than that this moſt noble monument ſhould have been ſo little examined by the light naturally reflected on it from the ſacred pen-men, as not to have extricated the whole body of chronologers and hiſtorians from out of the labyrinth, they have almoſt all bewildered themſelves in, miſled by the extravagances of Cteſias, a fabulous writer, who has been blindly followed by the antients, and moſt of the moderns. This Canon takes date from about the 23d year of Pul's firſt appearance on this ſide of the Euphrates, about the year 2252 after the flood, according to our computation, and 747 years before Chriſt; which ſhews the kingdom of Babylon to have been immediately of Aſſyrian origin, according to the prophet [t]: *Behold the land of the Chaldeans; this people was not till the Aſſyrian found it for them that dwell in the wilderneſs; they ſet up the towers thereof, they raiſed up the palaces thereof.*

Dionysius Periegetes, born at Charax, a town ſituated on the gulph of Arabia, flouriſhed in the reign of Auguſtus, by whom he was ſent, as Pliny informs us [u], to ſurvey the eaſtern countries namely Armenia, Parthia, and Arabia. His geographical deſcription of the world was originally wrote in Greek verſe, and tranſlated into Latin verſe by Rufus Feſtus, Avienus, and Priſcian. Euſtathius, archbiſhop of Theſſalonica, wrote in Greek a learned commentary on this work.

Thus we have taken the materials to compoſe this volume from the pureſt ſources of antiquity. However, we muſt own, that as to the hiſtory of antient times, and the original of particular nations, we have not been able to give ſuch ſatisfactory accounts as we could wiſh, not one of the hiſtories of thoſe antient nations, whom the Grecians called Barbarians, written by the natives, or extracted immediately from their records, having reached us. What fragments of them have been preſerved here and there in other

[t] Iſai. 23. 13. [u] Lib. 5. c. 27.

other writers, we have connected together, filling up the chaſms of one writer with the teſtimony of another, and melting down together the moſt precious metals of antiquity, in order to form a new one leſs precious indeed, but, perhaps, more ſerviceable.

BUT as the authors, that we have had occaſion to follow, or even to tranſcribe, in this volume, are ſuch as have tranſmitted to us accounts of the earlieſt times, we muſt here, in a few Words, remove the Prejudices which ſome criticks have raiſed againſt the profane writers in general, who have treated of the original and early antiquities of nations. In moſt nations, ſay they, poets were the firſt hiſtorians, who of courſe interſperſed their accounts with a thouſand fables. From ſuch infected ſources the hiſtorians in after-ages, for want of better materials, copied, and conſequently deſerve no more credit than thoſe they tranſcribed.

To anſwer this objection, we muſt with Varro divide the whole ſeries of time into three periods; the firſt, from the beginning of the world to the deluge; the ſecond, from the deluge to the firſt olympiad; and the third, from the firſt olympiad to the preſent. The firſt period he calls an age intirely unknown; and truly we find nothing in profane Hiſtorians, relating to that time, which has any appearance of truth, if we except two or three, quoted by Joſephus, whoſe accounts of the deluge, and the times preceding it, agree, as he informs us, in many particulars with that of Moſes. The ſecond period Varro ſtiles the fabulous time, by reaſon of the many fables with which the accounts of it, that have been tranſmitted to poſterity, are interwoven: The laſt he calls the hiſtorical time. Diodorus Siculus extends the fabulous age no farther than the Trojan war; and indeed from that time the impenetrable miſt, which had overcaſt the preceding ages, begins to clear up, and ſome rays of truth to break out. Now to anſwer the objection, we do not pretend to give any tolerable account of the firſt ages from profane authors. In after ages when the uſe of letters was introduced, poets, it is true, are ſaid to have been the firſt hiſtorians; but we muſt not ſuppoſe whatever they wrote to be a mere fable; their ground-work was often truth, tho' embelliſhed with various fictions. Thus for inſtance, Homer's poems ought not to be regarded only as an excellent poetical performance, but as the moſt antient hiſtory of Greece; inſomuch, that if we had no other remains of antiquity, than Homer's works, to convince us

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of the Trojan war and the taking of that city, we could not call in queſtion the truth of that event. Homer, tho' a poet, diſcovers to us the ſtate of Greece at that time; he gives us an account of their kings and generals; deſcribes their ſtates, cities, and government; ſhews us, that Greece was divided into ſeveral ſmall dynaſties, each of which had their reſpective ſovereigns, of which Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, Sicyon, and Corinth, was the moſt powerful, &c. Theſe, and a great many other events are purely hiſtorical, and confirmed by creditable hiſtorians; ſo that Homer's work is both a poem and a hiſtory. And what we have inſtanced in one poet, may in the ſame manner be applied to others: For tho' their works were interſperſed with many fabulous ſtrokes, yet they might have furniſhed a judicious hiſtorian, that could diſtinguiſh between truth and fiction, with good materials for a hiſtory: Beſides, it is not to be doubted, but that, ever ſince the uſe of characters was firſt introduced, men have left behind them monuments of ſuch things as might concern poſterity; fathers, what regarded their domeſtic affairs; princes and magiſtrates, what related to the public. Theſe were the firſt hiſtories of mankind, and the moſt antient hiſtorians have done nothing elſe but digeſt them into a better form. Thus Manetho compiled this hiſtory from the memoirs of Jerombalus, an Egyptian prieſt; Beroſus from the regiſters of the Babylonians; Sanchoniatho from thoſe of the Phœnicians, &c. And indeed there is reaſon to ſuppoſe, that moſt cities and ſtates had regiſters, in which from year to year they wrote down the moſt remarkable occurrences, and archives, wherein they lodged letters, treaties, and other pieces, which might ſerve as evidences to poſterity. They alſo tranſmitted the memory of things by the inſtitution of feſtivals, the building of cities, erecting of ſtones, pillars, altars, tombs, and the like monuments. The cuſtom of engraving on ſtone is, without doubt, very antient, and the number of theſe moſt faithful monuments of antiquity was almoſt infinite, as is plain from all the antient hiſtorians, who often appeal to them. From theſe, as well as from the poets, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the firſt hiſtorians extracted their hiſtories, and therefore they deſerve the ſame credit; nay, the poets themſelves often worked upon materials already prepared, and only put into verſe what they found regiſtered in the annals of their country. But who can warrant that the prieſts, who, in moſt nations, were the firſt annaliſts, did not through ſuperſtition inſert many fictions? Prieſts,

zealous

zealous for the worſhip of their gods, and whoſe intereſt it was by falſe prodigies to deceive people, may have ſcattered ſuch up and down in their accounts, and made their gods interpoſe in the principal actions. And in this point the beſt hiſtorians have ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed on. But as to the ſubſtance of the narrations in matters of war, politicks, new ſettlements, treaties, deaths of princes, &c. what motive could the prieſts have to be guilty of forgeries? The relating of prodigies is an abuſe, which ſuperſtition has brought into all the hiſtories of the world. Has not credulity inſerted even into the modern hiſtories a thouſand prodigies? and are theſe hiſtories leſs true with reſpect to the great events?

'Tis true, that moſt of the monuments of antiquity are now loſt; but they were in great part extant, when thoſe hiſtorians wrote, whoſe works have reached us. Beſides, tho' many of the public monuments have been deſtroyed by wars, time, miſguided zeal, and other caſualties, yet they are not all loſt. What few facts we have ſtill remaining in the moſt antient writers, furniſh a ſtock of materials, which, with the help of criticiſm, whoſe province it is to diſtinguiſh between truth and fiction, may be made uſe of, without danger of our being impoſed upon. The fragments of thoſe venerable hiſtorians, preſerved here and there in other writers, are like ſo many rays, which, in the midſt of the darkneſs thrown over the early times, ſerve to diſcover a way through the ruins.

NEITHER is the diſagreement of authors among themſelves any certain proof that they deſerve no credit. Oftentimes, with reſpect to things that have happened in our days, and almoſt in our ſight, we find a difference in the accounts given by thoſe who were eye-witneſſes to what they relate. The particulars of a battle are not always told the ſame way by thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in it. The neareſt objects appear differently, according to the different views of the ſpectators. Imagination, prejudice, and partiality often ſet a bias on mens underſtandings, and hence ariſe all thoſe variations we find in the writings, which have ſerved as memoirs to the firſt hiſtorians of particular nations. This diſagreement among authors has very much encreaſed the labour of collecting them into one body: We have often been in ſuſpence about the choice and preference, and always taken care to relate, at leaſt in the notes, the variations we found among different authors, it not being reaſonable to confine the reader to our own ſentiments.

An exact diſtribution of time is, as it were, the light of hiſtory: Without this it would be only a chaos of facts heaped together. An exact chronology is like Ariadne's clue, which conducts our ſteps through all the windings of the labyrinth. By the means of certain fixed epochas we perceive the progreſs of ſtates, the variations of their fortunes, and the changes made in their government. For this reaſon we have thought it neceſſary to ſettle the chronology, and refer the facts we have collected to their proper dates. Our general æras are, the creation, the flood, and the years before, or after, Chriſt. The mind being thus conducted, the ideas we retain from reading are more diſtinct, and more eaſily fixed in the memory.

Geography is another eſſential part of hiſtory. Every hiſtorian that neglects it muſt of neceſſity be confuſed in his relations. We have therefore endeavoured to be exact in the ſituation of the towns, rivers, foreſts, lakes, and mountains, whither the courſe of events has led us. Our guides in this were not only the hiſtorians, who are not always very exact, but alſo the moſt eminent geographers of antiquity, whom we have mentioned above; and in doubtful caſes we have had recourſe to the moderns, particularly to Cluverius, Ortelius, Cellarius, and ſuch of the modern travellers as have ſurveyed the places, and are generally looked upon as exact and faithful in their accounts. From all theſe together we have got maps drawn by a ſkilful hand, where we thought them neceſſary. Thus the reader will be able with one caſt of an eye to run over the ſeveral countries which he reads of. There are many nations, which have not the ſame limits at this day, that they had formerly; neither are all towns, which have antient names, unqueſtionably ſituated in the very places, where the towns of the ſame name ſtood heretofore. We have therefore choſe rather to deſcribe moſt of the places, mentioned in our hiſtory, by their antient names; but at the ſame time we have conſtantly taken care to reconcile the antient geography with the modern in our notes, and to mark the different limits of the new nations and the old.

It is not uſual to publiſh hiſtories with notes, or at leaſt to crowd them with ſo great a number: But tho' no other hiſtory, perhaps, has need of them, yet they are neceſſary to this which we have undertaken. The manners, cuſtoms, religions, arms, dreſs, governments, &c. of the various nations we deſcribe, are not only ſo different among themſelves,

ſelves, but from any thing we now ſee, or are acquainted with, that it would have been hardly poſſible to give juſt ideas of them without explications, which could not have well been brought into the text. The thread of the moſt beautiful ſtory would have been often broke, and no point of hiſtory would have been brought to its concluſion, but in a languid manner. It was neceſſary therefore to throw into notes the great number of inſtructive obſervations, without which the hiſtory would have been imperfect. Beſides, abundance of diſputes have been raiſed by learned men upon ſeveral events, which we are obliged to inform the public of, in order to make our work more complete. But this could not have been, if we had not taken notice of the variations of the ſeveral authors, who have tranſmitted to us the ſame facts. Hiſtorians often diſagree as to the circumſtances, and, on the other hand, the thread of the hiſtory will not admit but of one way of relating the event. We have therefore placed in the body of the hiſtory what ſeemed to us moſt probable, and the reſt in the notes, leſt thoſe readers who peruſe but one author, ſhould charge us with falſhood, if we differed from his hiſtorian. The length of ſome of our notes ought not to frighten the reader: Every judicious perſon will perceive, that we have taken pains to be as conciſe as the ſubject would allow us, having often brought, within the compaſs of a few lines, diſſertations, with which learned men have filled large volumes.

THE knowledge of the coins, weights, and meaſures of the antients, is neceſſary for the right underſtanding of their writings, as well as of the preſent hiſtory, where we could not avoid uſing now and then their terms and phraſeology. But as it cannot be expected, that we ſhould enter here into a minute diſcuſſion of a ſubject which has ſupplied matter to whole volumes, we ſhall only exhibit ſome tables, wherein the value of the antient coins, weights, and meaſures is, with great care and exactneſs, reduced, by Dr. Arbuthnot, to the Engliſh ſtandard. Several writers of great abilities, namely Biſhop Cumberland, Mr. Greaves, and Dr. Hooper, have, with great learning and accuracy, handled the ſame ſubject: But we have given the preference to Dr. Arbuthnot's calculations, by reaſon they are more adapted to the capacity of every reader; and, on the other hand, do not differ in any conſiderable matter from thoſe of the learned writers we have mentioned. In theſe tables the reader will find, 1. The Greek, Roman, and Jewiſh meaſures of

length. 2. Their meaſures of capacity for things both liquid and dry; and laſtly, their money reduced to the Engliſh ſtandard.

ENGLISH MEASURES of LENGTH.

Inch									
3	Palm								
9	3	Span							
12	4	$1\frac{1}{3}$	Foot						
18	6	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Cubit					
36	12	4	3	2	Yard				
60	20	$6\frac{2}{3}$	5	$3\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{2}{3}$	Pace			
72	24	8	6	4	2	$1\frac{1}{5}$	Fathom		
198	66	22	$16\frac{1}{2}$	11	$5\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{3}{10}$	$2\frac{3}{4}$	Pole	
7920	2640	880	660	440	220	132	110	40	Furlong
63360	21120	7040	5280	3520	1760	1056	880	320	8 Mile

GRE-

GRECIAN MEASURES of LENGTH, reduced to ENGLISH.

Dactylus											Paces. Feet. Inch. Dec.
4	Doron or Dochme										0—0—0,7554$\frac{11}{16}$
10	$2\frac{1}{2}$	Lichas									0—0—3,0218$\frac{3}{4}$
11	$2\frac{3}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{10}$	Orthodoron								0—0—7,55467$\frac{7}{8}$
12	3	$1\frac{1}{5}$	$1\frac{1}{11}$	Spithame							0—0—8,3101$\frac{9}{16}$
16	4	$1\frac{6}{10}$	$1\frac{5}{11}$	$1\frac{1}{3}$	Pous						0—0—9,0656$\frac{1}{4}$
18	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{4}{5}$	$1\frac{7}{11}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{8}$	Pugme					0—1—0,0875
20	5	2	$1\frac{9}{11}$	$1\frac{2}{3}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{9}$	Pugon				0—1—1,5984
24	6	$2\frac{2}{5}$	$2\frac{2}{11}$	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{1}{5}$	Pechus			0—1—3,109$\frac{5}{4}$
96	24	$9\frac{3}{5}$	$8\frac{8}{11}$	8	6	$5\frac{1}{3}$	$4\frac{4}{5}$	4	Orguia		0—1—6,13125
9600	2400	960	$872\frac{8}{11}$	800	600	$533\frac{1}{3}$	480	400	100	Stadium or Aulos	0—6—0,525
76800	19200	7680	$6981\frac{9}{11}$	6400	4800	$4266\frac{2}{3}$	3840	3200	800	8 Milion	120—4—4,5
											967—0—0

2. ROMAN

ROMAN MEASURES of LENGTH.

Digitus tranſverſus	Uncia	Palmus minor	Pes	Palmipes	Cubitus	Gradus	Paſſus	Stadium	Milliare	ENGLISH. Paces. Feet. Inch. Dec.
	1 1/3									0— 0— 0,725 1/4
4	3									0— 0— 0,967
16	12	4								0— 0— 2,901
20	15	5	1 1/4							0— 0—11,604
24	18	6	1 1/2	1 1/5						0— 1— 2,505
40	30	10	2 1/2	2	1 2/3					0— 1— 5,406
80	60	20	5	4	3 1/3	2				0— 2— 5,01
10000	7500	2500	625	500	416 2/3	250	125			0— 4—10,02
80000	60000	20000	5000	4000	3333 1/3	2000	1000	8		120— 4— 4,5
										967— 0— 0

4.

SCRIPTURE Measures of Length.

							ENGLISH.
							Feet. Inch. Dec.
Digit							0 — 0,912
4	Palm						0 — 3,648
12	3	Span					0 — 10,944
24	6	2	Cubit				1 — 9,888
96	24	8	4	Fathom			7 — 3,552
144	36	12	6	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Ezekiel's Reed		10 — 11,328
192	48	16	8	2	$1\frac{1}{3}$	Arabian Pole	14 — 7,104
1920	480	160	80	20	$13\frac{1}{3}$	10 Schœnus measuring line	145 — 11,04

Note. The East used another Span, equal to $\frac{1}{3}$ of a Cubit.

5. The

5.

The LONGER SCRIPTURE MEASURES. ENGLISH.

Miles. Paces. Feet. Dcc.

Cubit — — — — — — — — — 0— 0—1,824

400	Stadium				0—145—4,	6
2000	5	Sab. days Journey			0—729—3,	0
4000	10	2	Eaſtern Mile		1—403—1,	0
12000	30	6	3	Paraſang	4—153—3,	0
96000	240	48	24	8	aDay's Journey 33—172—4,	0

6.

ENGLISH SQUARE MEASURES.

Inches

144	Feet				
1296	9	Yards			
3600	25	$2\frac{7}{9}$	Paces		
39204	$272\frac{1}{4}$	$30\frac{1}{4}$	10,89	Poles	
1568160	10890	1210	435,6	40	Rood
6272640	43560	4840	1742,4	160	4 Acre

7. ENGLISH

7.

ENGLISH MEASURES of CAPACITY.

Wine Meaſure.

Solid Inches									
$28\frac{7}{8}$	Pint								
231	8	Gallon							
4158	144	18	Rundlet						
$7276\frac{1}{2}$	252	$31\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{3}{4}$	Barrel					
9702	336	42	$2\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{1}{3}$	Tierce				
14553	504	63	$3\frac{1}{2}$	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Hogſhead			
19404	672	84	$4\frac{2}{3}$	$2\frac{2}{3}$	2	$1\frac{1}{3}$	Puncheon		
29106	1008	126	7	4	3	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Butt	
58212	2016	252	14	8	6	4	3	2	Tun

8.

ENGLISH CORN MEASURES,

Are raiſed from a Wincheſter Gallon, which contains $272\frac{1}{4}$ ſolid Inches, and, as far as ſerves our purpoſe, are,

Solid inches					
$34\frac{1}{32}$	Pint				
$272\frac{1}{4}$	8	Gallon			
$544\frac{1}{2}$	16	2	Peck		
2178	64	8	4	Buſhel	
17424	512	64	32	8	Quarter

9. GRECIAN

GRECIAN SQUARE MEASURE.

PLETHRON, by ſome ſaid to contain 1444, others, 10000 ſquare feet; ARURA, the half of the PLETHRON.

The EGYPTIAN ARURA was the ſquare of 100 cubits.

ROMAN SQUARE MEASURE.

The ROMANS divided their As, LIBRA, or any INTEGER after the following manner; ſo the JUGERUM was reckoned the INTEGER.

JUGERUM contained.

	Unicæ		Sq. Feet.	Scruples.	Engl. Roods.	Sq. Poles.	Sq. Feet.
1	As	12	As 28800	288	2 ——	18 ——	250,06 8/25
11/12	Deunx	11	Deunx 26400	264	2 ——	10 ——	183,84 24/25
5/6	Dextans	10	Dextans 24000	240	2 ——	2 ——	117,63 3/5
3/4	Dodrans	9	Dodrans 21600	216	1 ——	34 ——	51,42 6/25
2/3	Bes	8	Bes 19200	192	1 ——	25 ——	257,45 22/25
7/12	Septunx	7	Septunx 16800	168	1 ——	17 ——	191,24 13/25
1/2	Semis	6	Semis 14400	144	1 ——	9 ——	125,03 4/25
5/12	Quincunx	5	Quincunx 12000	120	1 ——	1 ——	58,81 4/5
1/3	Triens	4	Triens 9600	96	0 ——	32 ——	264,85 1/25
1/4	Quadrans	3	Quadrans 7200	72	0 ——	24 ——	198,64 2/25
1/6	Sextans	2	Sextans 4800	83	0 ——	16 ——	132,42 18/25
1/12	Unica	1	Uncia 2400	24	0 ——	8 ——	66,21 9/25

Note. Actus Major was 14400 ſquare feet, equal to a Semis-Clima 3600 ſquare feet, equal to a Seſcuncia. Actus Minimus was equal to a Sextans.

10.

ATTICK MEASURES of CAPACITY for Things LIQUID.

ENGLISH Wine Measure.

									Gall.	Pints.	Sol. Inch.	Dec.
Kochliarion									0	$\frac{1}{120}$	0,035	$\frac{83}{120}$
2	Cyeme								0	$\frac{1}{60}$	0,071	$\frac{23}{60}$
24	12	Myſtron							0	$\frac{1}{48}$	0,089	$\frac{11}{48}$
30	$2\frac{1}{2}$	2	Konche						0	$\frac{1}{24}$	0,178	$\frac{11}{24}$
10	5	4	2	Kyathos					0	$\frac{1}{12}$	0,356	$\frac{11}{12}$
15	$7\frac{1}{2}$	6	3	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Oxybaphon				0	$\frac{1}{8}$	0,535	$\frac{3}{8}$
60	30	24	12	6	4	Kotyle			0	$\frac{1}{2}$	2,141	$\frac{1}{2}$
120	60	48	24	12	8	2	Xeſtes		0	1	4,283	
720	360	288	144	72	48	12	6	Chus	0	6	25,698	
8640	4320	3456	1728	864	576	144	72	12	Metretes	10	2	19,626

11. ATTICK

II.

ATTICK MEASURES of CAPACITY for Things Dry.

Engliſh Corn Meaſure.

						Pecks.	Gall.	Pints.	Sol. Inch.
					Kochliarion	0	0	0	0,276$\frac{19}{66}$
10					Kyathos	0	0	0	2,763$\frac{1}{6}$
15	1$\frac{1}{2}$				Oxybaphon	0	0	0	4,144$\frac{3}{4}$
60	6	4			Kotyle	0	0	0	16,579
120	12	8	2		Xeſtes	0	0	0	33,158
180	18	12	3	1$\frac{1}{2}$	Choinix	0	0	1	15,705$\frac{3}{4}$
8640	864	576	144	72	48 Medimnos	4	0	6	5,188$\frac{1}{2}$

Note, 1. Beſides this Medimnus, which is the Medicus, there was a Medimnus Georgicus, equal to ſix Roman Modii.

Note, 2. There are ſome other Meaſures (mentioned by authors) of uncertain value, eaſily reducible to thoſe of the tables.

12.
ROMAN MEASURES of CAPACITY for Things LIQUID.

									English Wine Measure. Gall.	Pints.	Sol. In Dec.
Ligula									0 —	$0\frac{1}{48}$ —	$0,117\frac{5}{12}$
4	Cyathus								0 —	$0\frac{1}{12}$ —	$0,469\frac{2}{3}$
6	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Acetabulum							0 —	$0\frac{1}{8}$ —	$0,704\frac{1}{2}$
12	3	2	Quartarius						0 —	$0\frac{1}{4}$ —	1,409
24	6	4	2	Hemina					0 —	$0\frac{1}{2}$ —	2,818
48	12	8	4	2	Sextarius				0 —	1 —	5,636
288	72	48	24	12	6	Congius			0 —	7 —	4,942
1152	288	192	96	48	24	4	Urna		3 —	$4\frac{1}{2}$ —	5,33
2304	576	384	192	96	48	8	2	Amphora	7 —	1 —	10,66
46080	11520	7680	3840	1920	960	160	40	20 Culeus	143 —	3 —	11,075

Note, 1. Quadrantal is the same with Amphora, Cadus, Congiarius, and Dolium, and denotes no certain measure.

Note, 2. The Romans divided the Sextarius, as the Libra, into twelve equal parts, called Cyathi; and therefore they denominated their Calices, Sextantes, Quadrantes, Trientes, according to the number of Cyathi which they contained.

13.

ROMAN Measures of Capacity for Things Dry.

English Corn Measure.

							Pecks.	Gall.	Pints.	Sol. In.	Dec.
						Ligula	0	0	0 $\frac{1}{48}$		0,01
					4	Cyathus	0	0	0 $\frac{1}{12}$		0,04
					6	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Acetabulum	0	0	0 $\frac{1}{8}$		0,06
				24	6	4 Hemina	0	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$		0,24
			48	12	8	2 Sextarius	0	0	1		0,48
		384	96	64	16	8 Semimod	0	1	0		3,84
	768	192	128	32	16	2 Modius	1	0	0		7,68

14.

JEWISH Measures of Capacity for Things Liquid.

English Wine Measure.

						Gall.	Pints.	Sol.	Inch.
					Caph	0	0 $\frac{5}{8}$		0,177
					1 $\frac{1}{3}$ Log	0	0 $\frac{5}{6}$		0,236
					5 $\frac{1}{3}$ 4 Cab	0	3 $\frac{1}{3}$		0,944
				16	12 3 Hin	1	2		2,832
				32	24 6 2 Seah	2	4		5,664
				96	72 18 6 3 Bath, Epha	7	4		16,992
			960	720	180 60 30 10 Coron, Chomer	75	5		25,545

15.

JEWISH Measures of Capacity for Things Dry.

English Corn Measure.

							Pecks.	Gall.	Pints	Sol. In.	Dec.
						Gachal	0	0	0 $\frac{17}{120}$		0,031
					20	Cab	0	0	2 $\frac{5}{6}$		0,672 $\frac{4}{7}\frac{1}{2}$
					36	1 $\frac{4}{5}$ Gomor	0	0	5 $\frac{1}{10}$		1,210 $\frac{5}{8}$
				120	6	3 $\frac{1}{3}$ Seah	1	0	1		4,035 $\frac{5}{12}$
				360	18	10 3 Epha	3	0	3		12,106 $\frac{1}{4}$
				1800	90	50 15 5 Leteeh	16	0	0		26,500
			3600	180	100	30 10 2 chomer, choron	32	0	1		18,968 $\frac{3}{4}$

16. ENGLISH

16.

ENGLISH TROY WEIGHT.

Grains			
24	Penny-weight		
480	20	Ounce	
5760	240	12	Pound

17.

The moſt antient GRECIAN and ROMAN WEIGHTS reduced to TROY WEIGHT.

	Pounds.	Oun.	Pwt.	Grains.
Drachma — — — — —	00	00	02	$14\frac{22}{49}$
100 Mna — — — —	01	01	00	$4\frac{44}{49}$
6000 60 Talanton — —	65	00	12	$5\frac{43}{49}$

18.

The leſs antient GRECIAN and ROMAN WEIGHTS reduced to Engliſh TROY WEIGHT.

									Pounds.	Oun.	Pwt.	Grains.
Lentes — — — — —									0	0	00	$0\frac{85}{112}$
4	Siliquæ — — —								0	0	00	$3\frac{1}{28}$
12	3	Obolus — —							0	0	00	$9\frac{3}{28}$
24	6	2	Scriptulum — —						0	0	00	$18\frac{3}{14}$
72	18	6	3	Drachma —					0	0	02	$6\frac{9}{14}$
96	24	8	4	$1\frac{1}{3}$	Sextula —				0	0	03	$0\frac{6}{7}$
144	36	12	6	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Sicilicus —			0	0	04	$13\frac{2}{7}$
192	48	16	8	$2\frac{2}{3}$	2	$1\frac{1}{3}$	Duella		0	0	06	$1\frac{5}{7}$
576	144	48	24	8	6	4	3	Uncia	0	0	18	$5\frac{1}{7}$
6912	1728	576	288	96	72	48	36	12 Libra	0	10	18	$13\frac{5}{7}$

The Roman Ounce is the Engliſh Avoirdupois Ounce, which they divided into ſeven Denariis as well as eight Drachms; and ſince they reckoned their Danarius equal to the Attick Drachm, this will make the Attick Weights $\frac{1}{8}$ heavier, than the correſpondent Roman Weights.

Note. The Grecians divided their Obolus into Chalci and Lepra. Some, as Diodorus and Suidas, divided the Obolus into ſix Chalci, and every Chalcus into ſeven Lepta: Others divided the Obolus into eight Chalci, and every Chalcus into eight Lepta or Minuta.

The GREATER WEIGHTS reduced to Engliſh TROY WEIGHT.

				Pounds. Oun. Pwt. Grains.
Libra	—	—	—	0—10—18—13$\frac{5}{7}$
1$\frac{1}{24}$	Mina Attica communis	—	—	0—11—07—16$\frac{2}{7}$
1$\frac{1}{3}$	1$\frac{7}{25}$	Mina Attica Medica	— —	1—02—11—10$\frac{2}{7}$
62$\frac{1}{2}$	60	46$\frac{7}{8}$	Talentum Atticum comm.	56—11—00—17$\frac{1}{7}$

Note. There was another Attick Talent, by ſome ſaid to conſiſt of 80, by others of 100 Minæ.

Note. Every Mina contains 100 Drachmæ, and every Talent 60 Minæ: but the Talents differ in weight, according to the different Standard of the Drachmæ and Minæ, of which they are compoſed. The value of ſome different Minæ, and Talents in Attick Drachmæ, Minæ, and Engliſh Troy Weight, is exhibited in the following table.

20.

		Pounds.	Oun.	Pwt.	Grains.
MINA					
Ægyptiaca	$133\frac{1}{3}$	01	05	06	$22\frac{26}{49}$
Antiochica	$133\frac{1}{3}$	01	05	06	$22\frac{26}{49}$
Cleopatræ Ptolemaica	144	01	06	14	$16\frac{32}{49}$
Alexandrina Dioſcoridis	160	01	08	16	$07\frac{4}{49}$
TALENTUM					
Ægyptiacum	80	86	08	16	08
Antiochicum	80	86	08	16	08
Ptolemaicum Cleop.	$86\frac{2}{3}$	93	11	11	00
Alexandriæ	96	104	00	19	14
Inſulanum	120	130	01	04	12
Antiochiæ	360	390	03	13	11

est Drachm. Atticar.

est Minarum Atticar.

21.

JEWISH WEIGHTS reduced to Engliſh TROY WEIGHTS.

			Pounds.	Oun.	Pwt.	Grains.
Shekel			00	00	09	$02\frac{4}{7}$
60	Maneh		02	03	06	$10\frac{2}{7}$
3000	50	Talent	113	10	01	$10\frac{2}{7}$

Note. In reckoning Money, 50 Shekels made a Maneh; but in weight, 60 Shekels.

22. The

The Value and Proportion of the GRECIAN Coins.

										l.	s.	d.	q.
Lepton.										0	0	0	$0\frac{3}{3}\frac{1}{6}$
7	Chalcos									0	0	0	$0\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{8}$
14	2	Dichalcos								0	0	0	$1\frac{7}{2}\frac{7}{4}$
28	4	2	Hemiobolion							0	0	0	$2\frac{7}{1}\frac{7}{2}$
56	8	4	2	Obolos						0	0	1	$1\frac{1}{6}$
112	16	8	4	2	Diobolon					0	0	2	$2\frac{1}{3}$
224	32	16	8	4	2	Tetrobolon				0	0	5	$0\frac{2}{3}$
336	48	24	12	6	3	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Drachme			0	0	7	3
672	96	48	24	12	6	3	2	Didrachmon	[Stater	0	1	3	2
1394	192	96	48	24	12	6	4	2	Tetradrachmon	0	2	7	0
1680	140	120	60	30	15	$7\frac{1}{2}$	5	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$ Pentadrachm.	0	3	2	3

Note 1. Of these the Drachma, Didrachm, &c. were of Silver, the rest, for the most part, of Brass; the other Parts, as Tridrachm, Triobulus, &c. were sometimes coined.

Note 2. I have supposed, with the generality of Authors, that the Drachma and Danarius were equal, tho' there is reason to believe the Drachma was somewhat the weightier.

23.

The GRECIAN GOLD COIN was

	l.	s.	d.
The Stater Aureus, weighing two Attick Drachms, or half of the Stater Argenteus, and exchanging uſually for 25 Attick Drachms of Silver, in our money. — —	00	16	$1\frac{3}{4}$
According to our proportion of Gold to Silver	01	00	9
There were likewiſe the Stater Cyzicenus, exchanging for 28 Attick Drachms, or	00	18	1
Stater Philippicus, and Stater Alexandrinus, of the ſame value			
Stater Daricus, according to Joſephus, worth 50 Attick Drachms, or — —	01	12	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Stater Cræſius, of the ſame value.			

24.

The GRECIAN Manner of reckoning Sums of Money was by

			l.	s.	d.
DRACHMÆ.	1	——	0	00	$07\frac{3}{4}$
	10	—— ——	0	06	$05\frac{1}{2}$
	100 equal to a Mina	——	3	04	07
MINÆ.	1	—— ——	3	04	07
	10	—— ——	32	05	10
	60 equal to a Talentum		193	15	00
TALENTA.	1	—— ——	193	15	00
	10	—— ——	1937	10	00
	100	—— ——	19375	00	00

25.

I have given the value of the different Talents, and Minæ, conſidered as weights; but when they denote ſums of money, they vary after the following manner:

MINA Syra	—— ——	—— —	eſt Drachm. Atticar.	25
Ptolemaica	—— ——	—— —		$33\frac{1}{3}$
Antiochica	—— ——	—— —		100
Eubœa	—— ——	—— —		100
Babylonica	—— ——	—— —		116

Attica major	est Drachm. Atticar	133⅓
Tyria		133⅓
Æginæa		166⅔
Rhodia		166⅔
TALENTUM Syrum	Minarum Atticarum	15
Ptolemaicum		20
Antiochicum		60
Eubœum		60
Babylonicum		70
Atticum majus		80
Tyrium		80
Æginæum		100
Rhodium		100
Ægyptium		80

The Value and Proportion of the ROMAN Coins.

						l.	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*
					Teruncius	0	0	0	0 775/1000
2					Sembella	0	0	0	1 55/100
4	2				Libella, As	0	0	0	3 1/10
10	5	2½			Sestertius	0	0	1	3¾
20	10	5	2		Quinarius, Victoriatus	0	0	3	3½
40	20	10	4	2	Denarius	0	0	7	3

Note. Of these the Denarius, Victoriatus, Sestertius, and sometimes the As, were of Silver, the rest of Brass.

There were sometimes also coined of Brass, the Triens, Sextans, Uncia, Sextula, and Dupondius.

The ROMAN GOLD COIN was the AUREUS, which weighed generally double the DENARIUS;

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The Aureus, according to the first proportion of Coinage, mentioned by Pliny, Lib. XXXIII. Cap. III. was worth	1	04	3¾
According to the proportion that obtains now amongst us, worth	1	00	9

According

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
According to the decuple proportion, mentioned by Livy and Julius Pollux, worth —	0	12	11
According to the proportion mentioned by Tacitus, and which afterwards obtained, whereby the Aureus exchanged for 25 Denarii, its value — — — — —	0	16	1¾

28.

Some Alterations of the value of the ROMAN COIN, mentioned by Pliny.

In the Reign of Servius A. Urb. 490 — —	the As weighed of Brass	1 Pound
A. Urb. 537 — —		2 Ounces
A. Urb. 586 — —		1 Ounce
		½ Ounce

A. Urb. 485 —	Denarius exchanged for	10 Asses
A. Urb. 537 —		16 Asses

A. Urb, 547 Scruple of Gold worth —20 Sestertii
Coined afterwards of the Pound of Gold--20 Denarii } Aurei
In Nero's time of the Pound of Gold——45 Denarii }

29.

The ROMAN Manner of reckoning Sums of Money reduced to the ENGLISH STANDARD.

SESTERTII NUMMI.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*
Sestertius — — — —	0	00	01	3¾
Decem — — — —	0	01	07	1½
Centum — — — —	0	16	01	3
Mille equal to a Sestertium — —	8	01	05	2
SESTERTIA.				
Sestertium — — — —	8	01	05½	
Decem — — — —	80	14	7	
Centum. *This Sum the Romans expres'd thus*, Debet mihi centum, debet mihi centum Sestertia; *vel* debet centum millia Sestertium — —	807	05	10	
Mille — — — —	8072	18	04	

DECIES SESTERTIUM, &c. The Adverb Centies being underſtood.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Decies Seſtertium, vel Decies centena millia nummum — — — — —	8072	18	04
Centies, vel Centies H. S. — — — — —	80729	03	04
Millies H. S. — — — — — — — — —	807291	13	04
Millies Centies H. S. — — — — —	888020	16	08

30.

The ROMAN Manner of reckoning INTEREST of MONEY.

Aſſes uſuræ vel Centeſimæ uſuræ	1	per Cent a Month.	12 per Cent a Year.
Semiſſes uſuræ — — —	$\frac{1}{2}$		6
Trientes uſuræ — — —	$\frac{1}{3}$		4
Quadrantes uſuræ — —	$\frac{1}{4}$		3
Sextantes uſuræ — — —	$\frac{1}{6}$		2
Unicæ uſuræ — — —	$\frac{1}{12}$		1
Quincunces uſuræ — —	$\frac{5}{12}$		5
Septunces uſuræ — —	$\frac{7}{12}$		7
Beſſes uſuræ — — —	$\frac{2}{3}$		8
Dodrantes uſuræ — —	$\frac{3}{4}$		9
Dextantes uſuræ — —	$\frac{5}{6}$		10
Deunces uſuræ — —	$\frac{11}{12}$		11

31.

JEWISH MONEY reduced to the Engliſh Standard.

						l.	*s.*	*d.*
Gerah — — — — —						0	00	$1\frac{59}{60}$
10	Bekah — — — —					0	01	$1\frac{11}{16}$
20	2	Shekel — — —				0	02	$3\frac{3}{8}$
1000	100	50	Maneh, Mina Hebraica —			5	14	$0\frac{3}{4}$
60000	6000	3000	60	Talent — —		342	03	9
Solidus Aureus, or Sextula, worth — — —						0	12	$0\frac{2}{2}$
Siclus Aureus, worth — — —						1	16	6
A Talent of Gold, worth — — —						5475	00	0

Note. In all the Tables of Money, I reckon Silver at 5 Shillings, and Gold at 4 Pounds the Ounce.

Now

Now to ſay ſomething of the different computations of time; Beroſus wrote his chronology by the computation of Sari, Neri, and Soſi; which being ancient meaſures of time, and well known when the original records were written, could not then have wanted explanation. But Beroſus, or ſome later writer, has, either out of ignorance or deſign, magnified theſe meaſures beyond all imagination, and tells us, that the Sarus contained the interval of three thouſand ſix hundred years; the Nerus of ſix hundred, and the Soſus of ſixty. But other authors have taken thoſe years for days only [u]; and indeed with a great deal of reaſon; for not to inſiſt on the incredible length of the reigns of the Chaldean princes in the firſt hypotheſis, which no writer of common ſenſe could offer to impoſe on the world, it plainly appears, that they were no more than days, from the reign of the ſixth king of Chaldea, which is expreſſed in the firſt table of thoſe kings exhibited in B. I. ch. 1. ſect. 5. to be nine-ty nine years, but in the others by the round number of ten Sari, or 100 years. The word Sarus, throwing away the ter-mination, is no other than the Chaldee, or Syriac Sar, ten. The Sarus therefore contained three thouſand ſix hundred days, or juſt ten old Chaldean years, of three hundred and ſixty days each; and that before the deluge, not only the civil, but alſo the tropical, ſolar, and lunar year conſiſted of twelve months, of thirty days a piece, or three hundred and ſixty days in the whole, has been fully proved by a modern writer [w].

THE Egyptians, who addicted themſelves to the ſtudy of aſtronomy in the earlieſt ages, and were well acquainted with the motions, periods, and ſtations of the planets, were the firſt that adjuſted the length of the year to the annual re-volution of the ſun, by adding to their twelve months of 30 days a piece five additional days and ſix hours, while the Greeks and Romans uſed the more rude and inconvenient form of lunar years, intercalating a month every third year. However, the five additional days, as Syncellus [x] informs us, were not introduced till a thouſand years after the deluge, and never were looked upon as proper parts either of the year, or of any of its months, but as days belonging to the nativity of five ſeveral Egyptian deities, who, as it is obſerved in a fa-mous tradition related by Plutarch [y], were to be born neither in any year, nor in any Month,

[u] Syncellus, p. 17.

[w] Allin's Diſc. on the antient Year, in Mr. Whiſton's Theory, Book II. p. 144.

[x] Syncell. p. 123.

[y] Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid.

THE Jewiſh year, as is plain from the calculations which Moſes gives us of the days of the flood and elſewhere, conſiſted of 365 days, and conſequently of 12 ſolar months, the laſt of which had 35 days. As Moſes had been brought up in Egypt, it is very likely he learned that way of reckoning there; and beſides, it muſt have been the moſt known and eaſy method to the Jews, who had been accuſtomed to it during their long abode in Egypt. Scaliger [z], and others after him, have indeed ſuppoſed, that they had an intercalar month, once every 120 years; but it is plain, that the ſcripture hints nothing like ſuch an intercalation, or year of 13 months; tho' it is not eaſy to gueſs how they diſpoſed of the ſix additional hours of the Egyptians, without ſome ſuch ſuppoſition. However, Moſes, by expreſs command of God, did afterwards compute the years by moons.

THE antient year of Greece, Lydia, and the Grecian colonies in Aſia, as well as the firſt Roman year, before the correction of Numa Pompilius, conſiſted likewiſe of 360 days, as the learned writer, we have quoted above, fully proves [a].

BESIDES the computation of months and years, the Greeks reckoned their time by Olympiads, each olympiad containing the ſpace of four years. This method of computation had its riſe from the Olympic games, which were celebrated every 4th year, and became ſo conſiderable, that the Greeks made them their epoch. They commenced, according to ſome, the year of the world 3208, 776 years before Chriſt, and 22 before the founding of Rome; according to others, in the year of the world 3251.

THE Romans computed by Luſtrums, or purifying ſacrifices, which were inſtituted by Servius Tullus, about the year 180 of Rome, and were to be renewed every five years, immediately after the Cenſus; whence the Luſtrum contained the ſpace of five years. But they muſt have been for ſome time diſuſed, as appears from the Faſti Capitolini, where the 50th Luſtrum is ſaid to have been made in the 574th year of Rome.

As

[z] Scaliger, de emend. tempt. l. 2.

[a] Mr. Allin, ubi ſupra.

As to the chronology of the antients, there is no depending upon it. That of the eaſtern nations has been ſtrangely depraved, by contentions ariſing among them about their antiquity, each claiming the preference in that point. Thus Herodotus tells us [b], that the prieſts of Egypt reckoned from the reign of Menes to that of Sethon, who put Sennacherib to flight, 341 generations, as many prieſts of Vulcan, and an equal number of kings of Egypt. He adds, that three Generations make an hundred years; ſo that, according to this computation, the whole time from the reign of Menes to that of Sethon was eleven thouſand three hundred and forty years. The Chaldeans alſo piqued themſelves on their antiquity, and pretended to have obſerved the ſtars 473,000 years; and Calliſthenes, the diſciple of Ariſtotle, ſent aſtronomical obſervations from Babylon to Greece, ſaid to be of 1903 years ſtanding. The chronology of the antient Greek authors is no leſs uncertain. Thoſe who wrote of antiquities, as Pherecydes, Epimenides, Hellanicus, Hippias the Elean, Ephorus, &c. digeſted their works by genealogies, or the ages, and ſucceſſions of the prieſteſſes of Juno Argiva, of the Ephors, of the kings of Sparta, and the Archons of Athens, &c. nor did they begin to ſet down the generations, reigns, and ſucceſſions in numbers of years, till ſome time after the death of Alexander, which makes their chronology very uncertain. And ſuch it was reputed by the Greeks themſelves, as is manifeſt from ſeveral paſſages in Plutarch [c]. The chronology of the Latins is ſtill more uncertain. Plutarch, and Servius repreſent great uncertainties in the original of Rome. The old records of the Latins were burnt by the Gauls about 64 years before the death of Alexander; and Quintus Fabius Pictor, the moſt antient Latin hiſtorian, lived 200 years after that king, and copied the greateſt part of his hiſtory from Diocles Peparethius a Greek. Not one of the European nations had any chronology at all before the time of the Perſian empire, and whatever chronology they now have of antient times has been formed ſince by reaſoning and conjecture: So that, on a ſtrict view and due examination of the antiquities of nations, and the records which have been left us, thoſe of the Jews, excluſive of their divine authority, will evidently appear to be the moſt certain and authentic, and conſequently the ſureſt foundation to build our chronology upon.

HOWEVER

[b] Herod l. 2. [c] Plut. in Vit. Lycurg. & Solon.

HOWEVER, it muſt be confeſſed, that there is no certain uniformity in the Jewiſh computation, and that the ſeveral copies of their records, viz. the Hebrew, Samaritan, Pentateuch, and Septuagint, differ very much from one another. Which diſagreement hath ariſen from two things; 1. Corruption, or errors of frequent tranſcribing; 2. The want of computing from ſome fixed æra, and digeſting the hiſtory as it was written, into a chronological method: For beſides the great diſagreement among the various copies, with regard particularly to the ages of the patriarchs, there is a ſeeming difference at leaſt betwixt the whole numbers of ſeveral intervals. Thus, for inſtance, the interval from the Exodus to the founding of Solomon's temple, is expreſly mentioned [d] to be four hundred and eighty years; whereas the ſum of all the patriarchs given in the book of Judges, &c. amount to about five hundred and ninety two years. Which particulars not being adjuſted by the years of ſome certain æra, we are at a loſs for the true diſtance of time, not knowing by what ſtandard the meaſure of the intervals is to be taken.

THIS variety of computations hath left room for chronologers to enlarge, or contract the ſpace of time, betwixt the flood and the birth of Chriſt, by adhering to one copy rather than another; or by rejecting, or retaining the whole numbers, or the particulars, juſt as it ſuited their humour of making the ſacred hiſtory agree with the prophane; or otherwiſe of reducing the prophane to the ſacred. And as the diſagreement among the heathen writers is great alſo, and every author hath followed the hiſtorian he liked beſt, hence a wide difference hath ariſen amongſt modern chronologers, as appears by the various computations, ſeveral of them have made of the years of the world to the birth of Chriſt, which we here give, as collected by Strauchius [e], Chevreau [f], and others.

A TABLE of the Years of the World to the Birth of Chriſt, *according to the Computation of ſeveral Chronologers.*

	Years.	Mon.
ALphonſus King of *Caſtile* (in *Muller*'s Tables)	6984	
The ſame (in *Strauchius*)	6484	9
Onuphrius Panvinius	6310	
		Suidas

[d] 1 Kings vi. 1. [e] Breviarium Chronologicum, lib. 4. chap. 1.
[f] Hiſt. du Monde, l. 1. c. 1.

	Years	Mon.
Suidas	6000	
Lactantius, Philastrius	5801	
Nicephorus	5700	
Clemens Alexandrinus	5624	
The Author of the *Fasti Siculi*	5608	9
Isaac Vossius, and the *Greeks*	5598	
The same (in *Chevreau*)	5590	
Theophilus Antiochenus	5515	
The *Constantinopolitans* and *Grabe*'s Septuagint	5508	3
Cedrenus (in *Chevreau*)	5506	
Julius Africanus, *Theophanes*, *Eutychius*, &c.	5500	
The *Ethiopians*	5499	9
Cedrenus (in *Strauchius*)	5493	9
Panodorus	5493	
Maximus Monachus	5491	9
Sulpitius Severus	5469	
Victor Giselius, in his remarks on *Sulpitius*	5419	
St. *Austin* (in *Genebrard*)	5351	
Isidorus Pelusiota	5336	
Abunazar	5328	
Rabanus Maurus	5296	
Isidor. Hispalensis (in *Strauchius*)	5210	
Paulus de Fossembrona	5201	
Eusebius	5200	
Beda (in *Strauchius*)	5199	
Philippus Bergamensis, *Orosius*, &c.	5198	
Philo the *Jew*, *Sigebert*	5096	
Epiphanius	5049	
Metrodorus	5000	
Ado, Archbishop of *Vienna*	4832	
Josephus corrected	4698	
Odiato, or *Ebwico*	4320	
Marianus Scotus	4192	9
Laurentius Codomannus	4141	8
The same (*L. Godomeau in Chevreau*)	4140	
Ribera	4095	
Genebrard	4090	
Arnold de Pontac	4088	
Michael Mæstlinus	4079	3
J. Baptist Ricciolus	4062	3
R. Moses Maimonides	4058	
Jacobus Salianus (in *Strauchius*)	4053	9
The same (in *Chevreau*)	4052	
Henr. Spondanus	4051	9

	Years.	Mon.
Torniellus	4051	
Gul. Langius (in *Strauchius*)	4041	9
The ſame (in *Chevereau*)	4040	
Eraſmus Reinhold	4021	3
Jacobus Cappellus	4005	9
John Wickman	4004	9
Thomas Lydiat, and *Laurence Eichſtadt*	4004	
Edward Simpſon, and Archbiſhop *Uſher*	4003	9
M. Ant. Cappellus, and Archbiſhop *Uſher* (in *Chevreau*)	4000	
Dionyſius, *Petavius*, *Decker*, *Kepler*, &c. (in *Chevreau*)	3984	
Petavius (in *Strauchius*)	3983	3
Krentzheim	3971	9
Abraham Boucholtzer (in *Strauchius*)	3970	9
The ſame, *J. Cluverius* (in *Chevreau*) *Pantaleon*, *Boxhornius*, *Janſenius*, *M. Dreſſer*	3970	
Chriſt. Matthias, and *J. Cluverius* (in *Strauchius*	3968	9
Henry Bunting (in *Strauchius*)	3967	9
The ſame (in *Chevreau*) and *Andrew Soelmatter*	3967	
Chriſt. Longomontanus	3966	3
Peter Opeemer	3966	
Chriſt. Longomontanus, in his *Hypotheſis in Aſtronomiam Danicam*, *Toſtatus*, *Philip. Melanæthon*, *Funccius*, *and others* (in *Strauchius*)	3964	
Melanæthon, *Funccius*, &c. (in *Chevreau*)	3963	
Jacobus Haynlinus	3962	3
Sixtus Senenſis	3962	
Joh. Lucidus, *Sculter*, *John Lightfoot*, and ſeveral others	3960	
Alph. Salmeron (in *Chevreau*) *John Picus* Count of *Mirandola*, and others	3959	
Lamberg, and *Salmeron* (in *Strauchius*)	3958	
J. G. Herwart ab Hohenburg	3955	
Beda, *Hermannus Contractus*, *George Herwart* (in *Chevreau*)	3952	
Cornelius a Lapide	3951	
Scaliger, *Calviſius*, *Ubbo Emmius*, *Behmius*, and *Helvicus* (in *Strauchius*)	3949	3
Origen, *Argoli*, *John Seybor*	3949	
Chriſtianus Schotanus	3948	3
Johannes Micrælius	3948	

Scaliger,

	Years.	Mon.
Scaliger, *Calviſius*, *Helvicus*, (in *Chevreau*) *Alſted*, &c.	3947	
Hermannus Contractus (in *Strauchius*)	3945	9
John Carrion	3944	
St. Jerom in his *Hebraic* Queſtions	3941	
Gerard Mercator	3928	
Matthæus Beroaldus	3927	3
B. Arias Montanus	3849	
Andreas Helvigius	3836	
Some *Talmudiſts*	3784	
R. *David Ganz* (in *Chevreau*)	3761	
The *Jewiſh* vulgar Computation	3760	3
R. *David Ganz* (in *Strauchius*)	3760	
Hieron. à Sancta Fide, *Paulus de S. Maria*, *Galatinus*, *Georgius Venetus*	3760	
R. *Habſon*, in his Treatiſe of the Cycles of Paſſover	3740	
R. *Jaſon Noſen*	3734	
R. *Abraham Zaccuth*	3671	
The leſſer Chronicon of the *Jews*	3670	
R. *Lippoman*	3616	

It would be endleſs, as well as unneceſſary, here to examine into the particular cauſes of this great difference among authors, every one ſtill pretending to ground his ſyſtem on the authority of the ſcripture: It will be ſufficient, after we have ſtated the times from the creation to the birth of Chriſt, according to the computation obſerved in the three ſeveral copies of the ſcripture before-mentioned, to ſubjoin one or two ſchemes of the ſame intervals, according to the different ſupputations of the beſt modern chronologers, which, beſides illuſtrating our ſubject, will be of uſe to the reader in peruſing the hiſtorians, who make uſe of one or other of thoſe computations.

Table I. formed out of the whole Numbers of the Intervals.

	Hebrew.				*Samaritan.* According to Euseb. and the present Copies.				*Septuagint.* Common Copies.			
	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*
1. The Creation	0		3944		0		4305		0		5270	
2. The Deluge	1656		2288	1656	1307		2998	1307	2242		3028	2242
3. The Vocation of *Abraham*	2023	367	1921	367	2384	1077	1921	1017	3389	1147	1881	1147
4. The Exodus	2453	797	1491	430	2814	1507	1491	430	3819	1577	1451	430
5. The founding of the Temple	2933	1277	1011	480	3294	1987	1011	480	4259	2017	1011	440
——Captivity												
6. The burning of the Temple	3357	1701	587	$424\frac{3}{4}$	3718	2411	$587_{\frac{4}{12}}$	$424\frac{3}{4}$	4683	2441	$587_{\frac{4}{12}}$	$424\frac{3}{4}$
——the first of *Cyrus*	3409	1753	535		[3770	2463	535		[4735	2493	535	
——the second of *Darius Hyst.*	3427	1771	517	[70	[3788	2481	517	[70	[4753	2511	517	70
7. The Birth of *Christ*	3944	2288	0	587	4305	2998	0	$587_{\frac{4}{12}}$	5270	3028	0	$587_{\frac{4}{12}}$

Table II.

Table II. formed out of the Particulars.

	Hebrew.				*Samaritan.*				*Septuagint.* According to Dr. *Grabe*'s Edition and the *Constantinopolitans.*			
	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*
1. The Creation	0		4111		0		4424		0		5508	
2. The Deluge	1656		2455	1656	1307		3117	1307	2262		3246	2262
3. The Vocation of *Abraham*	2083	427	2040	427	2384	1077	2040	1077	3469	1207	2039	1207
4. TheExodus	2513	857	1610	430	2814	1507	1610	430	3894	1629	1614	425
5. The founding of the Temple	3093	1437	1018	592	3406	2099	1018	592	4495	2230	1013	601
——Captivity			607				607					
6. The burning of the Temple	3523	1867	588	430	3836	2409	588	430	4919	2654	589	424
——the first of *Cyrus*	[3575	1919										
——the second of *Darius Hyst.*	[3583	1937							[4995			
7. The Birth of *Christ*	4111	2455	0	588	4424	3117	0	588	5508	3246	0	589

Table III. according to the Supputation of certain Authors.

	Hebrew. USHER.				JOSEPHUS.				*Septuagint.* PEZRON.			
	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*	1. *Year of the World.*	2. *Year of the Flood.*	3. *Year before Christ.*	4. *Years of the Intervals.*
1. The Creation	0		4004		0		4658		1		5872	
2. The Deluge	1656		2348	1656	1556		3102	1556	2256		3617	2256
3. The Vocation of *Abraham*	2083	427	1921	427	2523	967	2135	967	2513	1257	2360	1257
4. The Exodus	2513	857	1491	430	2953	1397	1705	430	3943	1687	1930	430
——*Moſes*'s Death	[2553				[2993							
5. The founding of the Temple	2992	1336	1012	479	3545	1989	1113	592	4816	2560	1057	873
——Captivity	3397	1741	607						[5268	3012	605	452
6. The burning of the Temple	3416	1760	588	424	4015	2459	643	470	[5287	3031	586	[19
——the firſt of *Cyrus*	3468				4085			[70	[5337	3081	536	69
——the ſecond of *Darius Hyſt.*	3486			[70					[5351	3095	520	
7. The Birth of *Chriſt.*	4004	2348	0	588	4658	3102	0	643	5873	3617	1	

The

THE Reader may perceive at one view of the preceding tables, what room the ſeveral copies of the ſcriptures we now have, give for varying the chronology of the whole, and how many different ſyſtems may be grounded on them. By the calculation made uſe of in the firſt table, which conſiſts of the intervals, inſerted in the fourth, or right-hand column of each diviſion, from the creation to the birth of CHRIST, according to the whole numbers mentioned in the text of the reſpective copies, the Samaritan account exceeds the Hebrew by three hundred and ſixty one years, while the Septuagint exceeds the Samaritan by nine hundred and ſixty five years. Which difference ſtill becomes greater in the ſecond table, made out of the particular numbers, which compoſe the intervals, by an addition of one hundred and nineteen years to the Samaritan, and two hundred and thirty eight to the Septuagint, computation; which therefore exceeds the Hebrew computation in the firſt table, by no leſs than one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-four years.

THE third table exhibits three other forms, the firſt of which, being that of the great primate Uſher, is grounded on the Hebrew whole numbers, and differs from that in the firſt table but ſixty years, which are added to the interval from the deluge to the call of Abraham. The ſecond is compoſed from the chronology of Joſephus as cleared up by Dr. Wills [g], and Mr. Whiſton [h]; who, reckoning according to the particulars, obſerves ſomewhat of a mean between the Samaritan and the Septuagint, and is thought, in moſt reſpects, to have given us the true Hebrew numbers, which, it is to be feared, the Jews, ſince his time, have corrupted. And the third is that of P. Pezron, being an enlargement of the Septuagint and Greek computation, in order to accommodate the ſacred to the prophane hiſtory.

OF theſe three different copies of ſcripture, the Samaritan computation ſeems not only beſt to ſuit the nature, and circumſtances of the hiſtory of antient times recorded in the old teſtament, as well as to be confirmed by the concurrence of genuine prophane hiſtory, which by no means ought to be thrown out of the queſtion; but alſo appears to be the old and authentic Hebrew computation, preſerved by the Samaritans in their character, while the Hebrew copy has evidently been

[g] Pref. to L'Eſtrange's Edition of Joſephus. [h] Chronol. of the Old and New Teſt. and his Eſſay for reſtoring the true Text, &c.

been corrupted, in all probability, to obviate the prophecies concerning the Meſſiah, and on other accounts; as Pezron [i], Dr. Wills [k], Mr. Whiſton [l], and others have ſufficiently proved.

For theſe reaſons therefore, and many others, which will frequently occur in the courſe of this work, we have found ourſelves obliged to depart from the example of the generality of our modern chronologers, who follow the Hebrew chronology, and to adhere to that of the Samaritan, which preſerves a mean between the defect of the Hebrew on the the one hand, and the exceſs of the Septuagint on the other. In adjuſting our periods, we have ſtrained nothing to favour any hypotheſis of our own, or to force the ſacred hiſtory to agree with any part of the prophane, as too many unreaſonably have done; of which our conſtant confining ourſelves to the whole numbers, which are always the ſhorteſt, is a demonſtration.

The reader may obſerve, that the whole difference betwixt the Hebrew and the Samaritan computation (for we have no more than the Pentateuch in that character) lies in the interval between the creation and the calling of Abraham, and ariſes from the different ages aſſigned the patriarchs, at the birth of their ſons, mentioned in Geneſis. The Septuagint copy carries this difference down to the founding of the temple, which, according to that text [m], happened in the four hundred and fortieth year of the Exodus, forty years ſhort of the Hebrew; but we have choſen to follow the whole number, as it ſtands in the Hebrew [n], (for we have no Samaritan copy here to guide us) thinking the text too expreſs to admit of any alteration. The length of the interval from the founding to the burning of the temple, is limited within the four hundred and thirty years [o] of God's patience towards the Jews; and is collected out of the years of the reigns of the kings of Iſrael and Judah, as they have been collated and adjuſted by judicious chronologers [p]: So that there is no room for allowing more than forty years to the reign of Solomon,

[i] Vid. l'Antiquité des tems retablié & defendué. [k] In his Preface to L'Eſtrange's Engliſh Joſephus. [l] Eſſay for reſtoring the true Text, &c. Prop. 12. p. 220. [m] Vid. Septuag. 1 Kings vi. 1. [n] 1 Kings vi. 1. [o] Ezek. iv. 4, 5, 6. [p] See Uſher's Chronologia Sacra, Pars poſterior; and Whiſton's Short View of the Chronol. of the Old Teſt. p. 83, and in the Tables at the End.

Solomon, as assigned him in all the copies extant, the Scripture affording means for reconciling the seeming inconsistencies, with regard to the ages of him and his son Rehoboam, at their respective accessions to the throne. But here we should be at a great loss (the Babylonish captivity interrupting the course of the Jewish history) if it was not for the opportunity we have of connecting this period with the Nabonnassarian or Babylonian æra, by means of the famous astronomical canon of Ptolemy; whereby we are enabled with certainty to carry the account of time down to the birth of CHRIST, which, according to our supputation, falls in the year of the world four thousand three hundred and five, and of the flood two thousand nine hundred and ninety eight, according to the Samaritan computation in the first table.

WE have also taken the liberty to depart from the general method, observed hitherto by chronologers in another point, and instead of carrying down our computation from the creation, through the several ages, to the birth of CHRIST, to discontinue it at the flood, and begin a new reckoning from thence; and this we have been induced to do for several reasons.

1. BECAUSE the period between the creation and the flood contains little memorable, besides the age and death of each patriarch. 2. Because it is a particular period, cut off, as it were, from the rest of time, and hath little or no connection with the ages succeeding the deluge. 3. Because at the deluge the old world was destroyed, and from thence a new origination of mankind began, whose affairs have little or no dependence on those of the antediluvians. 4. Because it will help to give the reader a more distinct notion of the distance of time, as derived from a period with which we are more immediately concerned, and beyond which no genuine history of any nation reaches. 5. Because it will bring the several scriptural computations nearer to an agreement among themselves, the great disproportion among them arising chiefly from the difference this period creates. Thus in the whole space of time, from the creation to the birth of CHRIST, the Septuagint, according to the first table, differs from the Hebrew, one thousand three hundred and twenty six years, and but seven hundred and forty, reckoning from the flood. The difference also between the Septuagint and the Samaritan, reckoning from the creation, is no less than nine hundred and sixty five years; and no more than thirty,

if you compute from the flood. The Septuagint chronology exceeds that of Josephus six hundred and twelve years, taking in the times preceding the deluge; but in the space betwixt the deluge and CHRIST, it is exceeded by that of Josephus by seventy four years, as will appear more clearly by the following table.

According to the First TABLE.			According to the Second TABLE.		
	Years from the Creation to Christ.	Years from the Flood to Christ.		Years from the Creation to Christ.	Years from the Flood to Christ.
Sam.	4305	2998		4424	3117
Heb.	3944	2288		4111	2456
	361	710		313	661
Sept.	5270	3028		5508	3246
Heb.	3944	2288		4111	2455
	1326	740		1397	791
Sept.	5270	3028		5508	3246
Sam.	4305	2998		4424	3117
	965	30		1084	129
Jos.	4658	3102		4658	3102
Heb.	3944	2288		4111	2455
	714	814		547	647
Jos.	4658	3102	Jos.	4658	Sam. 3117
Sam.	4305	2998	Sam.	4424	Jos. 3102
	353	104		234	15
Sept.	5270	Jos. 3102	Sept.	5508	3246
Jos.	4658	Sept. 3028	Jos.	4658	3102
	612	74		850	144

INDEED

INDEED, if we compare the Hebrew and Samaritan, the caſe is otherwiſe; for the difference betwixt thoſe two Computations is greater in the interval from the flood to Chriſt than from the creation, the Samaritan falling ſhort of the Hebrew in the interval between the creation and the flood, at the ſame time that it exceeds it in that betwixt the flood and the vocation of Abraham.

UPON theſe conſiderations, we have thought fit, throughout the courſe of our hiſtory, to make uſe of the year of the flood, inſtead of that of the world, in our marginal ſynchroniſms, and hope the reader will conſider it rather as an improvement, than an innovation in chronology. However, in our tables at the end of each volume, we ſhall add the year of the world, to ſerve inſtead of a Julian period; a contrivance, which how uſeful ſoever it may be in the technical chronology, is, as we conceive, of no manner of uſe at all in the hiſtorical.

To the year of the flood we have always added that before Chriſt, which, conſidering the variety of ſyſtems that are abroad, (every author almoſt having one of his own) is the more neceſſary, as it always carries the chronology of the author along with it; for the two ſums, being added together, ſhew the year before the Chriſtian Æra, according to that Computation, whether Hebrew, Samaritan, or Septuagint, which the author follows. For inſtance, according to the Samaritan account in the firſt table, which we follow, Solomon began to build the temple in the year of the flood 1987, and before Chriſt 1011; theſe two ſums added make two thouſand nine hundred ninety eight; which is the year before the Chriſtian Æra by that reckoning; and two thouſand nine hundred ninety eight being added to one thouſand three hundred and ſeven, the number of years betwixt the creation and the flood, the ſum, four thouſand three hundred and five, gives the year of the world in which the birth of Chriſt happened, according to the vulgar computation. Indeed, was our chronology upon as fixed a footing as it is among the Greeks, the Ruſſians, and ſome other nations, who begin their computation from the creation, and never change their opinions; to diſcover the diſtance of any tranſaction backwards from the preſent time, there would be no need of knowing more than the year of the world in which it fell out. For inſtance, the temple was begun, according to the Ruſſians, who follow the Greek and Septuagint computation in the ſecond table, in the year of the world 4495.

Now the preſent year of our Lord, 1730, being the ſeven thouſand two hundred and thirty eighth according to their account, it is only deducting four thouſand four hundred ninety five, from ſeven thouſand two hundred thirty eight, and you have two thouſand ſeven hundred forty three, which is the number of years ſince the founding of Solomon's temple to this time, differing but two years in exceſs from our reckoning: Whereas, before we could be able to diſcover it by that ſingle character, we ſhould be obliged, perhaps, to ſearch a good while to find out the ſyſtem which the author goes upon; and when we had met with it, ſhould be at the trouble of uſing ſubſtraction, as well as addition. So that the joining the year before Chriſt to that of the world, or of the flood, is one of the greateſt improvements in chronology; and as neceſſary for aſcertaining the true time of every event, as the longitude and latitude are in geography, to determine the exact ſituation of a place. In a word, theſe two ſorts of reckonings ought to be made inſeparable; and whoever gives only one of them without the other, can afford his reader no ſatisfactory idea of things; and indeed muſt write in confuſion himſelf.

HAVING given the reader this general account of our chronology, and ſtated the ſeveral periods of it from the creation, and the flood, to the birth of Chriſt; we ſhall hereafter give the analyſis of each period, as we proceed, to ſhew the authority upon which our ſyſtem is grounded.

IN the hiſtory itſelf we have endeavoured to execute our propoſals in the beſt manner we could; and hope, we have made no ſlips therein, but ſuch as are excuſable. Some, no doubt, there are; for we have not the vanity to think ourſelves able to write a perfectly complete hiſtory, which, as a modern author [P] expreſſes it, is not to appear, but in that year which diſcovers the perpetual motion, and the philoſopher's ſtone.

IN compoſing the following work, we have all along taken the liberty (to uſe the words of an ingenious gentleman, whom we have followed in this reſpect) "To tranſlate, to "imitate, or even literally to introduce any parts of the au"thors, from whom we have made our collections, if we "found them really conducing to the uſe or ornament of the "deſign, not being able to diſcover any merit, or cunning, "in

[P] Le Moyne.

" in varying the ſtile and ſenſe of an author, for no ~~other~~
" other purpoſe, than to conceal the ignorance of the
" tranſcriber, or to deſtroy an obligation of gratitude,
" which ought to be confeſſed to all mankind"[q].

We have added to this, as we ſhall do to each volume, a complete and copious Index, giving the reader a view of the whole work in epitome, and referring him to all the parts of it with great exactneſs.

[q] Mr. Lewis in his preface to his origines Hebræ.

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AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

THE

INTRODUCTION,

CONTAINING

The Coſmogony, or Creation of the World.

OUR deſign is to write a general hiſtory of mankind, from their original to our own time. An undertaking of vaſt extent, and which would, perhaps, be ſcarce practicable, were the hiſtories of all nations now extant, and their ſeries complete. But as many nations entirely neglected their hiſtory, at leaſt for ſeveral ages; ſo the hiſtories of many others, who kept ſome records of paſt actions, have been either totally, or in part, deſtroyed by wars, time, miſguided zeal, and other caſualties. Beſides, few nations have been able to give a tolerable account of their original, or early antiquities; the firſt memory of perſons, and facts,

The deſign of the work, and the difficulties which attend it.

having

having been preſerved by the inſtitution of feſtivals, the building of cities, erecting of ſtones, pillars, altars, tombs, and the like monuments, from whence a true ſeries of hiſtory could not be accurately deduced and collected, any more than from the oral tradition which accompanied them.

BUT if the want of records has, on the one hand, reduced hiſtory into a cloſer compaſs, it has, on the other, occaſioned great confuſion and uncertainty. For the frequent interruptions and defects, which occur in the antiquities of nations, drive the hiſtorian ſo often to precarious conjectures, and oblige him to have recourſe to ſo many ſhifts, to connect and ſupply them, that his labour ſeems to be encreaſed by the ſcarcity of materials; and he is unable, after all, to give his reader ſatisfaction.

MANY other difficulties there are, which attend the execution of this undertaking, eſpecially as to the hiſtory of antient times: ſuch as the numbers of forged and ſpurious books; the fictions of poets, who were the firſt hiſtorians; the contradictions and partiality of authors; the different computations of time in uſe among the ſame, as well as different, nations; the want of æras to compute from in ſome nations, and the multiplicity of them in others; the variety of proper names of the ſame perſon and place, and the corruption of them through ignorance, negligence, or deſign. What adds to the misfortune is, that, if we except the Jews, not one of the hiſtories of thoſe antient nations, whom the Grecians called Barbarians, written by the natives, or extracted immediately from their records, have come to our hands; nothing remaining of them, beſides ſome few fragments, preſerved here and there in other writers, which ſerve only to make us lament their loſs, and to ſhew the inaccuracy of the Greek hiſtorians, with regard to foreign nations.

WE have thought proper briefly to premiſe thus much, with regard to the ſtate of antient hiſtory, in order to entitle ourſelves to the reader's candour, in paſſing his judgment upon a performance, wherein there are ſo many difficulties to ſtruggle with. But before we enter upon the hiſtory itſelf, we ſhall give ſome account of the coſmogony, or the production and formation of this earth; which ſeems to demand our firſt attention, as being the place from whence mankind derive their original, and the theatre whereon the ſcenes of the enſuing hiſtory are to be acted.

THAT

THAT the univerſe was created or produced out of nothing, by an infinitely powerful, wiſe, and good GOD, who being ſelf-exiſtent is the original cauſe of all things, is not only certain from revelation, but deducible, and has been clearly proved, from reaſon [a]. And tho' all atheiſts, both antient and modern, have conſtantly denied, that even infinite power can create matter, and the affirmative has been thought to be embaraſſed with ſeveral conſiderable difficulties, as our having no idea how a nothing from all eternity can be made to exiſt, and the ſeeming contradiction in ſuppoſing the world to be created in time, becauſe then it would be ſeparated from eternity only by an indiviſible point, which cannot ſufficiently diſtinguiſh an eternal Being from a temporary production [b]; yet theſe are rather difficulties ariſing from our own imperfect, and finite reaſon and conception, whereby we are not able to form a diſtinct idea of creation, or eternity, than any real impoſſibility in the thing itſelf: for it is no contradiction to affirm, that ſomething, which once was not, may ſince have begun to exiſt; the true notion of creation being not a forming of ſomething out of nothing, as out of a material cauſe, but only a bringing of ſomething into being, which before had no being at all, and which, without ſome cauſe, would not have exiſted; and this no man can reduce to a contradiction, any more than the formation of any thing, into a ſhape which it had not before, can be reduced to a contradiction [c]. And they who deny God's power to create matter, muſt fly to one of theſe ſuppoſitions, either that matter exiſted from eternity, as a paſſive ſubject of all the operations of God, and as a collateral principle, or elſe that matter is the only ſelf-exiſtent being; either of which involves us in the moſt impious abſurdities. The firſt ſuppoſition neceſſarily implies two ſelf-exiſtent principles, which is a direct contradiction; and the other, that it is impoſſible to conceive matter not to be, or to be in any reſpect otherwiſe than it now is, without a contradiction; than which nothing is more eaſy. For whether we conſider the form of the world, with the diſpoſition and motion of its parts, or whether we conſider the matter

God the author of the world, both as to matter and form.

[a] Dr. Clarke, in his Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God. [b] Mr. Bayle, dans les Nouvelles de la Rep. des Letters, Tom. IV. p. 1301. [c] Dr. Clarke, ubi ſup. p. 83, 84. See alſo Dr. Nicholls's Conference with a Theiſt, Vol. I. Part 1, p. 26.

matter of it, as ſuch, without reſpect to its preſent form; every thing in it, both the whole, and every one of its parts, their ſituation and motion, the form, and alſo the matter, are the moſt arbitrary and dependent things, and the fartheſt removed from neceſſity, that can poſſibly be imagined [d].

The arguments uſed to prove the non-exiſtence of matter of ſmall force.

As for thoſe who deny the actual exiſtence of matter and motion, (if there be any who do ſo in earneſt) it might be ſufficient to ſay, that there is in effect no difference in reſpect to us, whether they be actually exiſtent, or no more than appearances; for if GOD immediately communicate all ſenſible perceptions to our mind, as he muſt do if there be no ſuch thing as ſenſible ſubſtance, he is ſtill the author of thoſe appearances, which have the ſame conſequences and effects, to our conception, as if they were real: not to urge the indecency of ſuſpecting GOD to have made the world a mere ſcene of deluſion. The impoſſibility of extenſion is attempted to be proved from the inextricable difficulties which follow, if matter be infinitely diviſible, as it neceſſarily muſt, and is eaſily demonſtrated [e]. And if there be no extenſion, the unavoidable conſequence is, that there can be no motion; which is alſo urged from the perplexing objections raiſed on the ſuppoſition of a vacuum; and yet a vacuum muſt be admitted, or elſe no motion can be conceived [f]. But theſe difficulties, though unanſwerable, as great maſters of reaſon have confeſſed, evince no more, than that human underſtanding is finite and imperfect; and being only raiſed from our want of having an adequate idea either of extenſion or ſpace [g], ought not therefore to be eſteemed real difficulties [h].

The ſeveral opinions concerning the origin of the world.

THE ſeveral opinions, which have been held by the antients, or moderns, as to the origin of the univerſe, may be comprehended under one, or other, of the following three; viz.

I. THAT the world is eternal, both as to matter and form, and had neither any origin, nor will be ſubject to any corruption [i].

II. THAT

[d] Dr. Clarke, ubi ſup. p. 23, &c.
[e] Vide Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Zenon, Remarq. G.
[f] Vid. ibid. Rem. F. I.
[g] Vid. ibid. Rem. I. and Locke on Human Underſtanding, B. 2. c. 13.
[h] Vid. Clarke's Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God, p. 11, 12.
[i] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 6.

II. THAT the matter of the world is eternal, but not the form. Or,

III. THAT the world had a beginning, and will ſuffer a diſſolution, being of its own nature periſhable.

AND to begin with the firſt of theſe opinions: None of the antients openly maintained it, excepted ſome Pſeudo-Pythagoreans, and Ariſtotle [k]; to whom we may add ſeveral of Plato's followers. But few, if any, of them intended thereby to aſſert, as ſome moderns have done, that the material world was GOD, or the original, ſelf-exiſting, and independent Being, in oppoſition to the belief of a ſupreme all-governing Mind; but either barely that ſomething muſt needs be eternal, which is all Ocellus Lucanus proves; or elſe that the world is an eternal, and neceſſary effect, flowing from the immutable energy of the divine nature, which ſeems to have been Ariſtotle's opinion; or elſe that the world is an eternal voluntary emanation from the all-wiſe and ſupreme Cauſe, which was the opinion of many Platoniſts [l]. The opinion of thoſe who held it eternal, both in matter and form.

OCELLUS LUCANUS, whoſe antiquity and authority have been oppoſed to thoſe of Moſes [m], though he lived not long before Plato, was one of the moſt antient aſſerters of the world's eternity; wherein he deviated from the true doctrine of his maſter Pythagoras. We have a ſhort treatiſe under his name, concerning the nature of the univerſe, wherein he affirms it to be utterly incapable either of generation or corruption, of beginning or end [n]; that it is of itſelf eternal, and perfect, and permanent for ever [o]; and that the frame and parts of the world muſt needs be eternal, as well as the ſubſtance and matter of the whole [p], and mankind alſo [q]. But his arguments for this opinion are either very abſurd and ridiculous; as when he attempts to prove that the world muſt needs be eternal, without beginning, or end, becauſe both its figure and motion are circular, and therefore without beginning, or ending [r]; or elſe they are ſuch arguments as tend to prove that ſomething muſt needs be eternal, becauſe it is impoſſible for every thing to ariſe out of nothing, or to fall into nothing; as when he The opinion of Ocellus Lucanus.

[k] Burnet's Archæol. l. 2. cap. 1. [l] Dr. Clarke, ubi ſup. p. 32. [m] Vid. Oracles of Reaſon, p. 215. [n] Ocell. Lucan. de Univ. p. 506. Inter opuſc. Mythol. edit. per T. Gale, 1688. [o] Ib. 510. [p] Ib. 528. [q] Ib. 530. [r] Ib. 514. Vid. alſo Oracles of Reaſon, ubi ſup.

he ſays, that the world muſt have been eternal, becauſe it is a contradiction for the univerſe to have had a beginning; ſince, if it had a beginning, it muſt have been cauſed by ſome other thing, and then it is not the univerſe [s]: to which one argument all he ſays in his whole book is plainly reducible. And to ſay the truth, he himſelf ſeems perſuaded, that however eternal and neceſſary every thing in the world be imagined to be, yet even that neceſſity muſt flow from an eternal and intelligent Mind, the neceſſary perfections of whoſe nature are the cauſe of that harmony which keeps the univerſe together, and prevent its falling into diſorder [t]. He allows God to have given men faculties, organs of ſenſe, and appetites, not for the ſake of pleaſure, but fitted for final cauſes [u]; and expreſly aſſerts, that the ever active Being governs, and the ever paſſive is governed; that the one is firſt in power, the other poſterior; that the one is divine, rational, and intelligent, and the other generated, irrational, and liable to change [x].

Of Ariſtotle. ARISTOTLE alſo held this opinion, as is ſufficiently known; and, if he be to be believed, was the firſt, at leaſt of the Greeks, who aſſerted it; for he ſays, that before his time the temporary production of the world was univerſally entertained, though it was a queſtion whether it ſhould ever periſh or not [y]. His doctrine was, that not only the matter of the heavens and earth were ingenerate and eternal; but that even mankind, and all the ſpecies of animals, male and female, have ſubſiſted from everlaſting by a perpetual courſe of generation, without any original beginning or production; and that the earth hath for ever been adorned with trees, plants, flowers, minerals, and other productions, as we now ſee it to be [z]. But how this is reconcileable with what he elſewhere delivers of the natural gravity and levity of different elements, ſeems hard to ſhew: for if thoſe elements were in their natural places and diſpoſitions, according to their reſpective gravity, which nothing but ſome external violence could have hindered; it follows neceſſarily, that the earth once was in a very different form from

[s] Ocell. ibid. 506, 508. [t] Ocell. de Legibus Fragm. ibid. p. 537. [u] Idem de Univ. 531. Vid. Dr. Clarke's Demonſtration, &c. p. 33, &c. [x] Ocell. de Legibus Fragm. ubi ſup. p. 538. [y] Ariſtot. de Cœlo. lib. 1. cap. 10. [z] Ibid. cap. 12. Vid. Philon. Jud. de Incorruptibilitate Mundi, p. 940. Burnet's Archæol. l. 1. p. 180. Cudworth's Intellectual Syſtem, p. 250.

from what it now is, and could not poſſibly be inhabited from eternity [a]. The great reaſon, which induced Ariſtotle to aſſert the world to be eternal [b], was, becauſe he thought ſuch an effect muſt needs eternally proceed from ſuch an eternal cauſe as the divine Mind, which, being all act and energy, could not reſt in a ſtate of inactivity. He acknowledges, that the firſt principle is neither fire, earth, nor water, nor any thing which is the object of ſenſe; but that a ſpiritual ſubſtance is the cauſe of the univerſe, and the ſource of all the order and beauty, as well as of the motions and forms, which we ſo much admire in it [c]. And he expreſly deſcribes God to be an intelligent Being [d], incorporeal, the firſt mover of all things, himſelf immoveable [e], eternal, indiviſible, and void of all quantity [f]; and affirms, that if there were nothing but matter in the world, there would be no original cauſe, but an infinite progreſſion of cauſes [g]; which is abſurd [h]. So that the true notion of this great philoſopher was, that though the world had no temporary generation, yet it was produced from one ſupreme Deity, after ſome other manner [i].

THESE ſentiments of Ariſtotle, as to the eternity of the world, have been embraced by many of his followers, and among the reſt by ſeveral learned Mohammedans, who were thence named Dahrians, or Eternaliſts. Of this opinion al Farâbi, al Kendi, Ebn Roſhd, and Ebn Sina (which two laſt we uſually call Averroes and Avicenna) were ſuſpected; and therefore their philoſophy was publicly, and even in the pulpit, inveighed againſt by the more orthodox, and themſelves branded with the invidious appellations of atheiſts and infidels [k].

THOUGH Plato, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, did himſelf plainly acknowledge the world to be made by God, yet having uſed ſome expreſſions, as if he thought the time of its formation

Of Plato's followers.

[a] Vid. Burnet's Archæol. l. 1. p. 181, and his Theory of the Earth, V. I. p. 51. [b] Several other Reaſons were given by his Followers, nearly agreeing with thoſe of Ocellus, which may be read in Philo Jud. ubi ſup. p. 943, &c. [c] Ariſtot. Metaph. l. 1. cap. 2, 3. [d] Νοῦς. [e] Diogenes Laert. in vita Ariſtot. p. 286. Ed. Amſt. 1692. [f] In Phyſ. l. 7. c. 1. &c. [g] In Metaph. [h] Vid. Clarke's Demonſtration, &c. p. 35, and alſo Cudworth, p. 253. [i] Simplic. in Ariſtot. Phyſ. l. 8. & l. 1. c. 1. [k] Vid. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orientale, p. 303. & Elench, Scriptorum præfix. Epiſt. Hai Ebn Yokdhan.

formation to be indefinite; as when he says, that the world *must* needs be an eternal resemblance of the eternal idea [l], his followers, or the greatest part of them, who adhered to Aristotle's opinion in this matter, took advantage of these expressions, and explained them so, as if by the creation of the world was not to be understood a creation in time, but only in order of nature, casuality, and dependance [m]: that is, that the will of God, and his power of acting, being necessarily as eternal as his essence, the effects of that will and power must be supposed coeval to the will and power themselves; in the same manner as light would eternally proceed from the sun [n], or a shadow from the interposed body, or an impression from an imposed seal, if the respective causes of these effects were supposed eternal [o]. Existence from eternity, and being caused or produced by another, were not therefore by these philosophers apprehended to be contradictory or inconsistent. And as they were led into this opinion, no otherwise than from the sole consideration of the deity; viz. its benevolent will, and generative power [p]; so they allowed, that the world, notwithstanding its being from eternity, *might in some sense* be said to be made, as being produced from another cause, and not self-originated. And the generation of the inferior gods and the world, in this sense, Proclus himself, that grand champion for the world's eternity, plainly acknowledges, when he says, that they called it the generation of the gods; meaning thereby, not any temporary production, but their ineffable procession from a superior first cause [q].

THE latter Platonists were so fond of this notion of the world's eternity, that being on the one hand unwilling to abandon it, and on the other desirous to save appearances, they endeavoured, by forced constructions, to wrest their master's words, especially his Timæus, to their purpose; and, as has been long since observed, turned themselves every way, using all manner of violence to the text, as conceiving they ought, by all possible means, to conceal and deny the generation of the world, and of its soul, as if it were some horrid

[l] Plato in Timæo, & apud Cicer. de Univ. [m] Plotinus En. 3. l. 2. c. 1. & En. 2. l. 9. c. 3. [n] Idem, En. 5. l. 8. c. 12. Sallust. de. Diis & Mundo, cap. 7. Proclus in Timæum. l. 2. p. 111. [o] Dr. Clarke's Demonstration, &c. p. 37. See also the authors there cited, & Philo Jud. de Incorruptibilitate Mundi. [p] Procl. in Tim. p. 116. [q] Procl. in Tim. p. 85. Vid. etiam Sallust. c. 13. Cudworth, p. 253.

horrid thing, and not to be ſpoken of [r]. It is well known, that Platoniſm was very early introduced into the church; and even this dogm favourably received by ſome, and Origen in particular [s], and as zealouſly oppoſed by others. It may, however, be worth obſerving, that this doctrine of the world's co-eternity with GOD was, in the ſixth century, ſuffered to be publicly taught in Alexandria by Ammonius, the ſcholar of Proclus [t]; and not without ſucceſs.

An anſwer to the Platonic argument for the world's eternity conſidered.

To the argument made uſe of by the Platoniſts for the eternity of the world, drawn from the nature and attributes of GOD, it has been anſwered; that though GOD be eſſentially and neceſſarily good, yet the communications of his goodneſs are the effects of his will, and not merely of his nature. For GOD, being a free agent, could have refrained from making the world, or could have made it otherwiſe; and therefore thoſe who make the expreſſions of the divine bounty neceſſary, in order to ſettle the world's eternity, and that he might always have an object whereon to exerciſe his goodneſs, take as much from his ſelf-ſufficiency, as they would ſeem to flatter his goodneſs. For GOD cannot be himſelf without his goodneſs; and therefore, if his goodneſs cannot be without ſome creature to ſhew and diſplay itſelf upon, GOD cannot be perfect, or happy without his creatures; becauſe theſe are the neceſſary iſſues of his goodneſs, and conſequently the being of the creature becomes neceſſary to the being of GOD, which is the higheſt derogation imaginable from the abſolute perfection of the divine nature [u]. All which is very true, and we do not ſee what reply a Platoniſt could make, if it were the real doctrine of the ſect, that the world was an involuntary effect of his mere nature. But they plainly taught otherwiſe, and expreſly declared, that one of the reaſons, why they maintained the world not to be a temporary production was, the conſideration of his beneficent will [x], as well as his productive power; both which being ſuppoſed, the effect may neceſſarily follow, without any derogation from GOD's abſolute perfections. It is not therefore without due conſidera-

[r] Plutarch de Pſychog. Plat. p. 1013. [s] Vid. Methodium de creatis, apud Photium, p. 932. [t] Zacharias Mitylenenſis, in Biblioth. patrum, Vol. II. p. 331. Ed. Paris, 1644. [u] Vid. biſhop Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ, p. 275, &c. [x] Ἀγαθοεὶ δὴς Βούλησις. Procl. in Timæum, p. 116. which words Dr. Cudworth has tranſlated, ſomewhat freely, Eſſential Goodneſs. Intell. Syſtem. p. 253.

tion, that very able diſputants have acknowledged, that the time when the world was created, or whether its creation was, properly ſpeaking, in time, is not ſo eaſy to demonſtrate ſtrictly by bare reaſon, but the proof of it can be taken only from revelation; and therefore they, who, wanting that light, have denied the world to have had a beginning, are ſomewhat excuſable [y].

This controverſy ſet in a clearer light.

But, on a nicer diſcuſſion, this controverſy about the eternity of the world will appear to be, in a great meaſure, a diſpute about words only. All chriſtians in general (except thoſe who believe the eternity of matter, and therefore deſerve not that name) agree, that God alone hath always exiſted; but ſeveral maintain, that he might have actually created the world, as ſoon as he formed the decree of producing it; whence they conclude, that the world might have exiſted eternally, ſince there is no doubt, but that the decree to produce it is eternal. On the other hand, ſeveral maintain, that it is impoſſible for a creature to be eternal [z]. But when they come to argue, the ſtrength of each party lies rather in making objections, than ſolving them. This diſpute, which is rendered ſo tedious and perplexing, would end preſently, if they would but explain themſelves clearly on each ſide, and forego the equivocal acceptation of *eternity*; and then the queſtion ſhould be thus ſtated: *Is it poſſible, that* God *and his creatures may have always exiſted together?* The negative would not ſo readily be taken; for the expreſſion of the eternity of the world, that expreſſion, I ſay, which ſhocks ſo many people, would not ſtrike the mind. To remove this ſtumbling-block ſtill more effectually, it ſhould be declared, that a creature which ſhould have always co-exiſted with God would not be eternal, for this reaſon; becauſe the duration of creatures is ſucceſſive, and that eternity is a ſimple duration, which eſſentially excludes both paſt and future. By this eſſential diſtinction between the duration of God and that of creatures, the whole conteſt almoſt would ceaſe, and each ſide find their account. It would be granted to thoſe who deny the poſſibility of the creature's being eternal, that they are in the right; and it would not be denied to be poſſible, that God and his creature might have always have exiſted together;

[y] Dr. Clarke's Demonſtr. &c. p. 39. & Poiret. Cogitationes rationales de Deo anima & mundo. lib. 3. c. 16. num. 9 p. 439. Ed. 1685. [z] Vid. Joh. Philopon. contra Proclum, p. 4. & Cudworth, p. 887.

together; ſince it is certain, that the cauſe includes not in its idea a priority of time, with reſpect to its effect, and that this is more nicely true as to an almighty cauſe, which needs only will to produce actually whatever it pleaſes. Again, they who ſay, that the creatures have not always co-exiſted with GOD, muſt grant, that GOD exiſted before they did. There was then a before when GOD exiſted alone; therefore it is not true, that GOD's duration is an indiviſible point; whence it follows, that time preceded the exiſtence of creatures: which conſequences drive thoſe who argue in this manner to contradict themſelves; for if the duration of GOD be indiviſible, without paſt, or future, time and creatures muſt have began together; and if ſo, how it be ſaid, that GOD exiſted before the exiſtence of his creatures [a]?

THE two ſeemingly inſuperable arguments then for the eternity of the world are drawn from eternity of GOD's decree for its creation, and the indiviſibility of the real duration of GOD: which yet have been anſwered in this manner; It is ſuppoſed, that among the poſſible beings which GOD knew before he made the decrees of creation, one was a ſucceſſive duration, which hath neither beginning nor end, and whoſe parts are as diſtinct from one another, as thoſe of poſſible extenſion, which GOD likewiſe knew before his decrees, as infinite according to the three dimenſions. He has left in the ſtate of poſſible things one part of this infinite duration, and has decreed the exiſtence of the other. He choſe ſuch moment as he pleaſed, in this ideal duration, for the firſt which ſhould exiſt, and annexed thereto the act by which he decreed the creation of the world: ſo that the eternity of that act does not prove the eternity of the world; nor does the inviſibility of GOD's real duration prove the world had no beginning [b].

BUT after all, the diſtinction of the ſchoolmen between the manner of the duration of GOD, and that of his creatures, whereon the preceding argumentation is built, though it has been generally received by the beſt pagan, as well as chriſtian, philoſophers, and is at leaſt as old as Parmenides [c], has yet been rejected, and oppoſed by many men of great

[a] Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Zabarella, Jaques, Rem. H. See alſo Epiſt. Abi. Jaafar Ebn Tofail de Hai Ebn Yokdhân Edit. à Pocock. p. 105, 106. and Mr. Ockley's Engliſh Tranſlation, p. 83. [b] Bayle, ubi ſupra. [c] See Cudworth, Intell. Syſtem. p. 388.

learning and judgment, as inconſiſtent and unintelligible; it being very hard to conceive eternity to be an inſtant, or how that can be together, or at once, which muſt neceſſarily be imagined to be co-exiſtent to ſucceſſions [d]. And whatever force the above-mentioned arguments may be ſuppoſed to carry for the eternity of the world, underſtanding thereby the univerſe, with its ſeveral changes and viciſſitudes; they are far from proving, that the diſpoſition of the ſolar ſyſtem, much leſs the form of the earth, has been for ever the ſame as we now ſee it: the imagining of which ſeems to have been the great error of the old Eternaliſts, and has been ſtrongly oppoſed by ſeveral arguments, as well from reaſon, as human teſtimony, ſeparate from the evidence of divine revelation, as will be ſeen hereafter.

The opinion of thoſe who held the univerſe to be God.

SOME modern aſſerters of the world's eternity have gone on very different principles from theſe antients, and ventured to affirm the material univerſe to be ſelf-exiſtent, and the ſupream deity itſelf. This is the doctrine of Spinoza, the firſt, as is ſuppoſed, who reduced atheiſm into a ſyſtem, by regular deductions, after the method of the mathematicians. But, as the fundamental opinion, whereon he erected that ſyſtem, was not new, it may be proper, before we ſpeak of him, to ſay ſomething of thoſe who led him the the way, though he has departed from them in ſome reſpects.

The opinion of Xenophanes, and his followers;

THAT the univerſe is but one ſubſtance, and that GOD and the world are but one and the ſame thing, hath been an opinion of ſome ſtanding, and is ſuppoſed to have been firſt taught by Xenophanes, the founder of the ſect afterwards called the Eleatic. He is ſaid to have held not only the eternity and immutability of the world [e], but alſo, that whatever exiſted was one being; that there was neither any generation nor corruption; that this one being was immoveable, and remained always the ſame [f], and was the true GOD [g]; which doctrine was not only defended by his ſucceſſors, Parmenides, Meliſſus, and Zeno of Elea, but by Stilpo, and

[d] Gaſſend. Phyſic. l. 1. Archbiſhop Tillotſon, Vol. 7. Serm. 13. See alſo Dr. Clarke's Demonſtr. &c. p. 45. and Cudworth's intell. Syſtem, p. 644. [e] Plutarch. apud Euſeb. de Præparat. Evang. l. 1. cap. 8. &. l. 15. cap. 35. [f] Ariſtocles de Philoſoph. apud Eund. l. 14. cap. 17. Vid. etiam Ariſtot. de Xenophane, Zenone, & Gorgia, in initio, & Cicer. in Lucullo. [g] Cicer. Quæſt. Acad. lib. 2. Vid. etiam Sextum Empiric. in Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. l. 1.

and the Megaric philoſophers alſo. And to obviate the objection, which might be brought againſt the unchangeable nature of the univerſe, from the continual alterations made therein, by new generations and corruptions, they maintained, that whatever changes it ſeemed to ſuffer, were no more than illuſions of our ſenſes, and mere appearances. Which laſt retreat they are eaſily beaten from: for ſince they cannot deny, but there are changes in the world in appearance at leaſt, it even thence follows, that nature is not immutable, but muſt neceſſarily be changed in the ſubject which produces, or receives, our ſenſations; and thoſe ſenſations, being paſſions, imply both an efficient cauſe, and a paſſive principle, which overthrows at once their pretended unity of all things [h].

NEVERTHELESS this opinion of Zenophanes and his followers that all things are one, which ſeems ſo impious and abſurd, has been ſo explained by ſeveral learned men [i], and themſelves defended, as if by the univerſe, or all, they meant not the material principle of which all things are compoſed, but that one ſimple principle, from whence all things had their original, that is, the true GOD, whom they expreſly affirm to be incorporeal [k], and therefore could not poſſibly be in their opinion the material world. But the writings of theſe philoſophers being not without obſcurity, ſome of the antients, who were leſs acquainted with metaphyſical ſpeculations, underſtood them phyſically; as if they had aſſerted the whole corporeal world to be all but one thing, and that immoveable; thereby deſtroying, together with the diverſity of things, all motion, mutation, and action; which was plainly to make them not to have been philoſophers, but madmen. Simplicius [l], a man well acquainted with the opinions of antient philoſophers, aſſures us, that Xenophanes and Parmenides herein wrote not as naturaliſts, but as metaphyſicians, not concerning a phyſical element, or principle, but concerning the true being, or the divine tranſcendency; adding, that though ſome of thoſe antient philoſophers did not diſtinguiſh natural things from ſupernatural, yet the Pythagoreans, and Xenophanes, and Parmenides, and Empedocles, and Anaxagoras, did all handle theſe two diſtinctly,

[h] Vid. Ariſtoclem. ubi ſupra. [i] Leſcalopier, in Cicer. de Nat Deor. l. 1. p. 44. Art. de penſer, part III. cap. 18. & Cudworth, Intell. Syſt. p. 377. & 383, &c. [k] Cudworth, p. 377, 383, &c. [l] Simplic. in Phyſ. Ariſtot. p. 5, 6, &c.

ſtinctly, however, by reaſon of their obſcurity, it were not perceived by many; for which cauſe they have been moſt of them miſrepreſented not only by pagans, but alſo by chriſtians [m]. And in fact, when theſe Eleatics come to treat of natural things, they plainly acknowledge them to be compounded of different principles. Xenophanes ſuppoſed, that the earth conſiſted of air and fire [n], and that all things were produced out of the earth, and the ſun and ſtars out of clouds [o]: he alſo held, that there were four elements [p]. Parmenides made a profeſſed diſtinction between the doctrine concerning theological and metaphyſical things, called by him Truth, and that concerning phyſical and corporeal things, which he called Opinion. In the former of which doctrines he aſſerted one immoveable principle, but in the latter two moveable ones, fire and earth, or heat and cold, the firſt being the workman, and the other the matter [q]; he taught, that the earth was formed of a denſer air, which ſubſided [r], and that mankind was firſt produced out of mud [s]. Which notions concerning the origin of things he ſeems to have received from Archelaus the Ionic, whoſe auditor he is ſaid to have been. And with them Zeno alſo agreed, holding, that the nature of all things aroſe from a mixture of heat and cold, dryneſs and moiſture; and that man was generated of the earth, being equally compounded of the aforeſaid principles, ſo that neither predominated [t].

Of Strato Lampſacenus.

WHETHER Strato of Lampſacus held the unity of all things or no, is a doubt; for though he made nature inanimate, and acknowledged no GOD but nature [u], yet it is not certain, that he taught the univerſe, or nature, to be one ſimple being. From his ridiculing the atoms of Democritus [x], it has been thought reaſonable to imagine, that he admitted no difference between the parts of the univerſe; but this is allowed to be no neceſſary conſequence. It may be only concluded, that his opinion approaches infinitely nearer to Spinoziſm,

[m] Cudworth, p. 383. See Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Xenophanes, Remarq. L. [n] Plutarch. apud Euſeb. de Præp. Ev. l. 15. cap. 55. [o] Idem, in Strom. apud Eund. l. 1. cap. 8. [p] Diog. Laert. in Vita Xenoph. p. 558. [q] Simplic. ubi ſupra, & Diog. Laert. in Vita Parmenidis, p. 560. [r] Plutarch. apud Euſeb. ubi ſup. l. 1. cap. 8. [s] Diog. Laert. loco citato. Cicero, in Lucullo. Simplic. & Themiſt. in lib. 1. Phyſic. Ariſt. [t] Diog. Laert. in vita Zenon. p. 566. [u] Cicero, de Nat. Deor. l. 1. & Quæſt. Acad. l. 2. Lactantius, de Ira Dei, cap. 10. [x] Cicero, Quæſt. Acad. ubi ſupra.

Spinoziſm, than the corpuſcular ſyſtem. There is likewiſe ſome room to believe, that he did not teach, as the atomiſts did, that the world was a new work, and produced by chance; but, as the Spinoziſts do, that nature produced it neceſſarily, and from all eternity [y]. Plutarch indeed tells us [z], that he held that which was natural to follow that which was fortuitous, as if he allowed ſomething to chance, at firſt motion, or impreſſion at leaſt, which was afterwards perfected by nature, or the plaſtic life, ſuppoſed by him to be in every part of matter; making the mundane ſyſtem to depend upon a certain mixture of chance, and plaſtic or orderly nature both together [a]. But as his opinion is repreſented by Lactantius [b], he rejected all chance, which was the great difference between him and the Epicureans, and affirmed, that nature had in itſelf a generative and vital power, but had neither ſenſe nor figure; ſo that all things were, as he imagined, generated of their own accord, without the aſſiſtance of any former, or author.

Of Alexander the Epicurean, and ſome heretical chriſtians.

But whatever was the real notion of this greateſt of the peripatetic philoſophers [c], it is certain, that Alexander the Epicurean, who is ſuppoſed to have been contemporary with Plutarch [d], maintained that God is matter, or not diſtinct from it; that all things are eſſentially God, and that forms are imaginary accidents, which have no real exiſtence; and therefore he held all things to be ſubſtantially the ſame [e]. Some heretical chriſtians have alſo embraced this extravagant opinion; as one Amalric in particular, whoſe dead body was taken up, and burnt in the beginning of the thirteenth century [f], for having in his life-time taught that all things were God, and God was all things, and the eſſence of all creatures; ſo that the creator and the creature were the ſame; and that God was therefore called the end of all things, becauſe all returned into him [g]. Which ſentiments of his were followed by his ſcholar David of Dinant, and ſeveral

[y] Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Spinoza, Rem. A. [z] Plutarch. Adv. Colotem, p. 1115. [a] Vid. Cudworth's Intell. Syſtem, p. 108. and Bayle's Dict. loco citato. [b] Lactantius, de Ira Dei, loco citato. [c] So Plutarch calls him in the paſſage above quoted. [d] Thomaſius, Diſſertat. xiv. ad Philoſoph. Stoic. p. 199. [e] Albertus Magnus, in 1. Phyſic. Tract. 3. c. 13. [f] V. Prateolum, in Elencho Hæreſ. Voce Amalricus, p. 23. He adds, that, according to ſome authors, this heretic and his adherents were burnt alive. [g] Thomaſius, loco citato, ex Gerſon. Tractat. de Concordia Metaphyſ. cum Logic.

others [h]; the learned Peter Abelard having alſo been accuſed of holding the ſame opinion [i].

Of certain ſects among the Japaneſe, and Mohammedans.

NOR has this notion been confined to Europe only, it having alſo made no ſmall progreſs in the eaſt. A conſiderable ſect among the Japaneſe teach, that there is but one principle of all things; that this principle is ſimple, clear, luminous, incapable of encreaſe or diminution, without figure, perfect in the higheſt degree, wiſe, but void of reaſon or underſtanding, leading a life of perfect inaction, eaſe, and tranquillity, like a man whoſe attention is ſtrongly fixed on one thing, regardleſs of all other. They hold, that this principle is in all particular beings, and communicates his eſſence to them, in ſuch a manner, that they are the ſame thing with him, and are reſolved into him when they are deſtroyed [k]. The ſect called by the Mohammedans al Zenâdika (the ſingular of which is Zendîk) do alſo maintain, that whatſoever we ſee, or is in the world, is God [l]. And the famous Abu Moſlem, by whoſe conduct and ſucceſs the Khalifat was tranſlated, from the family of Omeya to that of Abbâs, is ſaid to have held the ſame opinion, and that all things returned at laſt into one common principle, or God; which opinion, ſome have ſuppoſed to be what the Arabian authors call the metempſycoſis of reſolution [m], and differs a little, if any thing, from that of a later ſect, who ſprang up among the Mohammedans about 300 years ago, and call themſelves Ahl al tahkîk, or people of certainty: they believe, that there is no other God than the four elements, which, together with the world, and all its changes and viciſſitudes, they aſſert to be eternal; and that mankind, as well as other beings, are a compound of thoſe elements, of which they are formed, and into which they return, and are diſſipated. Of this ſect there are great numbers in the province of Lar in Perſia [n].

The dogm of the ſoul of the world.

THE dogm of the ſoul of the world, which is not only common at this time in the eaſt, but was ſo among the antients,

[h] See the authors juſt cited, and Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Spinoza, Rem A. [i] Bayle, ibid. [k] Poſſevin. Biblioth. Select. Tom. I. lib. x. cap. 11. p. 411, &c. See alſo Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Japan, Rem. D. [l] Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, Tom III. p. 324. [m] لابن السماع الحلوني Ebn al Amid, in vita Khalifæ al Mansûr. See a more preciſe account of this opinion in Mr. Sale's preliminary diſcourſe to his tranſlation of the Korân, p. 176, and 182. [n] Della Valle, Tom. III. p. 892.

tients, and made the chief part of the Stoic ſyſtem, is at the bottom the ſame with that of Spinoza [o]: but as he differed from the Stoics, not only in contracting God's knowledge, which they allowed to be univerſal, and in denying his providence; but alſo in aſſerting the preſent diſpoſition of the world to have been neceſſary and eternal, and conſequently ſubject to no decay, contrary to their expreſs doctrine, it will be more proper to conſider that opinion under the next head. We ſhall only obſerve here, that ſome heterodox Stoics, as Boëthus in particular, did not only deny the world to be an animal, or intelligent being [p], ſubſtituting in the room of its mind or ſoul a plaſtic nature; but alſo aſſerted the world's eternity and incorruptibility, or one conſtant and invariable courſe or tenor of things [q]. The elder Pliny ſeems alſo to have been of this opinion; for he declares, that the world, and that which by another name is called heaven, by whoſe circular motion all things are governed, ought to be believed to be an eternal and immenſe deity, ſuch as was neither made, nor ſhall ever be deſtroyed [r].

SPINOZA taught, that there is no difference of ſubſtances, but that the whole, and every part of the material world, is a neceſſarily exiſtent being, and conſequently infinite [s]; that there is no other God but the univerſe [t], and that extenſion is one of his attributes [u]: that ſince it is abſolutely impoſſible for any thing to be created or produced by another, and alſo abſolutely impoſſible for God to have cauſed any thing to be, in any reſpect, different from what it now is [x]; every thing that exiſts muſt needs be ſo a part of the divine ſubſtance, not as a modification cauſed in it by any will, or good pleaſure, or wiſdom in the whole (for he expreſly denies God to act by any freedom of will [y], or for the ſake of final cauſes [z]) but as of abſolute neceſſity in itſelf, with reſpect to the matter of the exiſtence of each part, no leſs than with reſpect to the ſelf-exiſtence of the whole. So that the opinion of Spinoza evidently comes to this; The opinion of Spinoza.

[o] V. Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Spinoza, Rem. A. [p] Diog. Laert. in Vita Zenonis Cit. p. 455. [q] Philo Jud. de Incorruptibilitate Mundi, p. 947. Poſidonius and Panætius alſo maintained the world to be eternal. ibid. [r] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. 2. c. 1. [s] Spinoza, in Ethic. Part I. Prop. 6, 7, and 8. [t] Ibid. Prop. 14. [u] Ibid. in Schol. ad Prop. 15, & Part II. Prop. 2. [x] Ibid. Part. I. Prop. 6, & 33. [y] Ibid. Prop. 32. Coroll. 1. [z] Ibid. in Append. ad Prop. 36.

this; that the univerſe, or material world is God, or the ſelf-exiſtent being; and that all particular beings, corporeal extenſion, the ſun, moon, plants, animals, men, their motions, ideas, imaginations, and appetites, are all neceſſary modifications of him [a].

Confuted. THIS monſtrous ſyſtem, tho' it has met with ſome patrons, has yet been ſufficiently expoſed, and confuted by even the weakeſt of its adverſaries [b], and indeed carries its antidote along with it. For Spinoza, to avoid the abovementioned inſuperable objection made to the Eleatics, who held the univerſe to be immutable, falls into a worſe extremity, and attributes a continual change, and corruption to the divine nature, in reſpect of its various modifications: which doctrine ſhocks common ſenſe, it being horrible to ſuppoſe the Deity both the cauſe, and ſubject of all the moral, and phyſical evils, which are ſo frequent in the world; and what can be more abſurd, than to imagine matter, the vileſt of all things, the theatre of all changes, and the field of battle of contrary cauſes, to be that ſupreme, perfect being, with whom is no variableneſs, neither ſhadow of turning [c]? The very foundations of this hypotheſis are in a moment overturned, if we admit either a vacuum, or the diviſibility of matter, the one deſtroying the infinity, and the other the unity of God [d]; and therefore the Spinoziſts conſtantly deny both, ridiculouſly pretending, that there can be no diviſion of matter, unleſs one part be ſeparated from the other by empty ſpace. It ſeems alſo impoſſible, according to this ſyſtem, that the Deity can be an intelligent being: for perception and intelligence being really a diſtinct quality, or perfection, and not a mere effect, or compoſition of unintelligent figure and motion, as has been well proved [e]; it follows, that God could not poſſibly be poſſeſſed even of that imperfect underſtanding, allowed him by Spinoza, which, however, being wholly ſeparate from any power of will or choice, is, in any reſpect of any excellency, or indeed to any common ſenſe, the very ſame thing as no underſtanding at all [f]. Mr. Hobbes, who alſo held, that there was no ſubſtance

[a] See Dr. Clarke's Demonſtr. &c. p. 28. &c. & Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Spinoza, Rem. D D. [b] Vid. Bayle, ibid. Rem. M. & P. [c] Jam. i. 17. See Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. ubi ſup. Rem. N. [d] Tho' Spinoza allows God to be one, yet he aſſerts, that God cannot be ſaid to be one, or a ſimple Being, in propriety of Speech. Opera Poſthuma, Ep. 50. p. 557. [e] Dr. Clarke's Demonſtr. &c. p. 61, &c. [f] Ibid. 55.

ſubſtance diſtinct from matter, being preſſed in his own mind with the difficulty ariſing from the impoſſibility of ſenſe, or conſciouſneſs being merely the effect of figure and motion, is forced to recur to that prodigiouſly abſurd ſuppoſition of the antient Hylozoics, that all matter, as matter, is indued not only with figure, and a capacity of motion, but alſo with an actual ſenſe or perception; and wants only the organs, and memory of animals, to expreſs its ſenſation [g].

The opinion of thoſe who held the matter of the world to be external, but not the form.

THE ſecond opinion, that the ſubſtance of the univerſe is eternal, tho' the form be not, was generally embraced by the antients, who from that eſtabliſhed axiom, That nothing can be produced from nothing [h], concluded the creation of matter to be an abſolute impoſſibility; but at the ſame time thought, they had good reaſon to believe, the world had not always been in its preſent ſtate and diſpoſition. They who held this opinion may be divided into two claſſes. The firſt endeavoured to account for the generation of the world, or its reduction into the preſent form, from mechanical principles only, and the activity of matter, without having recourſe to the aſſiſtance of any divine power; the other introduced an intelligent mind, as the architect and diſpoſer of all things. But, before we produce their ſeveral ſyſtems and notions, it may be proper to examine the principles they proceed upon more nearly.

The abſurdity of ſuppoſing matter to be uncreated.

THERE is no doubt, but that the creation of matter, on due weighing the arguments for and againſt it, will appear to be ſo far from impoſſible [i], that it muſt neceſſarily be admitted [k]. For if it be abſurd to imagine matter to be the only ſubſtance, as has been ſufficiently ſhewn, it is much more ſo to ſuppoſe two, or more, eternal beings; which yet was not by the antients thought to be contradictory. But this impious poſition, that God is not the creator of matter, being once laid down for truth, thoſe philoſophers who made God the former, preſerver, and director of the world, notwithſtanding their ſeeming orthodoxy, argued much more inconſiſtently, than thoſe who denied him to have any concern with it. For if matter was an eternal uncreated being, and diſtinct from God, it owed its exiſtence to its own nature only, depending on no other cauſe, either in reſpect of

[g] Hobbes Phyſic. cap. 25. Sect. 5. See Dr. Clarke, ubi ſupra, p. 63. [h] Ex nihilo nihil. [i] See before, p. 2.
[k] Vid. BAYLE, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Anaxagoras, Rem. G. p. 212. & Art. Hierocles Philoſophe, Rem. A.

of its eſſence, or its properties. And it is contrary to all rules of reaſon, that another being ſhould exerciſe ſo great a power over matter as entirely to change it, and form a world out of that which had been ſelf-exiſtent from all eternity without being a world. If God's right to act in this manner be founded on this ſuperior power, the ſame title would authorize all uſurpations, and confound all notions of right and wrong. If it be ſaid, that God dealt thus arbitrarily with matter out of a principle of goodneſs, on a ſuppoſition of its inſenſibility, and precedent imperfection; the anſwer which has been given is, that ſuch a work would not be ſo much an inſtance of God's goodneſs, as an effect of ſuperfluous diligence, in endeavouring to put in order what he had not created, as if any order or perfection could be wanting in a being which had eternally ſubſiſted of itſelf; for all acceſſions to ſuch a being muſt be foreign to its nature, and conſequently a defect. God therefore muſt in ſuch a caſe have began his work by an ill action, in going about to deveſt of its natural ſtate a ſubſtance, uncreated as well as himſelf, and his own ſiſter [1].

On the other hand, they who attribute the formation of the univerſe to mere matter and motion, without the intervention of a Deity, tho' they avoid the abovementioned abſurdities, yet fall into other difficulties as inextricable, by ſuppoſing the eternal motion of matter; which they are obliged to do, if they will not contradict their own maxim, and admit motion at leaſt to be produced out of nothing. But if motion be eternal, it was either eternally cauſed by ſome eternal intelligent being, which would again introduce the Deity whom they had excluded: or it muſt be of itſelf neceſſary and ſelf-exiſtent; whence it would follow, that it muſt be a contradiction in terms to ſuppoſe any matter to be at reſt, or to ſuppoſe that there might poſſibly have been originally more or leſs motion in the univerſe, than there actually was; both which are conſequences too abſurd and ridiculous for any to admit: or elſe, without any neceſſity in its own nature, and without any external neceſſary cauſe, it muſt have exiſted from eternity by an endleſs ſucceſſive communication; which is alſo a plain contradiction: for an infinite ſucceſſion of merely dependent beings, without any original cauſe, is a ſeries of beings, which has neither neceſſity

[1] Hierocles, apud Photium in Biblioth. Cod. CCCLI. p. 1380. See Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Epicure, Rem. S. & Art. Hierocles, ubi ſupra.

ſity nor cauſe, nor any reaſon at all of its exiſtence, neither within itſelf, nor from without; that is, 'tis an expreſs impoſſibility. A late author [m] indeed has ventured to aſſert, and pretended to prove, that motion, that is the conatus, or endeavour to move, is eſſential to all matter: but how philoſophically, may appear from this one conſideration. The conatus to motion in any one particle of matter muſt be either a conatus to move ſome one determinate way at once, or to move every way at once: a conatus to move ſome one determinate way cannot be eſſential to any particle of matter, but muſt ariſe from ſome external cauſe; becauſe there is nothing in the pretended neceſſary nature of any particle to determine its motion, neceſſarily and eſſentially one way, rather than another: and a conatus equally to move every way at once, is either an abſolute contradiction, or at leaſt can produce nothing in matter, but an eternal reſt of all, and every one, of its parts [n].

Objections to the ſtate of matter before the formation of the world, according to this opinion.

The ſtate, wherein theſe philoſophers conceived matter to have eternally been before the formation of the world, is alſo liable to ſeveral objections. They generally ſuppoſed the original of the earth to have been from a chaos, or dark, confuſed, fluid maſs, without diſtinction of elements, and made up of all variety of parts [o], but without order, or any determinate form. To this chaos they attributed a certain motion, ariſing from the action and reaction of the firſt four qualities, and the different tending of the particles of earth and water downwards, and their air and fire upwards. This motion they abſurdly enough imagined to have been irregular and diſorderly [p], till it was ſtopped or changed into a regular and natural motion, either by chance, or divine power. But Ariſtotle has long ago obſerved, that the ſuppoſition of ſuch an irregular motion deſtroys itſelf; for it is impoſſible,

[m] M. Toland, Lett. 3. p. 66, 14, and 25.

[n] See Dr. Clarke's Demonſtr.

[o] Mr. Bayle ſuppoſes Ovid took the chaos to have been entirely homogeneous, becauſe in his fine deſcription of it, in the firſt book of his Metamorphoſis, he ſays, that there was then but one face of nature in the world: which is inconſiſtent with what he preſently adds of the diſagreeing principles of which the chaos conſiſted. But that expreſſion may rather be underſtood of the uniformity of the whole, as being equally, in every part, a promiſcuous compound of all the elements. Vid. Dict. Hiſt. Art. Ovide, Rem. G.

[p] Plato in Timæo, apud Ariſtot. de Cœlo, lib. III. cap. 2. p. 370. Ovid. Metam. l. 1.

impoſſible, that what is infinite and eternal ſhould be moved in a diſorderly manner, but muſt neceſſarily have a regular and natural motion; whence it follows, that the production of the world would rather have been an overturning, than introducing of the true natural ſtate: for which reaſon he ſays, Anaxagoras ſeemed to have been in the right, when he began his formation of the world from matter entirely at reſt [q]. So that if we admit the motion of the chaotic particles to have been natural, and according to their ſeveral qualities and properties, the very poſſibility of matter's having continued in that ſtate from eternity is deſtroyed, becauſe we then introduce a principle, which will neceſſarily ſeparate the ſeveral kinds of bodies one from the other, and that in a certain limited ſpace of time. This principle alſo renders the aſſiſtance of a deity unneceſſary; for if the chaos be acknowledged to have in itſelf all the internal power that is requiſite for the ſeparation of its parts, and the placing of every element in its proper ſituation, there can be no occaſion for the intervention of any external cauſe.

To reaſon well therefore concerning the production of the world, we muſt conſider God as the author of matter, and as the firſt and ſole principle of motion. If we cannot raiſe our minds ſo high as to conceive a creation properly ſo called, which way ever we turn, we ſhall find ourſelves driven to aſſertions and ſuppoſitions directly contrary to reaſon, and be involved in an endleſs labyrinth of abſurdities and contradictions [r].

Theſe philoſophers right in ſuppoſing the world had a beginning.

But however, they who held this opinion were miſtaken in accounting for the origin of the world, they had great reaſon to aſſert that it had a beginning, and was once formed out of a confuſed chaos. For though the preciſe time of this formation could not have been exactly known, without revelation; yet, even at this day, there are remaining many conſiderable, and very ſtrong rational proofs, which make it exceeding probable, that this preſent frame, and conſtitution of the earth, at leaſt, has been of no very antient date. The changes which muſt neceſſarily fall out naturally in the earth in a vaſt length of time, by petrification, the ſinking and waſhing down of mountains, the daily encroaching of the land upon the ſea, the conſumption of water by plants, and innumerable other accidents; the univerſal tradition of the

[q] Ariſtot. de Cœlo, loco citato.

[r] See Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Ovide, Rem. G.

the moſt antient nations, both learned and barbarous; the number of men with which the earth is at preſent inhabited; the late original and invention of all uſeful arts and ſciences; the ſhortneſs of the hiſtory of the world, which reaches up but to a very few ages; the manifeſt abſurdities and contradictions of thoſe few accounts, which pretend to a greater antiquity; the impoſſibility that univerſal deluges, or other accidents, ſhould at certain long periods have oftentimes deſtroyed far the greateſt part of mankind, with the memory of all former actions and inventions, and yet never have happened to deſtroy them all; theſe and many more arguments drawn from nature, reaſon, and obſervation, make it exceeding probable, that the formation of the earth was novel, and of no great antiquity. And it is not to be doubted, but that the doctrine of thoſe antient poets and philoſophers, who taught, that the world had a beginning, was founded on ſtill more antient traditions, which were ſo many authorities to them, as their teſtimonies are at this day to us [s].

HAVING obſerved thus much, it is time to take a view of the different hypotheſes, which may be ranged under this head; and we ſhall begin with thoſe, who, excluding all divine interpoſition, accounted for the formation of the univerſe, from the properties and action of matter only.

AND with this doctrine the moſt ancient profane accounts we have now remaining of the original of the world, viz. the Phœnician, Egyptian, and Babylonian have been charged; but whether juſtly or no, muſt be left to the judgment of the reader, after we ſhall have laid before him, firſt the accounts themſelves, and then the obſervations which have been made on them.

THE firſt of them is that of the Phœnicians, which has been tranſmitted to us by Sanchoniatho, one of their own writers, and was originally taken, as he aſſures us, from the coſmogony of Taautus, who was the ſame with the Egyptian Thoyth, or Hermes [t]. He wrote, that the firſt principle of the univerſe was a dark and ſpiritual (or windy) air, or a ſpirit of dark air, and a turbid obſcure chaos; and that theſe things were infinite, and for many ages had no bounds. The Phœnician coſmogony.

[s] See Dr. Nicholl's Conf. with a Theiſt, Vol. I. Part. I. p. 26, &c. Dr. Burnet's Theory of the Earth, Book I. c. 4. p. 49. Dr. Clarke's Diſcourſe concerning the evidences of natural and revealed Religion, p. 252. [t] Sanchoniatho, apud Euſeb. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 10.

bounds. But when the ſpirit was affected with love towards its own principles, and a mixture followed, that conjunction was called Deſire. This was the beginning of the formation of all things: but the ſpirit did not know (or acknowledge) its own production. From this conjunction of the ſpirit was begotten Môt [u], which ſome call *mud*, others a corruption of a watery mixture; and of this came the ſeed of all creatures, and the generation of the univerſe. That there were certain animals which had no ſenſe, from which proceeded intelligent animals called Zophaſemin [x], that is, the contemplators of heaven, being formed alike in the ſhape of an egg: immediately Môt, with the ſun, moon, ſtars, and larger conſtellations, ſhone forth. That the air being intenſely enlightened by the violent degree of heat communicated to the ſea and earth, winds were generated, and clouds, and great deſcents and defluxions of the heavenly waters; and when they were ſeparated, and drawn from their proper place by the heat of the ſun, and then met all again in the air, and daſhed the one againſt the other, thunders and lightnings were engendered; and at the noiſe of the thunders the before-mentioned intelligent animals awoke, and were terrified with the ſound, and male and female moved in the earth and in the ſea [y].

Remarks thereon. EUSEBIUS of Cæſarea, to whom we are obliged for preſerving this fragment, obſerves, that this coſmogony of the Phœnicians directly brings in atheiſm [z], Sanchoniatho having therein delivered no divinity or theology concerning

[u] Mot, Bochart derives this word from the Arabic مادة Madah which ſignifies, as he ſays, the firſt matter of things. But as Sanchoniatho makes the Chaos, and not Môt, to be the firſt material principle, Biſhop Cumberland thinks it may better be accounted for from another Arabic word, which needs no ſuch changes, as he is forced to preſume; and that is مثة Matha, which ſignifies to ſteep or macerate in water; موث Mawth, the noun, denotes ſuch a confuſion, or ſolution, as is thereby made; a mucilage, as phyſicians ſpeak. Cumberl. remarks on the Coſmogony of Sanchon. p. 4. By what it afterwards ſaid of Mot's ſhining forth with the ſun, moon, and ſtars, it ſeems Thoyth conſidered the earth as a planet. Vid. ib p. 18. [x] Zophaſemin. צופי שמים Sophe Shamaim in Hebrew, or Phœnician, ſignifies the Spies or Obſervers of Heaven. Theſe animals were not the angels, as Bochart imagines, but the celeſtial bodies, which Sanchon. ſuppoſes to be intelligent, and therefore were adored as Gods. Vid. ib. p. 21. [y] Sanchon. apud Euſeb. ubi ſupra.
[z] Euſeb. ibid. p. 33.

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cerning the ſupreme God, nor concerning the inhabitants of heaven [a], or angels. Which animadverſion has been approved, and purſued by a late very learned man [b], who, with great reaſon, looked on this account of the origin of things as a profeſſed apology for the idolatrous worſhip paid to dead men, and the ſeveral parts of the univerſe; Thoyth having led his tranſcriber into the fouleſt ſink of heatheniſm, which is neglect of the ſovereign and only true God, in the making, and conſequently of the governing of the world; endeavoured to eſtabliſh the vain and fooliſh religion of the Phœnicians and Egyptians, who worſhipped the creature more than the creator [c], by pretending to give a generation of the world, without any help from God, and ſuppoſing, that the heathen deities, the Zophaſemin, which were the planets and fixed ſtars, paſſed gradually from the life of planets, which have no ſenſe (and yet ſome of them were worſhipped) through the ſtate of ſenſible animals, which were more ſolemnly ſerved, till at length they came to be perfect intelligences [d], and ſo worthy to challenge the higheſt worſhip which they gave to them, in which their ſtate-religion reſted.

On the other hand it has been remarked, that it is well known, Euſebius took all advantages poſſible to repreſent the pagans to the worſt, and render their theology ridiculous and abſurd [e]; and that if the beſt interpretation be put on the words of Sanchoniatho, it is not improbable, that the Phœnicians ſuppoſed two principles, of which one was a turbid dark chaos, and the other a ſpirit [f], or an underſtanding prolifical goodneſs, forming and hatching the corporeal world into perfection [g], the eternity of which ſpirit ſeems alſo to be aſſerted by what follows, that it knew not its own generation, that is, had no original at all. But this Phœnician coſmogony being confeſſedly taken from that of Thoyth, and conſequently agreeing in ſubſtance with the Egyptian, which is therefore under the ſame imputation of atheiſm, judgment may be ſuſpended, till that be conſidered alſo.

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[a] Idem. l. 1. cap. 9. p. 31. [b] Biſhop Cumberland, in his remarks on the Coſmogony of Sanchoniatho. [c] Vid. Rom. i. 19, &c. [d] Νοερὰ. [e] Cudworth's Intellect. ſyſtem, p. 319. [f] Πνεῦμα; which Biſhop Cumberland tranſlates Wind. [g] Cudworth, p. 21.

The Egyptian cosmogony.

THE account of the origin of the universe, given us by Diodorus Siculus, is generally supposed to be the cosmogony of the Egyptians [h], though Diodorus himself does not say much; and is as follows: When the universe first coalesced, heaven and earth were of one form, their nature being blended together; but afterwards, as bodies separated, the world took on it the entire disposition wherein we now behold it, and the air began to have a constant motion; upon which its fiery parts flew to the upper regions, being naturally carried upwards by their own levity; and hence proceeded the rapid circular motion of the sun and other stars. The muddy and turbid matter, after it had been incorporated with the humid subsided in one place by its own weight, and being agitated with continual internal volutations, of the watry parts the sea became formed, and of the more solid the earth, which was slimy and very soft at first, but stiffning by the rays of the sun, the surface began to ferment, by reason of the heat; and some of the humid parts swelled, and rose by degrees into putrid pustules, covered with thin membranes. The humid matter, being thus fœcundated by the genial heat, by night received nutriment from the mist falling from the ambient air, and by day grew more and more solid by the sun's warmth, till at length the inclosed brood being arrived at perfect maturity, and the membranes burnt up and burst, all kinds of creatures were produced. Of which those which had obtained the greater degree of heat, became volatiles, and flew upwards; those in which the earthly concretion prevailed, were placed in the rank of reptiles, and other terrestrial animals; and the creatures which chiefly consisted of a watry nature, repaired to a congenial element, and were called fish. At length the earth, continually hardening more and more by the heat of the sun, and by the winds, could no longer produce any of the larger animals; but they began to propagate their several species by generation. And, to obviate any objection against the possibility of the earth's producing living creatures, our author instances in the

[h] Eusebius seems to be of the same opinion, tho' he entitles the Chapter, wherein he transcribes this passage from Diodorus, (being the 7th of his 1st Book de Præp. Ev.) Of the Cosmogony according to the Greeks, in regard of their agreement in general with it, the Grecian Philosophers having, as is notorious, received their physiology from the Egyptians.

the vaſt number of mice, which are ſaid to be bred in the upper Egypt out of the putrified mud, after the overflowing of the Nile [i].

THIS coſmogony, as has been obſerved [k], agrees in ſubſtance with the former, but is more large (as later commentaries uſe to be) in particulars, and nice attempts to a mechanic explication of the generation of the world, without any help from God [l]: which conſent is an argument that they took their notions from the ſame fountain, Thoyth. And Euſebius makes the ſame animadverſion on this latter, as he does on the former; that the name of God is not ſo much as mentioned therein, but a kind of fortuitous and ſpontaneous formation of the univerſe introduced [m]. To confirm which judgment, he in another place recites a paſſage of Porphyry, who, in his epiſtle to Anebo, an Egyptian prieſt, writes, that Chœremon and others thought, there was nothing prior to the viſible worlds, and began their diſcourſes with the Egyptian gods, which were no other than the planets, and ſtars which fill the zodiac, or thoſe which riſe with them; foraſmuch as they who made the ſun the demiurgus, or architect of the world, interpreted their ſtories of Iſis and Oſiris, and the reſt of their ſacred fables, altogether into the ſtars and planets, and the river Nile; and explained all things univerſally into natural or inanimate; and nothing into incorporeal and living ſubſtances. From whence Euſebius infers, that even the ſecret theology of the Egyptians deified no other than the ſtars and planets, and acknowledged no incorporeal principle of the univerſe, nor any demiurgic reaſon, God, or gods, or intelligent and inviſible powers, but the viſible ſun only, referring the production of all things to the material, ſenſeleſs, and periſhable elements [n]. Herewith agrees alſo that conciſe account of the Egyptian philoſophy given us by Diogenes Laertius [o] from Manetho and Hecatæus; that matter was the firſt principle, out of which the four elements were afterwards ſeparated, and all kinds of animals perfectly formed: and that the ſun and moon were their gods, the one being called Oſiris, and the other Iſis. Remarks thereon.

[i] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 7. 8. The account of the coſmogony given in a ſpurious book, attributed to Hermes, entitled Divine Sermons, is purpoſely omitted, as of no authority or credit. [k] Vid. Grotium de veritate Rel. Chriſt. l. 1. ſect. 16. in notis. [l] Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 9. [m] Euſeb. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 7. p. 21. [n] Idem ibid. l. 3. c. 4. [o] In Procemio, p. 8.

FROM this imputation of acknowledging no deity beſides ſtupid matter, the Egyptians have been ſtrenuouſly defended by a very able man [p], who thinks what Euſebius urges againſt them to be of the leſs weight, becauſe he plainly contradicts it elſewhere, by declaring that that nation profeſſed the belief of a demiurgic reaſon, and intellectual architect of the world, whom, he tells us, from the ſame Porphyry, they called Cneph, and ſymbolically repreſented in the ſhape of a man of a dark blue complexion, holding a girdle and a ſceptre, with a royal plume on his head, and thruſting forth an egg out of his mouth, from whence proceeded another god, whom they named Phtha, and the Greeks Vulcan. The reaſon of which hieroglyphic is thus given: becauſe this intellectual being is difficult to be found out, hidden, and inviſible, and becauſe he is the giver of life, and king of all things, and becauſe he is moved in an intellectual or ſpiritual manner, which is ſignified by the feathers on his head. The egg, which proceeds from the mouth of this god, is interpreted to be the world [q]. The firſt moſt divine being was alſo ſometimes deſcribed as a ſerpent with a hawk's head, beautiful to look on; who, if he opens his eyes, fills the univerſe with light in his firſt born region: but if he winks, darkneſs is made [r]. And as for that paſſage in Porphyry's epiſtle concerning Chœremon, where he only propounds doubts to Anebo, as deſiring further information from him concerning them, Iamblichus has given an anſwer to it, under the perſon of Abammo, another Egyptian prieſt, who ſays, that Chœremon, and thoſe others who pretend to write of the firſt cauſes of the world, declare only the laſt, and loweſt principles, as likewiſe thoſe who treat of the planets, zodiac, and other aſtronomical matters: for the Egyptians did not reſolve all things into nature, but diſtinguiſhed both the life of the ſoul, and the intellectual life, from that of nature, not in the univerſe only, but in man alſo; acknowledging an intellectual mind and reaſon firſt to have exiſted of themſelves, and ſo this whole world to have been made [s]. From which teſtimony of Iamblichus, who was but little junior to Porphyry, and contemporary with Euſebius, and who had made it his buſineſs to inform himſelf thoroughly of the Egyptian theology,

[p] Dr. Cudworth, in his Intell. Syſtem, p. 317, &c. [q] Euſeb. de Præp. Ev. l. 3. c. 11. p. 115. [r] Idem, ibid. l. cap. 10. p. 41. [s] Iamblichus apud Cudworth, Intell. Syſtem. p. 318, &c.

logy, it plainly appears, that the Egyptians did not generally ſuppoſe (as Chœremon pretended concerning ſome of them) a ſenſeleſs inanimate nature to be the firſt original of all things, but that as well in the world, as in ourſelves, they acknowledged ſoul ſuperior to nature, and mind or intellect ſuperior to ſoul, this being the maker of the world [t]. And many paſſages to the ſame purpoſe might be produced from the ſame writer, and from the Hermaic books now extant, among which tho' much is forged and ſpurious, yet it ſeems very probable, that they contain ſome remains and tincture of the old Egyptian, and Hermetic doctrine. But we cannot omit obſerving, that it was thought to be ſo notorious and confeſſed a thing, that the Egyptians held the world not only to have had a beginning, but alſo to have been made by God; that Simplicius, a zealous contender for the world's eternity, affirms the Moſaic hiſtory of the creation of the world by God, to have been nothing elſe but a fabulous tradition, and wholly drawn from Egyptian fables [u].

BUT theſe different authorities may be perhaps reconciled, by diſtinguiſhing between the religion of the Lower Egypt, whoſe inhabitants were groſs idolaters, and that of Thebais, where the worſhip of Cneph, the immortal and ſupreme God, ſo much prevailed, that they were not taxed towards the charge of maintaining the ſacred animals worſhipped by the others [x].

BEFORE we diſmiſs the Egyptians, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that their prieſts alſo taught, that the earth had certain periods or revolutions, being deſtroyed alternately by water and fire, and renewed again [y].

The Babylonian coſmogony.

As to the Chaldeans or Babylonians, Diodorus ſays, they held the nature of the world to be eternal, and that it had neither any original generation, nor is ſubject to any future corruption; yet that the order and beautiful diſpoſition of all things were cauſed by a divine providence, and that whatever are now in the heavens were not caſual, or ſpontaneous, but perfected by the determinate and eſtabliſhed decree of the gods [z]. But Beroſus, who ought to challenge the greater authority, both in reſpect to his antiquity, and

[t] Cudworth, ibid. [u] Simplic. in Ariſtot. Phyſ. l. 8. p. 268. [x] Plut. de Iſide & Oſirid. p. 359. See alſo Cumberl. on the coſmog. of Sanchon. p. 12, &c. [y] Plato, in Tim. Origen. contra. Celſum, l. 5. [z] Diod. Sic. l. 2. p. 116.

his being himſelf of that nation, has left us the following account of their coſmogony, taken from what Oannes (of whom more hereafter) wrote concerning the origin of things. There was, ſays he, a time when the univerſe was darkneſs and water, wherein frightful animals of compounded forms were generated. That ſome men were born with two wings, others with four, and two faces: ſome having but one body and two heads, one of a man, the other of a woman, and double privities, of the male and of the female. That of other men, ſome had the legs and horns of goats, ſome horſes feet, others the hinder parts of horſes, and the fore parts of men, being in the form of Hippocentaurs. That bulls were generated having the heads of men; and dogs with four bodies, having in their hinder parts the tails of fiſhes; and horſes with dogs heads: that there were alſo men, and other animals, which had the heads and bodies of horſes, but the tails of fiſhes; and other living creatures having the ſhapes of all kinds of beaſts. Beſides theſe, there were alſo generated fiſhes, and creeping things, and ſerpents, and many other animals very wonderful, and having the mixed ſhapes of one another; whoſe pictures are alſo kept in the temple of Belus. The governeſs of all theſe was a woman, named Omorôca [a], which in the Chaldee tongue is Thalatth [b], but in Greek ſignifies ſea, and with equal propriety the moon. This being the conſtitution of the univerſe, Belus came and divided the woman in the midſt, and the one half of her made the earth, and the other half the heaven, and the animals which were in her periſhed. But he ſays, that theſe things are delivered concerning the nature of the world in an allegorical manner. For the world being humid, and animals generated therein, the aforeſaid god took away the woman's head, and the other gods mixed her body, which fell down with the earth, and formed men, for which reaſon they are intelligent,

[a] In Scaliger's edition Omorca. Our author having tranſlated this name into Chaldee, it muſt be derived from ſome other language; but as he does not tell us what that language is, we ſhall not offer at an etymology of it. [b] This word is ſo near in ſound to the Greek word Thalaſſa, the ſea, that one would ſuſpect it to be forged, at leaſt much corrupted: Perhaps it may have been written for the Chaldee, or Syriac ܬܠܝܠܘܬܐ Thalilûtho, which ſignifies moiſture, or humectation, and anſwers to the explication afterwards given. The ſea and the moon were reckoned the two ſources of moiſture.

intelligent, and partake of divine wiſdom. That Belus, whom they interpret Jupiter, cutting the darkneſs in the midſt, divided the earth and the heaven from each other, and reduced the world into order; whereupon the animals, not bearing the force of the light, became extinct. But Belus ſeeing the country deſart, tho' fertile, commanded one of the gods to cut off his own head, and to mix the earth with the blood which iſſued thence, and to form men and beaſts that could endure the air: and that Belus perfected the ſtars, and the ſun, and the moon, and the five planets [c].

FROM this paſſage we learn, that the old Babylonians expreſly attributed the orderly diſpoſition of the world, the perfecting of the heavenly bodies, and the formation of men and animals to their ſupreme god, Bel; tho' they ſeem to have held the pre-exiſtence of matter. It muſt therefore be ſome theology of the later Babylonians, which could with juſtice be charged, as it has been, with paſſing over in the ſilence the one principle of the univerſe [d]; wherein they muſt have departed from the tradition of their anceſtors, the antient Chaldeans, who were celebrated for their acknowledging one ſovereign deity, or maker of the world, as appears from that oracle of Apollo, cited by Euſebius [e] from Porphyry, where the Chaldeans and Hebrews are alone declared to be poſſeſſed of true wiſdom, as worſhipping God, the ſelf-begotten king, in a holy manner. Remarks thereon.

WE have indeed another account of the coſmogony in the Chaldaic, or Magic oracles of Zoroaſtres; but they have ſo little pretence to genuineneſs, or antiquity, are ſo confuſed a medley of ill-digeſted notions, taken chiefly from the Platonics and Gnoſtics, very unſatisfactory as to the origin of the univerſe, and talk ſo much of unknown matter, the orders of inviſible things, myſtical numbers, iynges [f], and other unintelligible jargon, that we might be excuſed taking any notice of them; but as a very learned man has thought it worth his while to extract the ſubſtance of what is moſt intelligible in them [g], we ſhall injoin it in his own words: The Chaldeans, ſays he, believe, that the firſt of all things is eternal, the ſupreme God. That God, who is The account of the coſmogony in the Chaldaic oracles.

[c] Alexander Polyhiſt. ex Beroſo, apud Syncell. Chronogr. p. 29, & Euſeb. Chronic. Græc. Scaligeri, p. 6.

[d] Damaſcius in fragment. MS. περὶ ἀρχῶν. apud Cumberl. Review of the Coſmog. of Sanchon. p. 280.

[e] Euſeb. de Præp. Ev. l. 9. cap. 10.

[f] See Burnet. Archæol. l. 1. p. 21, 22.

[g] Mr. STANLEY, in his Hiſt. of the Chald. Philoſ. Book I. Sect. 1. c. 2. p. 8.

an intellectual light, or fire, did not ſhut up his fire within his intellectual power, but communicated it to all creatures; firſt, and immediately, to the firſt Mind, and to all other eternal and incorporeal beings, under which notion are comprehended a multitude of gods, angels, good dæmons, and the ſouls of men. The next emanation is the ſupramundane light, an incorporeal, infinite, luminous ſpace, in which the intellectual beings reſide. The ſupramundane light kindles the firſt corporeal world, the empyreum, or fiery heaven, which, being immediately beneath the corporeal light, is the higheſt, brighteſt, and rareſt of bodies. The empyreum diffuſes itſelf thro' the æther, which is the next body below it, and the fire leſs refined than the empyreum: but that it is fire, the more condenſed parts thereof, the ſun and ſtars, ſufficiently evince. From the æther this fire is tranſmitted to the material and ſublunary world; for tho' the matter whereof it conſiſts be not light but darkneſs, (as are alſo the material or bad dæmons) yet this vivificative fire actuates, and gives life to all its parts, inſinuating, diffuſeing itſelf, and penetrating even to the very center, paſſing from above to the oppoſite part, thro' the center of the earth.

The opinion of the ancient pagan poets.

THE old pagan poets, who greatly contributed to the depravation of theology in general, have more particularly countenanced this opinion of the world's being produced from a chaos, without the influence of God. For tho' they make love to preſide, as it were, at the ranging of the confuſed matter, by which ſome would have us underſtand the Deity, or the active principle of the univerſe diſtinct from matter [h], yet it is moſt probable, they thereby meant no more than the agreement, or harmony, which enſued on the ceſſation of that inteſtine war of the elements: their love having his original from the chaos, as well as all the reſt of their gods, which were really no other than the heavenly bodies, elements, and other parts of nature, perſonated, and deified. For which reaſon the coſmogony of the poets was the ſame with their theogony, or generation of gods [i].

And of Orpheus in particular.

ORPHEUS, who was the great introducer of the rites of the heathen worſhip among the Greeks, being charged with having invented the very names of the gods, and declaring generations, and their ſeveral actions, wherein he was for the moſt part followed by Homer [k], is yet ſaid to have been perfectly ſilent in his theology, as to any thing intellectual, as unſpeakable

[h] Vid. Cudworth, Intell. Syſtem. p. 212. [i] Vid. eund. p. 334, &c. [k] Athenagor. & Juſtin. Martyr, apud eundem, p. 298.

unſpeakable and unknown; and to have made one of his principles to be a dragon, having the heads both of a bull and a lion, and in the midſt, the face of a god, with golden wings on his ſhoulders [l]. But, notwithſtanding the extravagancy of Orpheus's fancy, the generality of the Greek pagans, looking on the man, not as a mere poet, but a holy and profound philoſopher, ſuppoſed all his fables of the gods to be deep myſteries and allegories, which had ſome hidden and ſecret ſenſe under them, and therefore had a high veneration for him, as one divinely inſpired; inſomuch, that Celſus would have had the Chriſtians rather take Orpheus for a god than Chriſt, as being a man unqueſtionably endued with a holy ſpirit, and one who alſo died a violent death [m]. And tho' he were the great propagator of polytheiſm, yet it has been thought, that he acknowledged one ſupreme unmade Deity as the original of all things, not only from the great eſteem he was in, with thoſe two moſt religious philoſophic ſects, the Pythagoreans and Platoniſts, he being commonly called by them the Theologer, but alſo becauſe they were ſuppoſed, in great meaſure, to have owed their theology and philoſophy to him, as deriving the ſame from his principles and traditions [n].

THIS favourable opinion of Orpheus will yet be better founded, if we allow the epitome of the Orphic coſmogony, made long ago by Timotheus the chronographer, to contain the true doctrine of that poet: for he writes, that Orpheus gave an account of the generation of the gods, the creation of the world, and the formation of man, profeſſing, that he delivered nothing from his own invention, but as he was informed, on enquiry, by Phæbus, Titan, or the ſun. Which account in brief is, that in the beginning the æther, or heaven, was formed by God, and that on each ſide of the æther was chaos and dark night, which covered whatſoever was under the æther, thereby ſignifying that night was prior. He declared alſo, that there was a certain incomprehenſible Being, which was the higheſt and moſt antient of all things and the maker of the univerſe, both of the æther itſelf, and of things under the æther. That the earth was inviſible, by reaſon of the darkneſs which was upon it; but the light, breaking forth thro' the æther, illuminated the whole creation;

[l] Damaſcius περὶ ἀρχῶν, MS. apud Cumberl. Review of the Coſmog. of Sanchon. p. 280, & Cudworth, ubi ſupra.
[m] Com. Cels. l. 7. p. 367. apud Cudworth, ibid. [n] Cudworth, ibid.

on; this light, which ſo brake forth, being ſaid by him to be that higheſt of all things, before mentioned, whoſe name was revealed by the oracle, was counſel, light, and the giver of life. That theſe three names manifeſt one and the ſame power and might of that inviſible, and incomprehenſible God, who is the maker of all things, and who bringeth that which is not, into a ſtate of exiſtence. By which power were produced all incorporeal principles, and the ſun, and the moon, and the ſtars, the earth, and the ſea, and all things therein, both viſible and inviſible. He likewiſe declared, that mankind was formed out of the earth by the ſame Deity, and received from him a rational ſoul, agreeably to what Moſes has recorded. Timotheus adds, that the ſame Orpheus alſo wrote, that all things were made by one godhead of three names, and that this God is all things [o].

If this teſtimony be admitted, we need not appeal to the Orphic verſes, which are very full as to the aſſertion of the ſupreme Deity. It is true, many of thoſe verſes are ſuppoſititious, and manifeſtly forged either by Chriſtians, or Jews; but all of them cannot be proved to be ſo; ſeveral being cited by pagan authors, as written, if not by Orpheus himſelf, yet by perſons of great antiquity, and well acquainted with his doctrine and traditions; and therefore, by men of good learning and judgment, thought genuine, and worthy of ſome regard [p]. However, Orpheus's theology has been preferred to that of the other heathens by the chriſtian fathers [q]; and a late ingenious writer has ſurmized, that his eſtabliſhing of polytheiſm was owing rather to the neceſſity, he was under of complying with the ſtupidity of the barbarous people, whom he firſt civilized, than his own approbation; being obliged to give them, not the religion which himſelf beſt approved, but ſuch a one as they were capable of receiving [r].

But to return to the Orphic coſmogony, Syrianus ſays, that Orpheus held two principles, æther and chaos [s]; to which Simplicius adds a third, as prior to the other two, viz. time, the meaſure of the fabulous generation of the gods; after which, according to Orpheus, the æther and chaos were produced

[o] Timoth. Chronogr. apud Euſeb. Chron. Græc. p. 4. & Cedren. p. 57. Vid. etiam Suidam, in voce, Orpheus, & Procl. in Tim. l. 2. p. 117. [p] Vid. Cudworth, ubi ſup. p. 295, & 300, &c. & Burnet. Archæol. l. 1. p. 125 [q] Burnet, ibid. p. 127. [r] Idem, ibid. p. 120, &c. [s] Syrian. in Ariſt. Metaph. c. 2.

produced [t]. By which it ſhould ſeem he thought the æther and chaos were co-eval: but it has been obſerved, that the antients, or the later authors, who have handed their opinions down to us, do frequently confound the univerſe with this ſublunary world, and apply what relates diſtinctly to one of the two, to the other, or both promiſcuouſly; and that of the æther here mentioned, the celeſtial, or firſt fabric of things was made; and of the chaos, the ſublunary world, or our earth, and others like it, at ſeveral diſtant intervals. Which things ought to have been ſeparately treated, as well with regard to the matter, as to the time; though unſkilful authors have often neglected that neceſſary diſtinction [u].

Remarks thereon.

IT is proper here to obſerve, that Orpheus, among other eaſtern learning, ſeems to have firſt introduced among the Greeks the doctrine of the mundane egg, which, in all probability, he learned from the Egyptians, who repreſented the world by that ſymbol [x], as many other antient nations did. The Phœnicians, as we have ſeen, made their Zophaſemin, which were the celeſtial bodies, oviform; and worſhipped an egg, in the Orgia of Bacchus, as an image of the world [y]. And the ſame compariſon or reſemblance was made uſe of by the Chaldeans, Perſians, Indians, and Chineſe, as will be obſerved hereafter; and this not only for its external figure, but alſo for the inward compoſition of it; the ſhell repreſenting the heaven, the white, the air, and the yolk the earth [z]; tho' others make out this reſemblance in a different manner [a]. Hence Plutarch [b] obſerves, that the queſtion, which was the elder, the egg or the hen, was not a trivial enquiry; but, according to the Orphic doctrine, comprehended the ancient generation of all things: and the author of the hymns attributed to Orpheus makes the firſt-born god, named by the Greeks Phanes, to be produced from an egg [c]. This was the firſt-begotten god, mentioned by Athenagoras to have been hatched from the egg, as the followers of Orpheus taught [d].

ANOTHER

[t] Simplic. in Ariſt. de Auſcult. Phyſic. l. 4. [u] Burnet, ubi ſup. p. 130. [x] See before, p. 100. [y] Plut. in Sympoſ. l. 2. quæſt. 3. Vid. Macrob. Stat. l. 7. c. 16. [z] Varro, apud Prob. Gram. in Ecl. 6. Virgil. [a] Vid. Achillem Tatium in Arati. Phænom. cap. 4. & Burnet. Theor. Sacr. Tellur. l. 2. c. 10. and Theory of the Earth, Book I. c. 5. p. 86. [b] In Sympoſ. l. 2. quæſt. 3. [c] Hymn. Πρωτογόνου. Vid. Lactant. de falſa Rel. l. 1. cap. 5. [d] Athenag. Legat. pro Chriſt.

ANOTHER opinion of the Orphic theologers, which muſt not be forgotten, was, that God was all things; but this is not to be underſtood in a groſs ſenſe, ſo as to take away all diſtinction between God and the creature; for they taught this doctrine chiefly on the two following accounts: Firſt, Becauſe all things coming from God, they inferred, that therefore they were all contained in him, and conſequently were, in a certain ſenſe, himſelf. The ſecond is, Becauſe the world produced by God, and really exiſting without him, is not therefore quite cut off from him, nor ſubſiſts alone by itſelf as a dead thing, but is ſtill livingly united to him, eſſentially dependent on him, always ſupported, quickened, and pervaded by him. In the latter of which ſenſes, ſome chriſtian divines alſo have made God to be All; as when they affirm the whole world to be nothing elſe but God expanded, and when they call the creatures, as St. Jerom and others often do, the rays of the Deity. But tho' the ſcripture itſelf may ſeem to give ſome countenance to theſe expreſſions, yet they ought to be uſed with great caution, being eaſily liable to miſtake and abuſe; and the miſtake and abuſe of this one thing might poſſibly have been a chief ground of the both ſeeming and real polytheiſm, not only of the Greek and European, but alſo of the Egyptian and other pagans: they concluding, that becauſe God was all things, and conſequently all things God, therefore God ought to be worſhipped in all things, that is, in the ſeveral parts of nature [e].

WHETHER the preceding opinions, as to the original of the world, be acquitted of the charge of atheiſm, or not, it is certain, that the philoſophy which derives all things from ſenſeleſs matter, in the way of forms and qualities, without the aſſiſtance of a God, was of great antiquity, and as old as any records of time among the Greeks; the antient phyſiologers generally making the ocean, or water, to have been the original of all things: for which reaſon the oath of the gods is ſaid to be by water, called by the poets Styx, which, being moſt antient, deſerved the greateſt reverence, and was conſequently moſt proper to ſwear by [f]. And hence the ocean is by Homer called the progenitor of the gods, and ſource of all things [g]: and Thales, the prince of the Ionic philoſophers, held water to

[e] Cudworth, Intell. Syſt. p. 307. [f] Vid. Ariſtot. Metaph. l. 1. c. 3. [g] Homer. apud Plutarch. de Placit. Philoſ. l. 1. c. 3.

to be the firſt principle, whereof all things conſiſted [h]; and they alſo ſuppoſed, that at laſt all things ſhould be diſſolved, and return into water again [i]. But it ſeems, that thoſe antients, when they made water to have been the firſt principle, did not thereby mean the elementary water, but the chaos, which was fluid ſubſtance, as the Greek word ſignifies. For which reaſon Zeno and Plutarch took the chaos of Heſiod to have been water [k].

The coſmogony of Heſiod.

THE theogony of this laſt mentioned poet, which, as has been obſerved, is alſo his coſmogony, is ſomewhat confuſed, beginning twice from the chaos, and relating things rather in a poetical, than philoſophical, order. The ſubſtance of what he delivers is; That in the beginning the chaos firſt exiſted, then the wide-extended earth, and next love, the faireſt of the immortal gods; that the chaos produced Erebus and night, from the conjunction of which two proceeded Æther and day. After which he proceeds to give an account of the ſeparation of the heaven and ſtars from the earth, the raiſing of mountains, and ſinking of caves; and of the production of the ſea, from the heaven and earth together [l].

and Ariſtophanes.

BUT there is a much more methodical, and complete deſcription of this antient coſmogony given by Ariſtophanes [m], whenceſoever he had it: He writes, that firſt were chaos, black Erebus, and wide Tartarus, but neither earth, nor air, nor heaven: that night, with ſable wings, laid the firſt egg of wind in the vaſt boſom of Erebus; from whence, in proceſs of time, iſſued amiable love, ſhining with wings of gold, like to impetuous whirl-winds; that love, coupling with the obſcure chaos, engendered animals and men; but that there were no gods before love mingled all things, from which mixture of things one with another, the heaven and the earth were generated, and the whole race of immortal gods.

THIS

[h] Plutarch. de placitis Philoſ. lib. 1. c. 3. Diog. Laert. in vita Thaletis, p. 17. Cicer. in Lucullo, & de Nat. Deor. l. 1. This alſo agrees with a paſſage in ſcripture, the genuine ſenſe of which (according to the judgment of the beſt interpreters) is, that the material heavens, as well as earth, were made out of water. 2 Pet. iii. 5. Vid. Cudworth, Intell. Syſt. p. 21. & Burnet, Archæol. l. 1. p. 138, and Theory of the Earth, Book I. c. 4. p. 63, &c. [i] Homer. Il. H. Plut. in Stromat. apud Euſeb. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 8. [k] Zeno, apud Scholiaſt. Apollon. Argon. 4. & Plut. in Tract. Aquane an ignis ſit utilior, p. 955. [l] Heſiod. Theog. verſ. 116. [m] In avib.

This paſſage, notwithſtanding it is ludicrouſly introduced in a comedy, is conceived, not without reaſon, to have been really a piece of the old atheiſtic ſyſtem, and may be thus explained; that chaos, or matter, confuſedly moved, being the original of all, things did from thence riſe up gradually from leſſer to greater perfection; firſt inanimate things, as the elements, heaven, earth, and ſeas, then brute animals, afterwards men, and laſt of all gods. As if not only the ſubſtance of matter and thoſe inanimate bodies of the elements, fire, water, air, and earth, were firſt in order of nature before God, as being themſelves alſo gods [n], but alſo irrational animals at leaſt, if not men too. And this is the atheiſtic creation of the world, gods, and all, out of ſenſeleſs and ſtupid matter, or dark chaos, as the only original deity [o].

The opinion of Thales.

Whether Thales, who was a Phœnician by extraction, acknowledged any divine or intelligent being, as aſſiſting in the formation of the world, is a great queſtion. Cicero indeed tells us, that he was the firſt who ſearched after ſuch things, and affirmed God to be that Mind, which created all things out of water [p]. And Laertius reports, that he uſed to ſay, God was the oldeſt of all things, and that the world was the workmanſhip of God [q]. But on the other ſide, there are a cloud of witneſſes [r], among whom are Cicero and Laertius themſelves [s], who with joint conſent give Anaxagoras, one of his ſucceſſors, the honour of having firſt rejected all chance in the diſpoſition of the univerſe, and introduced a pure intelligent mind, to ſeparate, and compoſe the ſeveral parts of it. So that all the philoſophers of the Ionic ſect, who preceded Anaxagoras, being mere materialiſts, or Hylopathian atheiſts, Ariſtotle ſeems juſtly to have called Thales the prince or leader of that philoſophy [t]. The occaſion of his being thus differently repreſented

[n] Vid. Ariſt. de gener. & corrupt. l. 2. c. 6. [o] Cudworth, Intell. Syſt. p. 121. [p] Cicer de Nat. Deor. l. 1. p. 36. [q] Diog. Laert. in Thalet. p. 21. [r] Plato in Phæd. p. 72. Plut. in Pericle, p. 154. Ariſt. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 3. Tertullian. de Anima. Clemens Alex. Stromat. lib. 2. p. 364. Euſeb. de Præp. Ev. l. 4. c. 14. p. 750. Themiſt. Orat. XV. Auguſtin. de Civit. Dei, l. 8. c. 2. Proclus in Timæum. Simplic. in Ariſt. de Phyſic. auſcult. Theodoret. de Græc. affect. Serm II. p. 489. [s] Cicer. de Natura Deor. l. 1. p. 38, 39. Laert. in Anaxagorâ, p. 82. [t] More concerning this Queſtion may be read in Bayle's Dict. Hiſt. Art. Anaxagor. Rem. D. Art. Thales, Rem. A. Dr. Cudworth's Intell. Syſtem. p. 121, 124.

represented may possibly have been, because he left no philosophic writings, or monuments of his own behind him (Anaxagoras being the first of all the philosophic writers [u]); whence probably it came to pass, that in aftertimes some interpreted his opinions one way, and some another, and that he is sometimes represented as a theist, and sometimes as an atheist [x].

BUT if Thales be acquitted, yet his next successor, Anaximander, can by no means be excused from this imputation; for he supposed a certain infinite first matter, which he did not define to be either air, or water, or earth, to be the sole principle of the universe [y]; that the celestial bodies, and infinite worlds, were made of it by secretion, and that generation and corruption proceeded from their moving circularly together from eternity. He also asserted, that the generative principles of heat and cold being separated, when this world was made, a certain sphere of the fire first arose, and encompassed the air which surrounds the earth, as the bark doth a tree; this being afterwards broken, and divided into smaller spherical bodies, formed the sun, moon, and stars [z]. He held also, that the first animals were generated in moisture, and encompassed with certain thorny barks, by which they were defended; which, after further growth, becoming more dry, and cracking, they issued forth, but lived only a short time [a]. That men were at first generated in the bellies of fishes, and being there nourished till they grew strong, and were able to support themselves, they were afterwards cast out upon dry land. And the reason of this strange opinion, as to the original of mankind, was, because other animals soon after their birth betake themselves to their food; but man alone in his infancy needs to be nursed up for a considerable time, and therefore could not be preserved at first in any other manner [b].

Of Anaximander.

FROM

[u] Diog. Laert. in Anaxagor. p. 86. Themestius (Orat. XX) says Anaximander was the first who published a Book of Natural Philosophy. But Theopompus (apud Laert. in Pherecyd. p. 74) asserts Pherecydes Syrus to have first written of Nature and the Gods to the Greeks, whose Treatise of the Beginning of Things was extant in the Time of Laertius, ib. 76. [x] Cudworth, ibid. 124. [y] Plut. de Placitis Philos. l. 1. c. 3. Diog. Laert. in Anaximandro, p. 78. Simplic. in Aristot. Phys. l. 1. c. 6. [z] Plut. in Strom. apud. Euseb. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 8. [a] Idem de placitis Phil. l. 5. c. 19. [b] Idem, apud Euseb. ubi sup. & in Sympos. l. 8. Quæst. 8.

FROM Anaximander's making this univerſal principle of his infinite, ſome late writers, and even Clemens Alexandrinus [c] among the antients, have groundleſly inferred, that he thereby meant GOD, according to the true notion of him, or an infinite mind, the efficient cauſe of the univerſe, and not ſtupid matter [d]. But it is plain, that the gods he acknowledged owed their original alſo to that infinite matter, from which he ſuppoſed all things to be ſecreted, and into which they would return; for he held the gods to be generated, riſing, and vaniſhing again in long periods of time, and that theſe gods were innumerable worlds [e].

Of Anaximenes.

THE phyſiology of Anaximenes differed but little from that of his maſter Anaximander; for he held air to be the firſt principle, and infinite [f], but that the things which aroſe there-out were finite, and ſhould at laſt be reſolved into it again. He ſuppoſed, that all things were generated by a ſucceſſive condenſation and rarefaction of this air; the earth, water, and fire being firſt produced there-out, and then the other parts of the univerſe: he held alſo, that motion was from all eternity: that the ſun gained its heat from the ſwiftneſs of its courſe; and that air held the world together in the ſame manner as the ſoul, which he took to be air alſo, did the human frame [g]. He did not, it ſeems, deny there were any gods, but was ſo far from allowing them to have formed the world, that he believed them likewiſe to have their riſe from the air [h]. Plutarch, after delivering the opinions of theſe two philoſophers, obſerves, that they were both of them in the wrong, in ſuppoſing the world to have been generated from matter only, without any efficient cauſe; matter of itſelf being able to produce nothing no more than a veſſel can be made out of a maſs of ſilver, without the help of an artificer [i].

Amended by Anaxagoras, and Diogenes of Apollonia.

ANAXAGORAS and Diogenes of Appollonia, two ſcholars of Anaximenes, attempted to remedy this grand defect in the Ionic philoſophy, by amending their maſter's hypotheſis. The firſt, by admitting an intelligent being

[c] In protrept. p. 43. [d] Vid. Cudworth's Intell. Syſt. p. 124. [e] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. [f] Diog. Laert. in Anaximen. p. 80. Ariſtot. de Auſcult. Phyſ. Cicer. Quæſt. Acad. l. 2. [g] Plut. in Strom. apud Euſeb. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 8. & de placitis Philoſoph. l. 1. c. 3. [h] Auguſt. d Civit. Dei, l. 8. cap. 2. [i] Plutarch. de placitis Philoſoph. loco. citato.

being distinct from matter, as has been, and will be more fully, observed; and the other, by supposing the air, the first principle of the universe, to be indued with a divine reason, without which he conceived nothing could be produced from it [k]. So that this opinion differed very little from Spinozism.

THE manner in which this latter philosophizes, as to the production of the world, has so near a conformity with the Cartesian hypothesis, that it would be wrong to omit it: All things, says he, being in motion, some became condensed, and others rarified; in those places where condensation prevailed, a whirling motion, or vortex, was formed, which by its revolution drew in the rest, and the lighter parts, flying upwards, formed the sun [l].

THE next atheistic system of philosophy is the atomic, which is generally supposed to have been invented by Democritus, who was elder than Aristotle and Plato; but Laertius attributes it to Leucippus [m], who was somewhat senior to Democritus, though he wrote not so much concerning it as Democritus did. Others make this physiology much more antient: Posidonius [n] avouched it for an old tradition, that the first inventor of it was Moschus, a Phœnician, who lived before the Trojan war [o], and is supposed to have been the same with Mochus, the Phœnician physiologer mentioned by Iamblichus [p], with whose successors, priests, and prophets, he affirms, that Pythagoras, while he was at Sidon, had conversed. But as Cicero, though Posidonius's scholar, scruples not to question his veracity in some things, and expressly affirms Leucippus, or Democritus, to have been the author of this philosophy [q], we think his authority of little weight; much less can we approve, as Mr. Selden does [r], of the conjecture of Arcerius, the editor of Iamblichus, that this Mochus was no other than Moses, the celebrated prophet of the Jews. However, it is probable from some other considerations, that Pythagoras was not unacquainted with the atomical physiology;

The atomic system, by whom invented.

[k] August. de Civit. Dei, l. 8. c. 2. Vid. etiam Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. & Aristot. l. 1. de anima, c. 2. [l] Plut. in Strom. apud Euseb. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 8. [m] Diog. Laert. in Leucippo, p. 567. [n] Apud. Sext. Empiric. adv. Mathem. p. 367. & Strabon. lib. 16. p. 512. [o] Strabo, ibid. [p] De vita Pythag. c. 3. [q] Cicer. de fato, & de Nat. Deor. l. 1. [r] Selden. de jure nat. & gent. juxta discipl. Hebr lib. 1. cap. 2. See also La Vie de Pythagore, par. Mr. Dacier, p. xxi.

physiology; for Democritus himself was of the Italic, or Pythagoric, succession, and is reported to have taken all his philosophy from them [s]: and the famous monads of Pythagoras are by some supposed to have been nothing else but corporeal atoms [t]. That Empedocles, who was also a Pythagorean, took the world to be compounded of minute particles, is expressly asserted [u], and will appear more plainly, when we come to give an account of his physiology: and the natural principles of Ecphantus the Syracusian, another of that sect, were indivisible bodies, and vacuum. Nor were they the only antient philosophers who went that way; Xenocrates, Heraclides, Asclepiades, Diodorus, Metrodorus Chius, and the generality of the old physiologers, having also supposed indivisible particles to be the first principles of bodies. Notwithstanding which, Leucippus and Democritus are reputed the first inventors of the atomic philosophy, either because they brought it to greater perfection, or else, because they first made it a complete and entire system by itself, so as to derive the original of all things in the whole universe from senseless atoms, which had figure and motion only, and space; from whence it would follow, that there could be no God, not so much as a corporeal one: for before them, the doctrine of atoms made not an entire philosophy by itself, but was looked upon as a part, or member of the whole philosophic system, and that the meanest and lowest part too; it being only used to explain that which was purely corporeal in the world; besides which they acknowledged something else, which was not mere bulk and mechanism, but life and self-activity, that is, immaterial substance; the head whereof is a Deity distinct from the world. So that there have been two sorts of atomists; the first, holding incorporeal substance, used that physiology in a way of subordination to theology: the other, allowing no other substance but body, made senseless atoms, without any mind or understanding, that is, without any God, to be the original of all things: which latter system is that vulgarly known by the name of the atomic philosophy, which was founded by Leucippus and Democritus [x], and afterwards, with some alteration, taught by

[s] Diog. Laert. in Democr. p. 570. [t] Vid. Cudworth's Intel. System. p. 13. [u] Plut. de placitis Philos. l. 1. cap 24. [x] Cudworth, p. 16, &c.

by Epicurus, though he would not acknowledge that he had borrowed his hypotheſis from any [y].

Occaſioned a ſtricter method of philoſophizing.

BUT whoever firſt introduced it, this hypotheſis occaſioned a more ſtrict, and accurate method of philoſophizing, than had formerly been uſed. For the atomiſts, neglecting numbers, proportions, harmonies, ideas, qualities, and elementary forms, immediately proceeded to examine the bodies themſelves, and their phyſical and mechanical properties, their motion, figure, ſituation of parts, ſize, and the like; from whence they very rationally aſcertained their ſeveral powers, determined their actions, and explained their effects; though the notions they entertained of the indiviſibility of the atoms, their innate power of motion, inclinations to certain places, and the like, be not only without any foundation, but repugnant to reaſon [z].

The doctrine of Leucippus and Democritus;

THE doctrine of Leucippus and Democritus, as to the origin of the World, was, that the firſt principles were an infinite number of atoms, or indiviſible particles of different ſizes and figures, which moving fortuitouſly, or without deſign, from all eternity in infinite ſpace, and encountering one another, became variouſly implicated and entangled, and produced firſt a confuſed chaos of all kinds of particles, which afterwards by continual agitation, ſtriking and repelling each other, diſpoſed themſelves into a vortex, or vortices, where, after many convolutions and evolutions, molitions and eſſays, in which all imaginable ſhapes and combinations were tried, they chanced at length to ſettle into this preſent form and ſyſtem of things [a],

Of Epicurus.

THIS hypotheſis, as to the formation of the principal parts of the world, agrees with that of Epicurus, as it is repreſented by Lucretius [b], excepting, that no mention is made of thoſe vortices, which yet were an eſſential part of the former. To the two properties, attributed to atoms by Democritus, magnitude and figure, Epicurus added a third, weight; without which he did not conceive they could move at all [c]. And one of the inevitable conſequences of

[y] Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. [z] Burnet, Archæol. l. 1. p. 167.
[a] Vid. Diog. Laert. in Leucippo, p. 567, and in Democrit. p. 573. Plutarch. de placitis Phil. l. 1. c. 4. & Plat. de legibus, l. 10.
[b] Vid. Lucret. de Rer. Nat. l. 5. Virgil. Eclog. 6. Plut. de placitis Phil. l. 1. c. 4. and Stanley's hiſtory of philoſophy, part 13, p. 572, &c. [c] Plut. ubi. ſup. c. 3.

of the Democritic ſyſtem being abſolute fatal neceſſity, (for when they maintained, that the world was made by a fortuitous concourſe of atoms, it was not their meaning to deny the world to have been neceſſarily made, according to the eternal laws of motion of thoſe atoms, but only to exclude the direction of an intelligent cauſe) and ſuch neceſſity, in the opinion of Epicurus, overturning all morality, and reducing the human ſoul to be a mere machine; in order to account for freedom of will, beſides the twofold motion of atoms allowed by thoſe before him, perpendicular and reflexive, he introduced a third; ſuppoſing, that the atoms could of themſelves decline from the right line, and move obliquely, even in void ſpace, and without any colliſion at all [d]; from which, as he ſtrangely inferred, proceeded natural liberty. And this declination ſerved alſo another purpoſe, that is, to explain the meeting of the atoms; which, if they all moved one way, would have been impoſſible [e]. But the moſt material difference between the two hypotheſes, though not often taken notice of, was, that Epicurus admitted no principle at all but the atoms themſelves; whereas Democritus believed them to be animated [f]; a ſuppoſition not a whit more abſurd than that of their exiſtence and ſpontaneous motion, and which would yet be of great uſe in obviating ſeveral objections to the atomic ſyſtem, otherwiſe unanſwerable [g].

As to the production of animals and mankind, the Epicurean philoſophy accounted for it in this manner: It was ſuppoſed, that the new formed earth containing in it the ſeeds of all things, the ſun, acting by its heat on the moiſter parts, raiſed ſmall bladders, like little wombs, in which the embryos, at firſt imperfect, were conceived, and through which they broke their way, when arrived at maturity; and that for their nouriſhment nature provided bags, like ſmall breaſts furniſhed with a milky juice. And it is pretended, that this fœcundity cannot ſeem ſtrange, in that juvenile vigor of nature, if we conſider, what numbers of ſmaller creatures and inſects are, at this day, bred in the ſame way. But at length, the ſeeds of the earth being exhauſted, ſhe, like a woman paſt child-bearing, of courſe left.

[d] Vid. Lucret. l. 2. v. 216, &c. [e] Vid. Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Epicure, Rem. U. [f] Auguſt. Epiſt. 66. [g] Vid. Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Leucippe, Rem. E. & Art. Epicure, Rem. F. As to the other Differences between the Doctrines of Democritus and Epicurus, conſult Cicer. de Finib. l. 1.

left off this way of producing the more perfect animals; whence it is, that every ſpecies is now propagated by copulation [h].

THIS atomic ſyſtem, which had been ſuperſeded by Plato and Ariſtotle, who brought in ideas, form, and qualities, inſtead of the mechanical properties of matter, was raiſed by Epicurus to a high degree of reputation, and continued to flouriſh after his death, beyond any other philoſophy [i]; though it was juſtly decried by the other ſects, on account of the atheiſm which naturally flowed from its principles. Had Democritus only ſuppoſed God to be a mind, or intelligence, placed in a ſphere of fire, and the ſoul of the world [k], he would have been much more excuſable than in teaching, as he did, that the images of objects, which on every ſide preſent themſelves to us, and the nature which ſcatters round, or emits ſuch images, and even our own knowledge and underſtanding, were to be reckoned among the gods [l]. So that what Democritus called God, had neither the unity, nor eternity, nor immutability, nor other attributes, which are eſſential to the divine nature: and yet an opinion very like his was not long ago advanced [m], on the ſuppoſition that our ideas are in God, and that they cannot be a modification of a created mind; from which it ſeems to follow, that our ideas are God himſelf [n]. As to Epicurus, he acknowledged indeed, that there were gods, and that they deſerved to be worſhipped on account of the excellence of their nature, tho' no benefit was to be expected from them, nor any harm to be feared [o]: for he allowed them to be neither the makers, nor the governors of the world. And yet a very learned man has lately undertaken the defence of Epicurus, as to this latter point, and maintained, that he did not deny a divine providence [p]. He ſuppoſed the gods were immortal, and ſupremely happy, leading a life of perfect inaction and tranquillity; that they were of human form, yet had not real bodies and blood, but

Reflections on this ſyſtem.

[h] Vid. Lucret. ubi ſupra. [i] Lactant. Divin. Inſtit. l. III. cap. 17. [k] Plutarch. de placitis Philoſ. l. 3. cap. 7. [l] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. [m] F. Mallebranche's Notion of ſeeing all things in God. [n] Vid. Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Democrite, Rem. P. [o] Vid. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. Senec. de beneficiis, l. 5. c. 19. & Gaſſend. de vita & moribus Epicuri, l. 4. c. 3. [p] Monſ. du Rondel, de vita & moribus Epicuri, Amſt. 1693. in 12°.

but ſomething analogous to them [q]; and leaſt he ſhould at once deſtroy their immortality, and ſubject them to deſtruction, he taught, that they were not compoſed of atoms, like other beings [r], though ſome have, by miſtake, affirmed the contrary [s]. It is well known, that this corpuſcular philoſophy has been revived by ſome moderns, who, rejecting the eternity of the atoms, and their fortuitous motion, but following, in almoſt all other reſpects, the old hypotheſis of Leucippus, have made a very fine ſyſtem of it. This is what Gaſſendi has done, who differs from Des Cartes, as to the principles of bodies, in nothing but the retaining a vacuum. The ſcholaſtic divines among the Mohammedans, who are very orthodox as to the creation of the world by God, do alſo admit both atoms and a vacuum: but their atoms are different from thoſe of Leucippus, for they have no magnitude, and are all like one another; and they ſuppoſe, as that philoſopher ought to have done, that every atom of a living body is alive, that every atom of a ſenſitive body is endued with ſenſe, and that the underſtanding reſides in an atom; though they differ as to the ſoul, and knowledge, whether they conſiſt in a ſingle atom, or a collection of ſeveral [t].

The opinion of thoſe who, holding the eternity of matter, admit an intelligent mind as the diſpoſer thereof; and

THOSE, who, allowing the eternity of matter, introduce an intelligent mind as the diſpoſer thereof into the form the world now bears, may be again ſubdivided into two claſſes: one, who, allowing no ſubſtance but matter, ſuppoſed it to be endued with underſtanding and life, and conſequently to be God; and another, who held God and matter to be two diſtinct, and independent beings.

1. Of thoſe who ſuppoſed matter to be the only ſubſtance, and endued with underſtanding.

THE firſt opinion, which, as has been ſaid, differs but little from Spinoziſm, ſeems to have been that of Diogenes of Apollonia [u], and was certainly maintained by Hippaſus of Metapontus, Heraclitus, and the Stoics.

The opinion of Hippaſus, Heraclitus,

HIPPASUS and Heraclitus held fire to be the firſt principle, of which all things were made, and into which, after the revolution of certain periods, they will be again reſolved,

[q] Cicer. ubi ſupra. Diog. Laert. in Epicuro, p. 634, 655, 661. Plut. de placitis Philoſ. l. 1. c. 7. Sext. Empiric. contra Math. p. 312. [r] Cicer. ubi ſupra. Lactant. de ira Dei, cap. 10. [s] Tertullian. adv. Gentes, cap. xlvii. Auguſt. Epiſt. lvi. [t] Vid. Maimonid. in More Nevochim, cap. 73. [u] See before, p. 19.

ſolved, and that this fire was God [x]; whom Heraclitus deſcribed to be that moſt ſubtile and moſt ſwift ſubſtance, which permeates, or paſſes through the whole univerſe [y].

THE notions of Heraclitus ſeem to have been very confuſed, at leaſt as they are now repreſented to us, which is no wonder at all, ſince he ſo much affected obſcurity in what he wrote concerning natural philoſophy, that he was thence ſurnamed the obſcure [z]. He is ſaid to have denied the world to have been made either by gods, or men [a]; by which it is ſuppoſed he meant, that the world was not made by any whatſoever, after ſuch a manner as an artificer makes an houſe, by machines and engines, acting from without upon the matter; but by a certain inward plaſtic nature of its own [b]. He aſſerted the fatal neceſſity of all things, but taught, that they were in a perpetual flux, nothing remaining at a ſtand. His account of the formation of the world was, that the fire being extinguiſhed, the groſſeſt parts of it coaleſcing, made the earth, which, being looſened by the fire, produced water, and from the exhalation of water the air was generated [c]. As the opinions of Heraclitus concerning the origin of things were adopted by the Stoics, (of whom immediately) we ſhall not enlarge here, but only obſerve, that the great phyſician Hippocrates had the ſame notion of the deity with Heraclitus, declaring his belief to be, that heat or fire was immortal and omniſcient, and that it ſaw, heard, and knew all things, both preſent and future [d]. and Hippocrates.

THE Stoics held two firſt principles, God, and matter void of all quality, the one active, and the other paſſive, and that they were both corporeal [e]; for they did not acknowledge any ſuch thing as incorporeal ſubſtance [f]: by which means they ſtrangely confounded themſelves, and reduced their two principles, in effect, to one and the ſame. The opinion of the Stoics

They

[x] Plut. de placit. Phil. l. 1. c. 3. Clem. Alexandr. in protrept. Vid. etiam Ciceron. Acad. Quæſt. l. 4. & de Nat. Deor. l. 3.
[y] Plat. in Cratylo. p. 413. [z] Σκοτεινὸς. Vid. Cicer. de finib. l. 2. Clem. Alex. Stromat. 5. [a] Plut. de Animæ Procr. p. 1014. [b] Cudworth, Intell. Syſt. p. 152, &c. [c] Plut. de placit. Phil. l. 1. c. 3. Vid. etiam Diog. Laert. in Heraclit. p. 551, &c. [d] Hippocrat. de princip. aut carnib. Sect. 1.
[e] Ariſtocles, de Philoſ. apud Euſeb. de Præp. Ev. l. 15. cap. 14. Diog. Laert. in Zenon. Cittieo, p. 449. Senec. Ep. 65. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 2. [f] Vid Lipſium de Phyſiol. Stoic. l. 2. cap. 4, & 5.

They affirmed God to be an immortal, rational, and perfect animal, conſcious of his own happineſs, ſubject to no evil, governing the world, and all things in it, by his providence; and the architect, and, as it were, the father of the univerſe [g]. But they more uſually deſcribed him to be a fiery ſpirit, void of all figure, yet changing himſelf into all things; or an artificial fire, methodically proceeding to the generation of the world, and containing within himſelf all ſeminal reaſons or models, according to which every thing is formed purſuant to fate [h]; which is alſo their deſcription of nature [i]. This ſpirit, they ſay, quickens, ſuſtains, and pervades the whole world, and every part of it, as the ſoul does the human body, being called by ſeveral names, according to the different form of the matter which it animates. For which reaſon they hold the world itſelf to be God, and every part of it a member of him [k]. So that this ſect, in appearance, have confounded God and nature together, tho' their genuine doctrine ſeems to have been, that there was not only an intellectual conſcious ſoul preſiding over the whole world, yet lodged more immediately in the fiery matter of it; but alſo a certain plaſtic, or ſpermatic nature, contained under, or within the former, and which was properly the fate of all things [l]. And the admitting of ſuch a ſubordinate plaſtic nature or life, which acts in order to certain ends, tho' without any ſenſe or conſciouſneſs, has been thought very reaſonable by ſome, tho' exploded by others, and that for the avoiding of theſe two conſequences; either that, in the formation and organization of natural and animal bodies, every thing comes to paſs fortuitouſly, for the ſake of no final cauſes, and without the guidance and direction of any mind or underſtanding; to aſſert which ſeems irrational and atheiſtical: or elſe, that God himſelf doth immediately form every the minuteſt thing, as it were with his own hands, which is very indecent to ſuppoſe [m]. There were ſome Stoics, it is true, who, rejecting all animality or conſciouſneſs in the world,

[g] Diog. Laert. ubi ſupra, p. 458. [h] Plut. de plac. Philoſ. l. 1. cap. 6, & 7. [i] Diog. Laert. ubi ſup. p. 465. Cic. ubi ſup. [k] Vid. eoſd. & Plut. ubi ſupr. c. 7. Senec. Quæſt. Nat. l. 2. c. 45. & Epiſt. 92. Lucan. Pharſal. l. 9. v. 578. Didymum, apud Euſeb. de Præp. Ev. l. 15, c. 15, &c. Virgil. Georg. l. 4. verſ. 221. & Æneid. l. 6. ver. 724. [l] Vid. Cudworth, Intell. Syſt. p. 133, &c, 423, &c. [m] Vid. eund. p. 148, &c.

world, made it to be governed by a vegetable or plaſtic nature only, as Boethus, whom we have already mentioned, in particular did; but their opinion ought by no means to be imputed to the whole ſect.

As to the conſtitution of the world, the peculiar dogm of the Stoics, which Zeno, their maſter, ſeems to have borrowed from Heraclitus, was, that in certain periods, or alternate viciſſitudes of time, the univerſe is diſſolved by fire, and re-produced out of it; God withdrawing, or abſorbing all things into himſelf, by a general conflagration, and afterwards producing them out of himſelf again [n]. In which ſucceſſive conflagrations, they held, that not only the world, but all the inferior gods alſo are melted down into their ſupreme Deity, the intellectual fiery ſoul, or principle of the univerſe [o]; who, during that interval, reſts in himſelf, conſidering his providence, and entertained with thoughts becoming himſelf [p], till he again emits, and brings the world into being; the manner of which renovation Zeno thus deſcribes: God, being alone, changes all ſubſtance from fire, firſt into air, and then into water; and as the ſeed is contained in the plant, ſo God, being the ſeminal reaſon of the world, left ſuch a ſeed in the moiſture, as might afford proper matter for the generation of thoſe things which were to be produced; that the groſſer parts of this watery matter ſubſiding made the earth, the finer the air, and thoſe ſtill more ſubtilized the fire. The four elements being thus generated, from the mixture of them proceeded plants, and animals, and all other ſpecies [q].

Of the Pendets in India.

WITH theſe notions of the Stoics agrees the doctrine, which is ſaid to be almoſt univerſal among the Pendets [r], (who are *Indian* gentiles) and ſecretly entertained by the Sûfis, and learned men of Perſia, being the ſame in ſubſtance with the philoſophy of Flud, which Gaſſendi has taken the pains to refute. Theſe Cabaliſts pretend, that God, or the ſupreme, immoveable, unchangeable Being, has not only produced the ſouls of creatures out of his own ſubſtance, but whatever is material, or corporeal in the univerſe alſo; and

[n] Diog. Laert. in Zenon. p. 451. Numenius, apud Euſeb. de Præp. Ev. l. 15. c. 18, 19. [o] Vid. Plut. adv. Stoicos, p. 1075. & de defectu Oracul. p. 420. [p] Idem. adv. Stoicos, p. 1077. Senec. Epiſt. 6. Arrian. in Epictet. lib. III. cap. 13. [q] Diog. Laert. ubi ſup. p. 450, 454. Vid. Stobæi Ecl. Phyſ. c. 20. [r] We take this word to be the Malayan پندیت Pandit, which ſignifies a man of letters.

and that this production is not made ſimply in the way of efficient cauſes, but by an actual extraction, or extenſion of his own ſubſtance, which is creation, as deſtruction is nothing elſe but the reſuming of that divine ſubſtance into himſelf; which they illuſtrate by the following ſymbol. They feign, that a certain immenſe ſpider was the firſt cauſe of all things; which, drawing the matter from its own bowels, wove the web of this univerſe, and diſpoſed it with wonderful art: ſhe, in the mean time, ſitting in the center of her work, feels, and directs the motion of every part; till at length, when ſhe has pleaſed herſelf ſufficiently in ordering, and contemplating this web, ſhe draws all the threads ſhe has ſpun out, again into herſelf, and having abſorbed them, the univerſal nature of all creatures vaniſhes into nothing [s]. Another compariſon made uſe of by them is, that God is like an immenſe ocean, wherein ſeveral phials full of water are ſwimming; that theſe phials, whitherſoever they go, are always in the ſame ocean, and in the ſame water, and when they break, the water contained in them will be united to their whole, that is, to the ocean, of which they are portions [t]. But this laſt is by no means a *ſtrict parallel*; for the matter of the phials is a ſecond ſubſtance, which, by its interpoſition, ſeparates the water, incloſed in thoſe phials, from the ocean: but if there was ſuch a thing as a ſoul of the world, it would be expanded through all parts of the univerſe, nothing could hinder the union of every particular ſoul with its whole, nor would death be a means of their re-union.

Of certain ſects among the Chineſe.

THERE is alſo a ſect among the Chineſe, who acknowledge nature to be the ſole deity, thereby underſtanding that natural power, or operation, which, being the efficient cauſe of motion and reſt, produces, maintains, and preſerves all things. They take her to be the ſoul which univerſally informs matter, and call her a principle, independent of all others; but as they ſeparate this principle from all corporeal and ſenſible matter, its imperfections and definitions, they do in this particular differ ſomething from the Stoics; tho' they who incline to this ſect do believe, as they did, that the world hath had a beginning, and ſhall have an end, but ſhall afterwards begin, and end again as before, and ſo perpetually be renewed, and periſh. And according

[s] Bernier, ſuite des Memoires ſur l'Empire du Grand Mogol, p. 202, &c. Burnet. in Append. ad Archæol. p. 354. Kircher, China illuſtr. p. 155. [t] Bernier, ibid.

according to this opinion, numerous worlds have already exiſted, and others, to an infinite number, will hereafter ſucceſſively make room for one another [u].

BUT the opinion more commonly embraced at this time by the Chineſe, and wherein the atheiſm, which has ſo generally infected them, conſiſts, comes rather nearer to the Stoic doctrine, tho' not without ſome conſiderable differences; and it is this: That God is the material ſoul of the whole world, or rather only of its moſt excellent part, the heaven; and that his providence and power are finite and limited, tho' much excelling the prudence and power of man. That there are diſtinct ſpirits in the four parts of the world, the ſun, ſtars, mountains, rivers, plants, cities, houſes, and in a word, in all things: ſome of which ſpirits they ſuppoſe to be evil, making them the immediate cauſe of all the miſchiefs and diſaſters, to which human life is ſubject. By this diſtribution of ſouls throughout all nature, they are not at a loſs to account for its whole œconomy, and to ſupply the want of an almighty power, and infinite providence, which they allow to no one ſpirit, not ſo much as to that of the heaven. They ſuppoſe, indeed, that the ſoul of the heaven acts on nature with a power and prudence, incomparably greater than what man is endued with; but, at the ſame time, acknowledge in the ſoul of every other thing an inward power, naturally independent on that of the heaven, and which ſometimes acts even in contradiction to the deſigns of heaven. So that, according to them, the heaven governs nature as a mighty king, the other ſouls owe him obedience, which he almoſt always forces them to pay; yet there are ſome, which now and then diſpenſe with their duty in that reſpect, and refuſe to obey [x].

THIS laſt opinion differs widely from another entertained by a ſect of the ſame nation, and eſtabliſhed by royal authority in the year of Chriſt 65. Its founder was ſon of the king In fan vang, who was firſt named She, or She Kia [y], and afterwards,

[u] Deſcript. of China, at the end of Ides's travels, p. 171, 172. [x] La Loubere, Deſcript. de Siam. Tom. I. p. 396, &c. [y] So we chuſe to expreſs what other authors, following the Portugueſe ſpelling and pronunciation, write Xe, or Xe Kia, intending throughout this work, to reduce the orthography of the Chineſe and Japoneſe words, as near as poſſible, to the Engliſh pronunciation; of which the reader will be more particularly informed in the preface.

afterwards, when he arrived at the age of thirty, Foe, that is, not a man [z]. The ſecret doctrine of this ſect, which is never diſcovered to the ſimple, or vulgar, is; that a void, or emptineſs [a], is the principle and end of all things; that our firſt parents ſprang from thence, and on their death returned into it; and that all men are likewiſe reſolved into that principle by death; that mankind, and the elements, and all creatures make a part of this void: ſo that there is but one ſubſtance in the univerſe, which is diverſified in particular beings only by figures and qualities, or interior configurations; in a manner as water, which is always eſſentially water, though it be in the ſhape of ſnow, hail, rain, or ice [b]. They deſcribe this original being, as a pure, limpid, ſubtil, infinite ſubſtance, which can neither be generated, nor corrupted, but is both perfect itſelf, and the perfection of all things, remaining in perpetual repoſe, but without heart, virtue, underſtanding, or power, the great property of its eſſence being neither to act, underſtand, nor will any thing [c]. This opinion is the fountain, from whence that, which we have mentioned to obtain among the Japoneſe [d], is derived; and differs from Spinoziſm, in allowing an emerſion of the world from a very different ſtate poſſible, if not actually, to have been; as it does both from that and the Stoic doctrine, in diveſting their firſt principle of activity and underſtanding. A follower of Confucius has refuted the extravagancies of this ſect, by that eſtabliſhed maxim, that nothing can be produced from nothing; by which he muſt have ſuppoſed, that they taught the firſt principle of all things to be nothing [e], and, conſequently, that the world had a beginning, without either an efficient cauſe, or matter. But it is more probable, that by the words void and emptineſs, they intended only to expreſs that which has not the properties of ſenſible matter, and underſtand thereby what the moderns underſtand by ſpace, which is conceived to be diſtinct from body, and whoſe indiviſible, impalpable, penetrable, immoveable, and infinite extenſion is ſomething real. It is eaſy to perceive, that ſuch a being could not be the firſt principle, if it were

[z] See the Acta Eruditor. Lipſiæ, 1688, pag. 257, in the Extract of the Philoſ. of Confucius, printed at Paris, 1687. [a] The Chineſe words are Cung hiu, the Latin tranſlation, Vacuum & inane. [b] Biblioth. Univ. Tom. VII. pag. 406. [c] Acta Eruditor Lipſiæ, 1688, pag. 258. [d] See before, p. 88. [e] Acta Erudit. Lipſiæ, ubi ſupra.

were inactive, as these Chinese philosophers pretend: Spinoza has not been so absurd; the abstract idea which he gives of the first principle is no more, properly speaking, than the idea of space; but then he endues it with motion, from whence all the varieties of matter may proceed [f].

Of the Siamese; THE Siamese have also some agreement with the Stoics, in their notion of the alternate destruction and renovation of the universe. Their Talapoins teach, that the figure or model of the world is eternal, but that the visible world is not; for whatever we see in it lives, in their opinion, and must die; and there will at the same time be re-produced other beings of the same kind, another heaven, another earth, and other stars; and in this manner, they say, nature has perished, and been renewed several times [g].

and the later Jews. NOR was this doctrine unknown to the later Jews, whose cabalists are supposed to account for the origin of things, by making them emanations from a first cause, and therefore pre-existent, though perhaps under another form. They speak also of the resuming or withdrawing of things into the first being, by a revolution and restitution of them to their first state; as if they believed their En Soph [h], or first infinite being, to contain all things, and that there is always the same quantity of being in the universe, whether in the created, or uncreated state. When it is in its uncreated or antemundane state, God is simply all things; but when it becomes the world, the degree or quantity of being or entity is not encreased, but God expands and unfolds himself by emanations and effluxes, from the superior to the lower parts, whereby the different forms and orders of created beings are constituted. For which reason they often speak of greater and smaller vessels, as it were to receive those effluxes; and of effluent rays; and of canals, through which they flow and are propagated; in a word, when God retracts those rays, the external world perishes, and all things again become God [i]: *he sendeth forth his spirit, and they are created, and he reneweth the face of the earth, he hideth his face, and they are troubled, he taketh away their breath, they die, and return to their dust* [k].

WE

[f] Vid. Bayle, Dict. Hist. Art. Spinoza, Rem. B.
[g] La Loubere, Descrip. de Siam Tom. I. p. 361.
[h] אין סוף
[i] Vid. Burnet. Archæol. l. 1. p. 63, &c.
[k] Psalm civ. 29, 30.

2. The opinion of those who held two distinct, co-eternal principles, God and matter.

We come now to speak of those who held two distinct, and independent principles, co-existent from eternity, God and matter; which is supposed to have been the opinion of Pythagoras and Plato; and was certainly that of Anaxagoras, Archelaus, and several others.

The opinion of Pherecydes, Pythagoras.

What was the opinion of Pythagoras's master, Pherecydes of Syros, as to the origin of the world, is somewhat uncertain; from the first words of a treatise of his, extant in the time of Diogenes Laertius, which are indeed somewhat corrupted and obscure, it seems, he believed three eternal beings, Jupiter, or God, time, and the earth [l]. But Pythagoras himself is said to have asserted two substantial self-existent principles, a Monad, or unity, and a Dyad, or duality; by the former of which God, or an active principle or mind, is generally allowed to be meant (though some imagine the Pythagoric monads were atoms [m]); but what the latter signified is uncertain, it being sometimes interpreted to be a dæmon, or evil principle in forming matter, or the visible world [n], and at other times to be a passive principle, or matter itself [o]; the number two being used as a type, to shew the variety, inequality, divisibility, and continual changes of matter, as one was to express the unity, identity, indivisibility, and unchangeableness of the divine nature [p]. Yet it may be questioned, whether Pythagoras by his Dyad meant matter or no: for Porphyry thus interprets the two Pythagoric principles. The cause, says he, of that sympathy, harmony, and agreement which is in things, and of the conversation of the whole, which is always the same, and like itself, was by Pythagoras called Unity, that unity which is in the things themselves being but a participation of the first cause; but the reason of difference, inequality, and constant irregularity in things was by him called a Dyad [q]. Thus, according to Porphyry, by the Pythagoric dyad, is not so much meant matter, as the infinite and indeterminate nature, and passive capability of things. So that the monad, and dyad of Pythagoras seem to have been the same with Plato's Finite, and Infinite

[l] Diog. Laert. in pherecyde, p. 76: [m] See before p. 114. [n] Plutarch de placitis Philos. l. 1. cap. 7. [o] Idem, ibid. cap. 3. Vid, Numen. apud Euseb. de Præp. Ev. & Cudworth, Intell. System, p. 371, &c. [p] Vid. Dacier, Vie de Pythagore, p. lv. [q] Porphyr. in Vita Pythag, p. 203.

finite [r]; the former of which two only is ſubſtantial, that firſt moſt ſimple being, the cauſe of all unity, and the meaſure of all things [s].

HOWEVER, if Pythagoras's dyad be to be underſtood of a ſubſtantial matter, there ſeems good reaſon to believe, that he did not ſuppoſe matter to be ſelf-exiſtent and independent upon the deity; ſince, according to the beſt and moſt antient writers, his dyad was no primary, but a ſecondary being only, and derived from his monad, the ſole original of all things, as matter for the monad, or active principle, which in the beginning was alone, to work upon [t]. For whatever Ocellus Lucanus, Philolaus [u], and ſome other Pythagoreans imagined of the world's eternity, Pythagoras himſelf really believed it to have a beginning, and to have been made by God [x]: which is confirmed by its being given as one reaſon of his ſuperſtitious abſtinence from beans; that at the beginning things being confounded, mingled, and putrified together in the earth, the generation and ſecretion of them afterwards proceeded by degrees, animals being produced, and plants ſhooting forth; at which time, from the ſame putrified matter, ſprang up both men and beans [y]. But his acknowledging the creation of the world by God is ſtill more expreſs, in thoſe verſes cited for his by Juſtin [z]. We ſhall content ourſelves to add here the teſtimony of St. Cyril, who aſſures us, that he held one God of the whole univerſe, the principle and cauſe of all things, illuminating and quickning the whole, and the original of motion; from whom all things were derived, and brought out of non-exiſtence into being.

BUT Pythagoras, it ſeems, did not only call the ſupreme Deity, a monad, but alſo a tetrad, or tetractys, the explication of which has tortured the wits of ſeveral ages [b]. It is, in the golden verſes, ſaid to be the fountain of the eternal

[r] Or rather determinate, and indeterminate, πέρας, Καὶ ἄπειρον. Plat. in Philebo. [s] Cudworth, ubi ſup. 372. [t] Alexand. de Succeſs. Philoſ. apud Diog. Laert. in Pythagora, p. 507. Hermias, in Irriſione Philoſop. gent. Theodoret. Therap. II. Thearidas Pythagoreus, apud Clement. Alex. Strom. 5. p 611, & in admonit. ad Gentes, p. 47. Suidas, in voce Pythagoras. [u] Vid. Cudworth, ubi ſup. 393. [x] Plut. de placitis Philoſ. l. 2. cap. 4. [y] Porphyr. de Vita Pythag. [z] De Monarchia, p. 167. [a] Cyrill. cont. Julian. lib. 1. [b] Vid. Burnet. Archæol. l. 1. p. 154, 157.

nal nature [c]; and, by Hierocles, the maker of all things, the intelligent god, the cauſe of the heavenly and ſenſible god, that is, of the animated world, or heaven [d]. The latter Pythagoreans endeavour to give reaſons why God ſhould be called Tetractys, from certain myſteries in the number four [e]; but the late conjecture of ſome learned men [f] ſeems to be much more probable, that this name was really nothing elſe but the Tetragrammaton, or that proper name of the ſupreme God amongſt the Hebrews, conſiſting of four letters [g]; nor is it ſtrange, Pythagoras ſhould be ſo well acquainted with the name JEHOVAH, ſince, beſides his travelling into other pars of the eaſt, he is affirmed by Joſephus, Porphyry, and others, to have converſed with the Hebrews alſo. The worſt of Pythagoras's theology was, that, repreſenting God as the mover of the univerſe, and the ſoul of the world, he taught, that our ſouls were portions of the divine ſubſtance [h].

THAT Pythagoras held numbers to be the principles of all things, is teſtified by all antiquity, and he thence accounted for the production of the world in this manner. He ſuppoſed, that the monad and dyad were the two ſources of numbers, from whence proceeded points; from points lines; from lines plane figures; from planes ſolids; from ſolids ſenſible bodies, the elements of which are four, fire, water, earth, and air; and theſe are in perpetual change; from them the world was formed, being animated, intelligent, and ſpherical, containing in the midſt the earth, a globoſe body, and inhabited [i]. He taught, that the world began from fire, and the fifth element; and that there being five figures of ſolid bodies, called mathematical, or regular, the earth was made of the cube; fire of the pyramid, or tetrahedron; the air of the octahedron; water of the icoſahedron; and the ſphere of the univerſe of the dodecahedron [k].

Reflections thereon.

THIS method of philoſophizing, which was alſo adopted by Plato, if underſtood in the literal acceptation, has no manner

[c] Verſ. 47, 48. [d] Hierocles, in Aur. Carm. [e] See Cudworth, p. 376. [f] Picus Mirand. Selden & Gotef. Wendelin. See alſo Philo in Vita Moſis, p. 519. [g] Vid. Cudworth, ubi ſup. & Dacier, Vie de Pythagore, p. lvii. [h] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. Minut. Felix, p. 151. Lactant. l. 1. c. 5. [i] Suidas, in voce Pythagoras. Diog. Laert. in Pythag. p. 508. [k] Plutarch. de placitis Phil. l. 2. c. 6. But the fifth figure, according to Clavius and others, was added by ſome of Plato's followers.

manner of foundation in nature, nothing being more certain than that numbers, if ever ſo various combined, can generate nothing but numbers [l]. it is therefore more probable, that Pythagoras made uſe of them no otherwiſe than as emblems, or ſymbols: for ſuppoſing mathematical ſciences to poſſeſs a middle diſtance between corporeals and incorporeals, he began with them; thereby to wean the mind gradually from ſenſible things, and raiſe it to the contemplation of intelligible beings. And this is the reaſon why he had recourſe chiefly to numbers; for not being able ſufficiently to explain by words the firſt principles, he repreſented them by numbers [m]: which ſeems to be all Pythagoras deſigned, though his followers have ſought myſteries in his doctrine, which himſelf never dreamt of; yet it is not to be denied, that the great defect of that philoſopher, and of Plato alſo, was, that they reſolved natural things into mathematical reaſons, numbers, and proportions; as Ariſtotle afterwards did into logical reaſons.

THE monad, dyad, and tetrad we have already ſpoken of. As to the regular bodies, it is conjectured, that Pythagoras intended only to repreſent the elements under their forms, in imitation of other natural bodies. Thus he repreſented the fire by the figure of a pyramid, or tetrahedron, from its aſpiring to a point, or the acuteneſs of its flame; the air, being next in order to the fire, by an octahedron, which bears the neareſt reſemblance to the tetrahedron, being compoſed of two pyramids joined by a ſquare baſe; the water, becauſe of its fluidity, was repreſented by an icoſahedron; and the earth by a cube, to denote its ſtability; the cube being, of all the regular bodies, the leaſt adapted to motion [n]. Or if they were to be conſidered phyſically, perhaps, Pythagoras ſuppoſed the conſtituent parts of the four elements to conſiſt of ſuch figures, according to their ſeveral ſpecific gravities: that the Molæ, or primary particles of the earth, were cubes; for as earth is the moſt ponderous of all the elements, ſo is the cube the heavieſt of all the regular bodies; that the particles of fire were tetrahedra, or triangular pyramids, fire being the lighteſt and moſt volatile element, as the tetrahedron

[l] Vid. Burnet. Archæol. l. 1. p. 158. [m] Dacier, Vie de Pythagore, p. lv. [n] Macrobius, apud Caſimir. Simienowicz, lib. 4. p. 263.

dron is the lighteſt of the ſame bodies; that the particles of the air had the form of an octahedron, which is next lighteſt body of the five, as air is the next lighteſt to fire; and that the particles of water had the ſhape of an icoſahedron, which figure is a ſort of mean proportion between the cube and the octahedron, as the weight of water is between the weight of air and that of earth. As to the fifth body, the dodecahedron, which repreſents the heaven, or ſphere of the univerſe, it muſt be entirely emblematical, (if it be not rather a later addition to the pythagoric phyſiology, and no genuine part of it) the four faces of that figure being fancied to allude to the twelve ſigns of the zodiac [o], or elſe the four elements, ſeven heavens, and the firmament [p].

The opinion of Timæus Locrus, and

Timæus Locrus, who was a Pythagorean, ſeems to have held the pre-exiſtence of matter, as if it were a ſelf-exiſtent principle together with God; for he affirms it to be eternal [q]: yet, in another place, he aſſerts the eternal God, who is viſible to the underſtanding only, to be the author and parent of all things, and that the world, which is viſible to our eyes, is the generated god [r]; and he diſtinguiſhes between the eternal duration of God, which had no beginning; and time, which was made together with the world, as an imitation of eternity [s]. He taught more particularly, that there were two principles of all things; Mind, the principle of thoſe things which are made according to reaſon; and Neceſſity, of thoſe which are produced by force, according to the powers of bodies; by which ſecond principle, he plainly means matter [t]. That before the making of the world, there were, beſides God, idea, or form, and rude matter; one being the intelligible pattern, or exemplar of all things, and the other the ſubject, which, being itſelf without figure, yet capable of all figures, was reduced by God into the determinate form of the viſible world; which, being the beſt production, is not corruptible by any other cauſe than the ſame God who compoſed it, if it ſhall at any time pleaſe him to diſſolve it [u]. So that Timæus ſeems really to

of Archytas of Tarentum.

have

[o] Idem, ibid. [p] Vid. Dacier, Vie de Pythagore, p. cxxxiii. Vid. etiam Timæum Locrum de Anima Mundi, Inter Opuſc. Mythol. &c. Edit. a T. Gale, 1688, p. 553, &c. [q] Timæus, ibid. p. 544. [r] Idem, ibid. p. 549. [s] Ibid. p. 552. See alſo Clem. Alexand. Strom. 5. p. 604. [t] Vid. Mer. Caſaub. in Diog. Laert. in vita Plat. p. 207. [u] Timæus, ibid. p. 543, &c. See Stanley's hiſt. of Philoſ. part IX. p. 419, 420.

have held two ſubordinate principles, matter and form; wherein Archytas the Tarentine, who was alſo a Pythagorean, agreed with him as ſuppoſing God to be the artificer and mover, matter that which is moved, and form the art introduced into the matter [x]; which was alſo the notion of Plato. We the rather take notice of the opinion of Archytas in this place, becauſe he and Pythagoras are joined by Cenſorinus with Ocellus Lucanus, as believing mankind to have been from eternity [y].

The opinion of Plato.

Plato, who, as well as his maſter Socrates, embraced the Pythagoric notions as to the origin of the univerſe, held the three principles we have juſt mentioned, God, matter, and idea [z]; which are by Laertius reduced to two, God and matter [a]; the ideas or original patterns of things conceived in the divine mind, being really no diſtinct principle from him, but the very mind of God, with whom they are often confounded, both by Timæus, and ſeveral of the Platonics [b]. It ſeems therefore certain, that Plato ſuppoſed matter to have been uncreated and eternal, as he often aſſerts it to be. But he has been defended in this reſpect by Hierocles [c], who, being himſelf convinced by the arguments on the other ſide, was willing to have it thought, for the honour of his ſect, that its founder believed God capable of producing the world by a ſimple act of volition, though there was no pre-exiſtent matter; and therefore maintained, that he really held an abſolute creation out of nothing. Wherein Hierocles is thought to have been very ſingular [d]; and yet ſome moderns have followed him in that particular, ſuppoſing, that when Plato aſſerted matter to be eternal, he did not mean, that it ſubſiſted viſibly from all eternity, but only that it ſubſiſted intellectually in the eternal idea of God [e]. And ſeveral paſſages have been cited from the works of that philoſopher [f], which would give ſome grounds to ſuſpect he really believed, that

[x] Stobæus, Eclog. Phyſ.

[y] Cenſorinus de die natali, cap. 3, where, inſtead of Ocellus, the common Editions have Cereius.

[z] Plutarch. de placitis Philoſ. l. 1. c. 3. Chalcidius in Timæum. Apuleius, de Doctrina Platonis, l. 1.

[a] Diog. Laert. in Platon, p. 206. 212. &c.

[b] Vid. Menag. in Laert. p. 163, & Mer. Caſaubon. in eundem, loco jam citato.

[c] Hierocl. apud Photium, Biblioth. Cod. CCLI. pag. 1380.

[d] Vid. Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Hierocles, Philoſ.

[e] Dacier, Vie de Platon, p. 123, &c.

[f] Vid. ibid. & Cudworth's Intell. Syſtem, p. 404, 570, &c.

that God created, or produced matter itſelf, as well as made and formed the world thereout, had he not ſo explicitly declared the contrary. Another opinion imputed to Plato by Plutarch, viz. the ſuppoſing of two intelligent and independent principles, a good and an evil one, will be conſidered by and by.

As to the formation of the world, Plato taught, that matter being at firſt unformed, and without any determinate figure, and being moved in an irregular and diſorderly manner, God, who prefers order to confuſion, gathered it together; and converting this ſubſtance into the four elements, of them made the world, and all things therein, faſhioning it according to the archetypal idea, or model thereof, which he had conceived in himſelf; and that he gave it a ſphænical figure, as the moſt perfect, and that which contains the reſt; and endued it with an intelligent ſoul, becauſe an animated being is more excellent than an inanimate, which ſoul of the world Plato ſuppoſed to be formed before its material body [g]. He alſo aſſerted the world to be incorruptible, not by its nature, but becauſe it is ſupported by divine providence [h]: and held not only the animated univerſe itſelf, but the ſeveral parts of nature, which he likewiſe ſuppoſed animated, to be gods, inferior indeed to the ſupreme God, but ſuperior to men, and juſtly challenging honour and worſhip from them. Theſe gods of Plato were for the moſt part fiery, being the celeſtial bodies, though he ſuppoſed the earth alſo to be a god, affirming it to be the oldeſt of all the gods within the heaven [i]: and he for this reaſon found fault with the Anaxagorean doctrine, which made the planets and ſtars nothing but inanimate ſtones and earth [k].

The opinion of Anaxrgoras.

ANAXAGORAS, who was not more conſpicuous for his wealth and nobility of birth, than the greatneſs of his mind [l], did indiſputably hold two co-eternal principles, God and matter, being the firſt (of the Ionic philoſophers at leaſt) who, as has been obſerved, introduced an intelligent being to move, ſeparate, and put in order the chaotic matter: whence he obtained the honourable ſurname of Nous, or Mind [m]. He admitted as many ſorts of principles as of compounded bodies: for he ſuppoſed, that every kind

[g] Diog. Laert. in Platon. p. 206, &c. Plato, in Timæo. See alſo Stanley's Hiſt. of Philoſ. Part V. p. 186 & Burnet. Archæol. l. 1. p. 176. [h] Plut. de placitis Philoſ. l. 1. c. 4.
[i] Diog. Laert. in Platon. p. 211. [k] Plato deLegib. l. 10.
[l] Diog. Laert. in Anaxag. p. 83. [m] Idem, ibid. Plutarch. in Pericle.

kind of body was formed of a great number of ſmall ſimilar particles; that a bone, for example, was nothing but a compoſition of many inviſible bones, and that the blood which we ſee was made up of many minute drops, every one of which was blood [n]; from the ſimilitude of which principles he called them Homœomeriæ. But this obliged him to allow, that the ſeeds, or principles of all kinds are found in every body, which throws his ſyſtem into a ſtrange confuſion; not to mention ſeveral other inconveniencies and contradictions therein [o]. As to the formation of the world, his doctrine ſeems to have been, that the mind, or intelligence who preſided thereat, and whom he allows to be the original of motion [p], finding in the infinite matter a vaſt number of particles which were like one another, but promiſcuouſly mixed with, and ſurrounded by others which were unlike, ſeparated the one from the other, and, joining together the corpuſcles of the ſame kind, formed of ſome a ſtar, of others a ſtone, &c. Notwithſtanding which, he has been ſeverely cenſured by ſeveral, as allowing too much to material neceſſity, and endeavouring to account for things, as far as poſſible, from the inherent forms and qualities of matter only, or any way, rather than bring in the Deity, to whom he never has recourſe, but when he is abſolutely at a loſs [q], and without whoſe interpoſition, or knowledge, he admitted, ſome revolutions in nature happened [r]. As to the formation of animals, he taught, that they proceeded from the earth, being firſt generated of moiſture and heat, and after by mixture of the ſexes [s].

ARCHELAUS, the ſucceſſor of Anaxagoras, moſt probably held the ſame principles with his maſter, namely, an infinite number of ſimilar particles, as St. Auſtin and Simplicius [t] teſtify; though others [u] tell us, that he ſuppoſed infinite

Of Archelaus.

[n] Vide Lucret. de rer. Nat. l. 1. v. 830, &c. Plut. de placitis Philoſ. l. 1. c. 3. Diog. Laert. in Anaxag. p. 84. Ariſt. Phyſic. l. c. 1. 4. [o] Vid. Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Anaxagoras, Rem. C & G. [p] Diog. Laert. ubi ſupra. [q] Ariſtot. Metaph. l. 1. c. 4. [r] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 2. p. 364. Euſeb. de Præp. Ev. l. 14. c. 14. p. 750. [s] Diog. Laert. in Anaxag. p. 85. [t] Auguſtin. de civit. Dei, l. 8. c. 2. Simplic. in Ariſt. Phyſ. lib 1. Vid. etiam Clem. Alexandr. in Protrept. p. 43. [u] Plutarch. de placitis Philoſoph. l. 1. c. 3. Juſtin. Martyr, admonit. ad Græcos, p. 4.

infinite air, its rarefaction and condenſation, the one being fire, and the other water, to be the principles of all things. He alſo thought men and animals were produced by the heat of the earth, which yielded a ſlimy ſubſtance like milk, ſerving for food [x].

Of Empedocles. EMPEDOCLES, who was an auditor both of Pythagoras and Anaxagoras, is ſaid to have followed the phyſiology of the latter. He held two cauſes of all things, contention and friendſhip, meaning thereby ſecretion and concretion, or the ſeparation and mixture of the primary matter, from which the elements were formed, and all things that have been, are, or ſhall be, plants, animals, men, and gods, derived their original [y]; yet he ſuppoſed, that contention and friendſhip did both depend on one ſupreme Deity, as their author [z]. For Empedocles, it ſeems, believed that were it not for diſcord, or contention, all things would be one; ſo that, according to him, all things whatſoever proceeded from contention, together with a mixture of friendſhip, ſave only the ſupreme God, who hath no contention at all in him, becauſe he is eſſentially unity itſelf [a]. He taught, that the elements were compoſed out of ſmaller corpuſcles, which were moſt minute, and as it were the elements [b]. Agreeably to other atomiſts, he acknowledged no generation or corruption, properly ſo called, but aſcribed all to ſecretion and concretion [c]. He imagined the elements to have been produced in this order; firſt, that the æther was ſecreted, afterwards the fire, and then the earth, which being too cloſely preſſed by violence of the circumvolution, there iſſued thence water, from the evaporation of which proceeded the air. That the heaven was made of the æther, the ſun of the fire, and the things about the earth from the other elements [d]: ſo that the phyſiology of Empedocles was, at the bottom, the ſame with that of Democritus and Epicurus; only that he differed from them in ſome particulars, as in excluding a vacuum, and denying ſuch phyſical corpuſcles as were indiviſible, but chiefly

[x] Diog. Laert. in Archelao, p. 89. [y] Diog. Laert. in Emped. p. 538. Cicer. de Amicitia. Clemens Alex. in admon. ad Gentes, Ariſt. Phyſ. l. 8. Suidas, in voce Manes, &c. [z] Ariſtot. in Metaph. l. 3. c. 4. & de Mundo, p. 26. [a] Cudworth's Intell. Syſt. p. 392. [b] Plutarch. de placitis Phil. l. 1. c. 13. Stobæus, in Eclog Phyſic. [c] Plut. ubi ſup. l. 1. c. 24. & 30. [d] Idem, ibid. l. 2. c. 6.

chiefly by admitting an intelligent principle, by whoſe wiſdom the world was put into this order, as the beſt and moſt convenient for the good of the whole; though he ſometimes indulged too much to fortuitous mechaniſm, eſpecially in the ſtructure of animals [e]. We ſhall only obſerve further, that he held, according to the Pythagorean doctrine, that there were two worlds, the one intellectual, and the other ſenſible; the former of them being the model, or archetype of the latter [f].

THAT Plutarch maintained the eternity of matter is paſt all queſtion; he expreſly aſſerting, that the ſubſtance or matter, out of which the world was made, was not itſelf made, but always ready at hand, and ſubject to the artificer, to be ordered and diſpoſed by him. For, in his opinion, the making of the world was not the production of it out of nothing, but out of an antecedent bad and diſorderly ſtate, like the making of a houſe, garment, or ſtatue [g]. Of Plutarch, and ſeveral others.

IT is alſo well known, that Hermogenes, and other antient pretenders to chriſtianity, did in like manner aſſert the ſelf-exiſtence and improduction of matter, for which reaſon they were commonly called Materiarians; endeavouring by this means to give an account (as the Stoics had done before them) of the original of evils, and to free God from the imputation thereof. And they argued in this manner; God made all things either out of himſelf, or out of nothing, or out of pre-exiſtent matter: he could not make all things out of himſelf, becauſe himſelf being always unmade, he ſhould then really have been the maker of nothing; and he did not make all out of nothing, becauſe, being eſſentially good, he would have made every thing in the beſt manner, and ſo there could have been no evil in the world: but ſince there are evils, and theſe could not proceed from the will of God, they muſt needs ariſe from the fault of ſomething, and therefore of the matter out of which things were made [h]. Some modern ſects of the chriſtian profeſſion do alſo, at this day, aſſert the uncreatedneſs of matter; but theſe ſuppoſe, as the Stoics did, body to be the only ſubſtance [i].

BUT

[e] Vid. Cudworth, p. 24, 25. Ariſt. Vid. Plut. ubi ſup. l. 1. c. 20. Platon. p. 1014. 1015, &c. p. 282. [f] Simplic. in Phyſic. [g] Plut. de pſychog. [h] Tertullian. adv. Hermog. [i] Cudworth, Intell. Syſt. p. 197.

But ſome went ſtill farther, and maintained, that the chaos, or original matter, was animated by an evil, or maleficent ſoul, thereby conſtituting a third ſelf-exiſtent principle. And this was the opinion of Plutarch, whom we have juſt mentioned, and of Numenius, and Atticus [k]. The firſt not only expreſly aſſerts, that a mad irrational ſoul, and an unformed diſorderly body did co-exiſt with one another from eternity, neither of them having any generation, or beginning [l]; but diſcovers no ſmall fondneſs for this notion in ſeveral parts of his works [m], and profeſſedly endeavours to eſtabliſh it by the beſt arguments he can; pretending, that otherwiſe it would be impoſſible to account, in a ſatisfactory manner, for the original of evil. For as evil could not be produced without ſome poſitive cauſe, it being ridiculous to imagine it came into the world by accident; and as neither God, who is eſſentially good, nor mere inactive matter, void of all form and quality, could be the cauſe of evil; he therefore concluded, that it muſt proceed from a certain irrational and maleficent ſoul, or dæmon, unmade, and co-exiſting with God and matter from eternity. So that whatever is good in the ſoul and body of the univerſe, and likewiſe in the ſouls of men and dæmons, is to be aſcribed to God, as its only original; and whatever is evil, irregular, and diſorderly in them, ought to be imputed to that other ſubſtantial evil principle. And to ſupport this opinion by authority, as well as reaſon, he would perſuade us, that it was the conſtant belief of all the pagan nations, and of the wiſeſt men, and philoſophers that ever were among them [n]; imputing it to the Egyptians, who, as he imagines, repreſented the evil principle under the name of Typhon; to Zoroaſtres, and the Perſian Mages, who are alſo by Laertius affirmed to have maintained two principles, a good dæmon and an evil one [o] (though it has been queſtioned, whether they really believed the evil principle to be eternal or not); to the Chaldeans, becauſe their aſtrologers ſuppoſed two of the planets to be beneficent, two maleficent, and three of a middle nature; and to the antient Greeks, becauſe they ſacrificed not only to Jupiter Olympius, but alſo to Hades, or Pluto, who was ſometimes

[k] Procl. in Tim. p. 116. [l] Plut. in quæſt. Platon. p. 1003. [m] Idem, de Pſychog. Plat. & de Iſide & Oſiride, &c. [n] Idem, de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 369, &c. [o] Diog. Laert. in proœm.

ſometimes called by them the infernal Jupiter : ſuppoſing alſo the monad and dyad of Pythagoras, the contention and friendſhip of Empedocles, the mind and infinite matter of Anaxagoras, to be no other than a good and evil God. But above all he endeavours to prove, that Plato was an undoubted champion for this opinion, and that chiefly for theſe reaſons : firſt, becauſe that philoſopher ſpeaks of a neceſſary and innate appetite, which may ſometimes turn the heavens a contrary way, and by that means cauſe diſorder and confuſion [p] ; ſecondly, becauſe he ſpeaks of two kinds of ſouls, whereof one is beneficent, but the other the contrary [q] ; and laſtly, becauſe he ſuppoſes matter to have been moved diſorderly before the world was made, which implies, there was a diſorderly and irrational ſoul exiſting with it, as the mover of it, matter being unable to move itſelf. But as to the firſt of theſe allegations, it has been obſerved, that Plato, as if it had been purpoſely to prevent ſuch an interpretation of his meaning, in the paſſage there quoted, as this of Plutarch's, adds, that it muſt not be ſuppoſed, there are two gods of contrary minds, turning the heavens ſometimes one way, and ſometimes another. Which might alſo ſerve for an anſwer to what is afterwards urged, as if Plato had affirmed, that there were two ſouls, the one beneficent, and the other the contrary, becauſe this would be all one as to introduce two gods : but in that place it is conceived, that Plato did only diſtribute ſouls in general into good and evil ; thoſe moral differences properly belonging to that rank of beings called by him ſouls, and ariſing from them, according to his premiſed doctrine, that ſoul is the cauſe of good and evil, juſt and unjuſt : but, then, afterwards making enquiry concerning the ſoul of the world, or heaven, he poſitively concludes, that it was no other than a ſoul endued with all virtue [r]. As to the laſt reaſon, that matter is ſaid by Plato to have been moved diſorderly, it is ſuppoſed, that he did therein only adhere to that vulgarly received tradition, that the world was formed from a chaos, or matter confuſedly moved, and afterwards brought into order [s]. And as to the origin of evil, Plato is conceived neither to have imputed it to God himſelf, nor derived it from unqualified matter, nor yet from any irrational

[p] Plat. in Politic. [q] Idem, de Legib. l. 10. [r] Idem, ibid. [s] Cudworth, Intell. Syſt. p. 218, &c. Vid. Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art, Zoroaſtre, Rem. E.

rational and maleficent ſoul, but the neceſſity of imperfect beings [t].

HOWEVER, ſome mongrel chriſtians, as the Marcionites, Manichæans, and Paulicians, did really maintain this opinion of two ſelf-exiſtent gods, a good and an evil one, which latter Manes called Hyle, or matter [u].

The opinion of thoſe who held the world to be abſolutely created, and liable to diſſolution.

HAVING now done with the ſecond of thoſe opinions, under which we comprehended the ſeveral notions, which have been entertained concerning the origin of the univerſe, we come to ſpeak of the laſt, and only true one; that the world had a beginning, being abſolutely produced by God out of a ſtate of non-exiſtence, and conſequently, that it is of its own nature liable to diſſolution.

AND beſides ſuch of the nations, and philoſophers already mentioned, who moſt probably believed this creation of the world, though ſuſpected of contrary opinions, there were ſeveral among the heathens who unqueſtionably did ſo.

The opinion of the ancient Tuſcans.

WE ſhall firſt inſtance in the antient Tuſcans, or Etrurians, whoſe tradition we have from one of their own writers. He ſays, that God, the author of the univerſe, employed twelve thouſand years in all his creations and diſtributed them into twelve houſes. That in the firſt chiliad, or thouſand years, he made the heaven and earth; in the next the firmament which appears to us, calling it heaven; in the third, the ſea and all the waters that are in the earth; in the fourth, the great lights, the ſun and moon, and alſo the ſtars; in the fifth, every volatile, reptile, and four-footed animal, in the air, earth, and water; in the ſixth, man. It ſeems therefore, according to them, that the firſt ſix thouſand years were paſſed before the formation of man, and that mankind are to continue for the other ſix thouſand years, the whole time of conſummation being twelve thouſand years [x]. For they held, that the world was ſubject to certain revolutions, wherein it became transformed, and a new age and generation began: of ſuch generations there were in all, according to them, eight, differing from one another in cuſtoms and way of life; each having a duration of a certain number of years aſſigned them by God, and determined by the period which they called, the great year. The approach of ſuch a change in the world was judged, by

[t] Cudworth, p. 220. [u] Auguſt. contr. Fauſt. l. 20. c. 3.
[x] Anonym. apud. Suid. in voce Tyrrheni.

by the Tuſcan diviners, to be portended by a prodigy which happened in the time of C. Marius, when the air being perfectly clear and ſerene, there was heard a ſhrill and mounful ſound of a trumpet, to the aſtoniſhment and terror of every body [y]. And theſe are all the remains we now have of the old Etrurian phyſiology; which may be ſuppoſed to have been well worth our knowledge, that nation being particularly curious and diligent in their enquiries into nature [z]. Beſides thoſe we have already mentioned, who entertained this opinion of the mundane revolutions, the Druids alſo taught the alternate diſſolution of the world by water and fire, and its ſucceſſive renovation [a]. and of the Druids.

THE Mages, among the ancient Perſians, did alſo acknowledge the world to have been created by God, as their ſucceſſors moſt certainly do at this day [b]; but being at a loſs otherwiſe to account for the original of evil, they held two principles, a good dæmon, or God, and an evil one [c]; the firſt the author of all good, and the other of all evil; the former they ſuppoſed to be repreſented by light, and the latter by darkneſs, as their trueſt ſymbols; and that of the compoſition of thoſe two all things in the world are made. The good principle, or God, they named Yezad, or Yezdân, and Ormozd, or Hormizda, which the Greeks wrote Oromazes; and the evil dæmon they called Ahârîman, or Ahrîman, and the Greeks Arimanius [d]. Intending in the proper place to give a more particular detail of the antient religion of the Magi, and their ſeveral tenets, true or ſuppoſed; we ſhall only obſerve here, that though one ſect of them held, as the Manichæans and ſome other hereticks did, both theſe principles to have been from all eternity, yet they are reputed heterodox; the original doctrine being, that the good principle, or God, only was eternal, and the other created: which appears not only from the unanimous teſtimony of the eaſtern writers, but from what genuine remains we have of Zoroaſtres in the Greek, particularly the following deſcription of the ſupreme Deity, taken from the very words of Zoroaſtres himſelf; God, ſays he, has the head of a hawk (which muſt be a ſymbolical expreſſion), and is The opinion of the Perſian Magi.

the

[y] Plutarch. in Sylla. p. 456. [z] Diodor Sic. l. 5. p. 316. [a] Strabo, lib. 4. [b] See Lord's account of the religion of the Perſees, p. 5. [c] Diog. Laert. in Proœm. p. 6. [d] Vid. Hyde, de Relig. veter. Perſar. cap. 9.

the firſt of all things, incorruptible, eternal, unmade, without parts, unlike any other being, the promoter of all good, impartial, the beſt of the good, the moſt prudent of the prudent; he is the father of equity and juſtice, ſelf-inſtructed, natural, perfect, and wiſe, and the ſole inventor of what is holy in nature [e]. And, indeed, that the evil dæmon was not believed to be ſelf-exiſtent, appears from what Plutarch himſelf, though he ſo confidently affirms the contrary, ſays of his future deſtruction, it being impoſſible, that what is uncreated ſhould ever be deſtroyed [f].

That writer gives the following account of the Magian traditions in relation to their gods, and the introduction of evil into the world, viz. That Oromazes conſiſted of moſt pure light, and Arimanius of darkneſs; and that they were at war with each other: that Oromazes created ſix gods; the firſt the author of benevolence, the ſecond of truth, the third of juſtice, the others of wiſdom, riches, and the pleaſure which attends good actions; and that Arimanius made as many, who were the authors of the oppoſite evils, or vices: that then Oromazes triplicating himſelf, removed as far from the ſun, as the ſun is from the earth, and adorned the heaven with ſtars, appointing the dog-ſtar for their guardian and leader: that he alſo created twenty-four other gods, and incloſed them in an egg; but Arimanius having alſo made an equal number, theſe laſt perforated the egg, by which means evil and good became mixed together. However, the fatal time will come, when Arimanius, the introducer of plagues and famine, muſt be of neceſſity utterly deſtroyed by the former, and annihilated; then the earth being made plain and even, mankind ſhall live in a happy ſtate, in the ſame manner, in the ſame political ſociety, and uſing one and the ſame language. Theopompus, writes, that, according to the Magians, the ſaid two gods, during the ſpace of three thouſand years, alternately conquer, and are conquered; that for other three thouſand years, they will wage mutual war, fight, and deſtroy the works of each other, till at laſt Hades (or the evil ſpirit) ſhall periſh, and men become perfectly happy, their bodies needing no food, nor caſting any ſhadow: that God, who contrives this

[e] Zoroaſtres, in ſacra collectione rituum Perſ. apud Euſeb. de præp. Ev. l. 1. cap. 10. pag. 42. Oſtanes the Mage alſo wrote in the ſame manner of the Deity, ibid. [f] Vid. Cudworth, Intell. Syſt. p. 222.

this ſcene of things, reſts and repoſes himſelf for a certain ſeaſon, which is not long to him, but like the intermiſſion of ſleep to men [g].

THE modern Perſians have a peculiar tradition, which they pretend to have received from Zoroaſtres, that God created the world, not in ſix natural days, but in ſix times, or ſpaces of different length, called in their tongue Gâhanbârha, and making in all three hundred and ſixty five days, or a year compleat: as to the ſeveral names of which, their order, number of days, and the ſeveral parts of the creation performed therein reſpectively, all authors agree; though they differ as to the particular part of the year from which they begin. Their names and order are as follow: A Tradition of the modern Perſians.

THE firſt time is called Mîd-yûzeram, and contains the ſpace of fifty five days; in which the heavens were created.

THE ſecond is Mîd-yûſham, or Mîd-yuſhaham, of ſixty days; in this the waters were created [h].

THE third, Pîtîſhahîm, or Pîtiſhahim-gâh, conſiſts of ſeventy-five days; wherein the earth was created.

THE fourth is Iyâſeram, or Iyâſhehram, of thirty days; in which the trees and plants were created.

THE fifth is Midiyârîm, containing eighty days; in which ſpace the animals were created.

THE ſixth, Hameſpîtamîdîm, was that wherein man was created, being ſeventy five days [i].

THE old Indian philoſophers, called by the Greeks Brachmanes, held, that the world was generated, or made, and alſo periſhable, being ſubject to ſucceſſive diſſolutions and renovations: that the principles of all things were different, but the formation of the world commenced from water [k]; and that the cauſe of God's making all things was his eſſential goodneſs [l]. And theſe are alſo the ſentiments of the modern Bramins, their ſucceſſors: but the particulars of their doctrines are related, by different authors, with a variety not eaſy to reconcile; the occaſion of which has been partly the reſervedneſs of the Bramins, who are extremely ſhy of converſing with ſtrangers, The opinion of the old Brachmanes, and modern Bramins.

[g] Plutarch. de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 369. [h] Mr. Lord, in his account of the religion of the Perſees, p. 6, and 41, makes the work of this ſecond ſpace to be the creation of hell. [i] Hyde, Hiſt. Rel. veter. Perſar. p. 164, &c. [k] Megaſthenes, apud Strab. l. 15. p. 713. [l] Vid. Philoſtr. in vita Apollonii, p. 142.

ſtrangers, or making them the leaſt diſcoveries, but more the relators want of ſkill in their language.

Their tradition, as delivered by one writer [m], is, that the great God, being alone, and intending to manifeſt his goodneſs and power, conſulted with himſelf about the creation of the univerſe, and, as the ground-work of this mighty frame, made four elements, which were at firſt confuſedly mingled together, but the Almighty ſeparated them in the following manner. Firſt, by ſome great cane, or like inſtrument, he blew upon the waters, which aroſe into a bubble, of a round form, like an egg, which ſpreading itſelf farther and farther, made the clear and tranſparent firmament, that incompaſſes the world. After this, of the remaining water and its ſediment, God made a round ball, which he called the lower world; the ſolid part whereof became the earth, and the more fluid the ſea, both making one globe, which, by a great noiſe, or humming ſound, he placed in the midſt of the firmament. Then he created the ſun and moon in the firmament, to diſtinguiſh times and ſeaſons. And thus the elements became ſeparated, and aſſigned to their proper places, and began to perform their offices, the air filling up all interſtices, the fire nouriſhing by its heat, and the earth and ſea bringing forth the living creatures proper to each. And to theſe God imparted a ſeminal virtue, that they might be fruitful; and thus was the world created.

God having thus made the world, he then created man, as a creature more worthy than the reſt; whom the earth, at God's command, produced from its bowels, his head firſt appearing, and afterwards the other parts of his body, into which God infuſed life, and afterwards made him a companion, which was a woman, reſembling him more in mind and diſpoſition, than outward ſhape. The firſt man's name was Pourous, and the woman's Parcoutee; whoſe deſcendants being, for their wickedneſs, deſtroyed by a deluge, God afterwards created three perſons of greater perfection, called Bremaw, Vyſtney, and Ruddery, to each of whom he gave a different office and power; to the firſt, that of creating, or producing men or other animals; to the ſecond, that of preſerving and feeding them; and to the laſt, that of deſtroying them; which charges they ſeverally executed, in the manner, that ſhall be related in a more proper place.

ANOTHER

[m] Lord's Diſcovery of the Banian Religion, extracted from their ſacred book called Shaſter.

ANOTHER [n] tells us, that the Bramins acknowledge one ſole and ſupreme God, but are not perfectly agreed which of their gods he is; one ſect affirming him to be Wiſtnou, another, Eſwara; and a third holding Wiſtnou and Eſwara to be one and the ſame: that they all teach, however, that his firſt and moſt antient production was a ſecondary god, named Bramma, whom the ſupreme God formed out of a flower, which floated on the great deep, before the creation of the world; and that God afterwards, on account of Bramma's virtue, gratitude, and fidelity, gave him power to create the univerſe.

BUT the proteſtant miſſionaries, lately ſent to the coaſt of Coromandel, have given accounts ſomewhat different from the preceding, and which yet may, perhaps, deſerve more regard, a written by men who were not unacquainted with the Malabarian tongue. In one of their letters it is ſaid, that the Malabarians (who are one of thoſe nations which follow the religion of the Bramins) own but one divine Being, the ſpring and original ſource of all other gods and things, called by them Iſparetta, which, in their language, imports as much as a Deity. This Iſparetta, they ſay, before any thing was created, transformed himſelf into an egg; out of which the whole ſyſtem of heaven and earth, and all things contained therein, were afterwards produced. From this divinity, as their tradition runs, did originally ſpring ſomething, which they call Kiwelinga, and which they worſhip in their temples as a god. From this Kiwelinga three other great gods took their riſe; Bramma, Wiſhtnum, and Iſpara. Bramma is ſaid to create and make all things; Wiſhtnum, to rule over things created; and Iſpara, to deſtroy them again [o].

IN another letter we are told, the ſupreme Being is called Barabara Waſtu, who, as the Indians believe, does not concern himſelf immediately about things of ſmall moment; but having created ſome other great gods, as his vicegerents, he by them moves and influences the world, and all creatures contained therein. Theſe gods have again their ſubordinate gods, who have their particular ſtations and government of things aſſigned them. The theogony, or gradual production of which gods is deſcribed in the following ſeries. 1. The Being of all beings, or the ſupreme God, created eternity. 2. Eter-

[n] Abr. Roger, of the religion of the Bramins, (ſaid to be taken from one of the ſacred Books called Vedam) Part 1. c. 3. and Part 2. c. 1.

[o] Propagation of the Goſpel in the Eaſt, Part 1. Letter 5.

2. Eternity brought forth Tiſhiwen. 3. By this Tiſhiwen the goddeſs Tſhaddy was created. 4. The goddeſs Tſhaddy produced Putadi, or the elementary and ſenſitive world. 5. By Putadi a ſound, or ringing, was generated. 6. The ſound's off-ſpring was nature. 7. Nature afterwards begot the great god Tſhatatſhiwen. 8. Which laſt again produced another god, called Mageſhurn. 9. From Mageſhurn ſprang Ruddiren, or Iſpuren. 10. From Ruddiren, the great god Wiſhtnum. 11. This laſt created Bruma. 12. Bruma was the productive principle of the ſoul. 13. The ſoul at length created the heaven, or that vaſt expanſion between heaven and earth, which makes up the fifth element, according to their philoſophy, or rather the receptacle of the other four elements. 14. The heaven begat the air. 15. The air begat the fire. 16. The fire begat the water. 17. And the water the earth. Beſides a tedious genealogy of other gods and prophets, carried to a great length. They acknowledge their inferior gods to be ſubject to various changes, as well as the creatures themſelves: and that each of them has his fixed term of life and government allotted him: after the expiration of all which determined times, every thing ſhall return to the Being of all beings, and there ſhall follow a new creation. As to the creation of man, they ſay, that ſixty thouſand men were created at firſt, but that half of them turned devils ſoon after, and the other half remained men; both of them being, in proceſs of time, multiplied to infinite numbers [p].

The opinion of ſome among the Chineſe,

THOUGH the Chineſe have, for ſome time paſt, being generally infected with the impious opinions which have been taken notice of, it is, however, certain, that before idolatry prevailed in China, they acknowledged one God, or ſupreme, eternal, omnipotent ſpirit, the lord of heaven and earth, and the governor and director of all things, whom they worſhipped under the name of Shang ti. But this opinion now obtains with very few, and thoſe of the better ſort [q]. Theſe hold, that a chaos was the beginning of things, from which God produced and formed whatſoever is material in the univerſe. But this they diſtinguiſh into two principles, which they call Yn and Yang; Yn ſignifies hidden, or imperfect; Yang revealed, or perfect; which two principles by combination produce four images, or ſigns, which ſeem to repreſent the four elements; whence proceed eight forms, or ſymbols; and theſe repreſent certain general things,

[p] Ibid. Part 2. Letter 3. See alſo Kircher. China illuſt. p. 154. &c.

[q] Martinii Hiſt. Sinic. l. 1. p. 11.

things, whereon the generation and corruption of all things depend, being the heaven, the earth, thunder, mountains, fire, clouds, waters, and wind; which again, mutually combined, produce ſixty four ſymbols, completing, as it were, the number of the univerſe; concerning which they have much myſterious learning. They ſay, the heaven was firſt perfected, then the earth, after which genii, or ſpirits, produced, and then mankind; and that the firſt man, whom they call Puoncu, was generated from the chaos, as from an egg; the ſhell of which became the heaven, the white the air, and the yolk the earth: others ſay, he came out of a certain deſart, but that his original is unknown [r].

THEY divide the period wherein the world was created, and will be deſtroyed, as they do their natural day, into twelve hours, or times, conſiſting each of ten thouſand eight hundred years. The twelfth hour, or at midnight, the heaven was made; the earth, the firſt hour after midnight; and man, the ſecond. Their emperor Ya was created the ſixth hour, or at noon; and the age wherein we now live is the ſeventh hour (though ſome count a much larger number of years from the beginning of the world). The ninth hour, they ſay, there will be a great diſorder and confuſion of all things, cruel wars, commotions in kingdoms, and public calamities, till all things return to the chaos whence they firſt proceeded [s]. and Japaneſe;

THERE are alſo ſome, even among the Japaneſe, who acknowledge this truth of the creation of the world, and entertain a much more noble idea of their god Amida, than the generality of them do. For they ſay, he is inviſible, diſtinct from the nature of the elements, and exiſting before the creation of heaven and earth, without beginning or end; that by him all things were created, his eſſence paſſing through heaven and earth, and beyond them; being limited to no place, and governing and preſerving all things; that he is immoveable, incorporeal, without any viſible accident, whereby he may be ſeen by the bodily eyes; and this god they hold in great reverence, as the perpetual fountain of all good [t].

SEVERAL nations in America alſo entertained the ſame belief of a creation; of which ſome inſtances might be given: but their opinions containing little curious, as to the original of things, we have, to avoid prolixity, choſen to omit them. and of ſeveral American nations.

[r] Ibid. p. 13, 14.
[s] Ex Libro Sinico de Natura, ibid. p. 13.
[t] Lud. Froes. apud Kircher. Chin. illuſtr. p. 142.

A general reflection.

SOME of the accounts we have given above will, no doubt, be taken, by the generality of readers, to be very abſurd and ridiculous: but before they paſs an abſolute judgment, they are deſired to conſider the imperfection of philoſophy in thoſe early times, and that the ancients, as well Greeks as Barbarians, wrapped up and concealed their true doctrines, particularly thoſe concerning the origin of things, under the veils of ſymbols, ænigmas, and myſtical allegories [u]; for which reaſon many things in the preceding accounts, which may ſeem ſtrange and fabulous, will not, perhaps, deſerve to be treated with all the contempt they muſt needs meet with, from thoſe who underſtand them in the obvious and literal ſenſe: nor, perhaps, is it poſſible for us, at this diſtance of time, to give any tolerable explications of them; and therefore, omitting ſuch diſquiſitions, we have confined ourſelves to the bare hiſtorical narration.

The Moſaic account of the creation.

AND now we come to the only authentic and genuine hiſtory of the creation; which has been left us by Moſes, and carries with it all the marks of truth and probability, even though it be regarded only as a human compoſition, and ſeparate from divine authority: And it is to this purpoſe.

IN the beginning God created the heaven and the earth [x]. The earth, after its immediate creation, was for ſome time a promiſcuous, dark, fluid, and unformed chaos, or maſs of matter [y], which God, in the ſpace of ſix days, diſpoſed and reduced into the preſent form of the world; his ſpirit moveing, or brooding over the ſurface of the water, or fluid matter, to influence and actuate the ſame.

THE firſt thing that appeared was light; the ſeparation of which from the darkneſs was the work of the firſt day [z].

THEN God made an expanſion [a] in the midſt of the waters, to divide the waters above from the waters below; which expanſion Moſes calls heaven: and this was the ſecond day's work [b].

ON the third day, God cauſed the earth to be drained, and the waters to be gathered together, chiefly into one great receptacle, or the ocean; whereupon the dry land appeared: after which the earth produced all ſorts of plants, herbs, and trees,

[u] Vid. Phornut, de Nat. Deor. c. ult. Clem. Alexandr. Strom. 5. p. 556. & Burnet. Archæol. l. 1. p. 89. &c.
[x] Geneſ. i. 1. [y] Ib. verſ. 2. [z] Verſ. 3, 4, 5.
[a] This is the true ſignification of the Hebrew רקיע and not Firmament, which was taken from the Greek Interpreters.
[b] Ibid. verſ. 6, &c.

trees, bearing their ſeveral ſeeds and fruits, according to their various kinds [c].

THE fourth day God made the ſun and moon, and placed them in the heaven to illuminate the earth; to diſtinguiſh between day and night, and divide the ſeveral ſeaſons of the year; the ſtars were alſo made this day [d].

THE fifth day God created all the fiſhes, and inhabitants of the waters; and alſo the fowls of the air, which were likewiſe produced out of the water [e].

ON the ſixth day God made all the terreſtrial animals, the cattle, creeping things, and beaſts of the field. And laſt of all, he created man, forming his body of the duſt of the earth, and animating him with a living ſoul [f]; and out of the man he made the woman, taking her out of his ſide, having firſt caſt him into a profound ſleep [g].

THIS is the ſubſtance of what Moſes has delivered concerning the creation of the world; which being ſhort, and rather ſuited to the capacities of the people he deſigned to inſtruct, than written for the ſatisfaction of a philoſophic enquirer, has left room for various explications. and the ſetting up of ſeveral very different hypotheſes.

The Carteſian hypotheſis.

IT may be expected, we ſhould ſay ſomething of the hypotheſis of Mr. Des Cartes, though he has endeavoured rather to form a fine ſyſtem of his own, than to explain the Moſaical deſcription, and reconcile it with philoſophy. He agrees with Epicurus, in making matter and motion the principles of nature; ſuppoſing, however, the being of a God, who both created the matter, and impreſſed the firſt motion upon it; but then, after this motion once begun, and the wheels ſet a going, he leaves this vaſt machine to the laws of mechaniſm, which affect all things, both celeſtial and terreſtrial, without any farther aſſiſtance from the firſt impreſſor [h], after the following manner.

HE ſuppoſes, 1. That the matter of which the world is compoſed, being at firſt of one uniform nature, and infinitely diviſible, was actually divided into many particles of a moderate ſize, which had all ſuch a motion as is now found in the world. 2. That all theſe particles were not at firſt ſpherical, becauſe many ſuch little globes, joined together, will not fill up a continued ſpace; but that, of whatever figure they were at firſt, by their continual motion, and frequent

[c] Verſ. 9, &c. [d] Verſ. 14, &c. [e] Verſ. 20, &c. [f] Verſ. 26. [g] Cap. ii. verſ. 21, &c. [h] Baker's Reflections on Learning, cap. 7.

quent occurſions againſt each other, their angles would be cut off, and they become ſpherical. 3. He aſſerts, that there is no ſpace left empty, and therefore, when theſe round particles, by being joined together, leave ſome intervals between them, he ſuppoſes, that there are other leſſer particles, ariſing from thoſe angles that were cut off, which, by the force and celerity of their motion, will be divided into innumerable ſtill leſs fragments, proper to fill up all the interſtices. 4. He ſuppoſes, that ſome of thoſe fragments, taken from the angles of the ſpherical particles, will neceſſarily have very angular figures, and, upon that account, being not ſo fit for motion, will be apt to ſtick together, and transfer a great part of their motion to ſuch particles as are leſs, and conſequently move ſwifter. Theſe things being ſuppoſed, he proceeds to the formation of the world from his three elements, which conſiſt of the three ſorts or particles above-mentioned. The firſt element, which is the ſubtle matter cut off from the angles of the greater particles, is that of the ſun and fixed ſtars, and ſuſceptible of a much quicker motion than the other two: the ſecond element conſiſts of the ſpherical particles themſelves, of which the heavens were made: the third element conſiſts of thoſe angular particles which are leſs adapted to motion, and thence proceeded the earth, planets, comets, and other appearances of nature [i].

He ſuppoſes, that the ſolar ſyſtem is a vortex continually whirling round, whoſe matter (excepting the earth and planets) is very liquid and tranſparent, conſiſting altogether of the firſt and ſecond elements, and containing a greater quantity of the firſt, than is ſufficient to fill up the ſpaces between the particles of the ſecond. And ſince all bodies which move circularly endeavour to recede from the center of their motion, and the more thick and ſolid parts, ſuch as the particles of the ſecond element, are obliged to fly off with a greater force than the reſt; the particles of the ſecond element muſt neceſſarily recede from the common center, and approach one another, as much as their figure and motion will permit. After their interſtices therefore are filled up, the remaining matter of the firſt element takes the place left by the ſecond; by which means a maſs, or heap of the matter of the firſt element, ſettles, and is formed in the midſt of the vortex,

[i] Vid. Stillingfleet, Orig. Sacræ. Ray on the Creation. Carteſii Princip. Philoſ. part 3. §. 52. Rohault. Phyſ. part 1. c. 21.

vortex, which mafs we call the fun [k]. Every one of the fixed ftars he fuppofes likewife to be a fun, and the center of a vortex; and that the earth was originally fuch a ftar, whofe vortex was adjoining to that of the fun; but by degrees it was covered over, or incrufted with fpots, arifing on its furface, like the fcum on a boiling pot, which ftill increafing, and growing thicker and thicker, the ftar lofing its light and activity, and, confequently, the motion of the celeftial vortex about it growing more weak, languid, and unable to refift the vigorous incroachments of the neighbouring vortex of the fun; it was at laft drawn in, and wholly abforbed by it, and forced to comply with its motion, and make one in the choir of the fun's fatellites [l].

Objections thereto.

BUT this hypothefis is liable to feveral objections, and fome which abfolutely ruin it. The three elements of Des Cartes, and particularly the fubtle matter of the firft, have been fhewn to be imaginary, and his vortices fictitious, and repugnant to the nature of things; his fuppofition of a plenum is alfo evidently falfe, not to mention the abfurdities which follow his making of matter and fpace, or extenfion, to be the fame [m]. However, we cannot but think the eflay of that philofopher, who endeavoured to account for the formation of the world, in a certain time from a rude matter, by the fole continuation of a motion once impreffed, and reduced to a few fimple and general laws; or of others, who have fince attempted the fame, with more applaufe, from the original properties of matter, with which it was indued at its creation, is fo far from being criminal, or injurious to God, as fome have imagined, that it is rather giving a more fublime idea of his infinite wifdom.

WE cannot therefore excufe ourfelves from repreferting the theories of two very learned men of our age and nation; one of whom has excelled in the richnefs of his ftile and fancy, and the other in the ftrength of parts and contrivance.

The Theory of Dr. Burnet.

THE former of them, Dr. Burnet, omitting to fpeak of the original of the univerfe, or even of the folar fyftem, as made long before the Mofaic creation [n], confines himfelf to the formation of the earth only, which he fuppofes to be

[k] Rohault. ibid. par. 2. c. 25. [l] Ray's Phyfico-Theol. Difcourfes, Difc. 3. c. 5. fect. 3. Vid. Des Cartes, Princip Philof. part 4. §. 2. [m] Vid. Newton, Princip. l. 2. prop. 38, 40, 53, &c. Ejufdem, Optic. p. 311, 342, &c. & Notas S. Clarke ad Rohaulti Phyf. part 1. c. 8, & 12. and part 2. c. 25, &c.
Vid. Burnet. Archæol. l. 2. c. 8.

done from a chaos, or confuſed maſs, conſiſting of the principles of all terreſtrial bodies, in this manner. He ſuppoſes, that the firſt change that would happen would be, that the heavieſt and groſſeſt parts would ſink downwards towards the middle of the maſs, (for there he ſuppoſes the center of its gravity) and, being more and more compreſſed, would harden by degrees, and conſtitute the interior parts of the earth. That the reſt of the maſs, which ſwam above, would alſo be divided, by the ſame principle of gravity, into two orders of bodies, the one liquid, like water, the other volatile, like air: for the more fine and active parts, diſintangling themſelves by degrees from the reſt, would mount above them; and, having motion enough to keep them upon the wing, would play in thoſe open places, where they conſtitute that body we call air: that the other parts, being groſſer than theſe, and having a more languid motion, could not fly up ſeparate from one another, but ſettled in a maſs together under the air, upon the body of the earth, compoſing not only water, ſtrictly ſo called, but the whole maſs of liquid bodies belonging to the earth. That there being two chief kinds of terreſtrial liquors, thoſe that are oily and light, and thoſe that are lean and more earthy, like common water, which naturally ſeparate from one another when they come to ſettle; the more oily and light part of this maſs would conſequently get above the other, and ſwim upon it. He proceeds to ſuppoſe, that the air was, as yet, thick, groſs, and dark, there being abundance of terreſtrial particles ſwimming in it, after the groſſeſt were ſunk down; which by their weight made their way more ſpeedily: that the leſſer and lighter, which remained, would ſink too, but more ſlowly, and in a longer time; ſo as in their deſcent they would meet with that oily liquor upon the face of the deep, or upon the watery maſs, which would entangle, and ſtop them from paſſing any further; whereupon, mixing there with that unctuous ſubſtance, they compoſed a certain ſlime, or fat, ſoft, and light earth, ſpread upon the face of the waters. That this thin and tender orb of earth increaſed ſtill more and more, as the little earthy parts, that were detained in the air, could make their way to it, ſome having a long journey from the upper regions, and others, being very light, would float up and down a long while, before they could diſengage themſelves and deſcend: but at length being all got thither, and mingling more and more with that oily liquor, they ſucked it all up, and were wholly incorporate together, and ſo began to grow more ſtiff and firm, making both but one ſubſtance,

ſubſtance, which was the firſt concretion, or firm and conſiſtent ſubſtance that roſe upon the face of the chaos, and became at laſt an habitable earth, ſuch as nature deſigned it. And ſuch a body as this, he doubts not, would anſwer all the purpoſes of a riſing world; for what can be a more proper ſeminary for plants and animals, than a ſoil of this temper and compoſition? a finer and lighter ſort of earth, mixed with a benign juice, eaſy and obedient to the action of the ſun, or what other cauſes were employed by the author of nature, for the production of things in the new made earth, and perfectly anſwering the ancient deſcriptions of the primigenial ſoil, or ſlime.

THE form of this firſt earth, both external and internal, is eaſily conceived from the manner of its formation. As to the external form, it would be ſmooth, regular, and uniform, without mountains, and without a ſea. The internal form would conſiſt of ſeveral regions involving one another, like orbs about the ſame center, or the ſeveral elements caſt circularly about each other; the water being entirely contained under the upper cruſt of the earth, which formed a wonderful vault, hanging above the deep, ſuſtained by nothing, but its own meaſures and manner of conſtruction [o].

'To confirm ſo new and ſurprizing a repreſentation of the form of the firſt earth, and to prove it muſt have been different from the preſent, he endeavours to ſhew, that if the earth had been always in the form it now bears, it would not have been capable of a deluge, which could not have been effected without ſuch an infinite maſs of water, as could neither be brought upon the earth, nor afterwards any way removed from it [p]: and that the chaos, as a fluid body, would naturally and neceſſarily ſettle and caſt itſelf into a ſmooth ſurface, every where equidiſtant from its center, and not into a ſurface broken into ſo many irregularities as our earth is; nor could it poſſibly imitate the cavities, dens, and broken holes within it [q]. And theſe reaſons he backs by authority of ſcripture, which plainly intimates a difference between the form, or conſtitution of the old world and of the preſent, by reaſon of which difference, that was ſubject to periſh by a deluge, as this is ſubject to periſh by conflagration [r]; beſides ſeveral paſſages, which ſeem to deſcribe the ſtructure

[o] Burnet's Theory of the earth, l. 1. c. 5. & Archæol. l. 2. c. 3.
[p] Idem, Theory, l. 1. c. 2. [q] Ibid. c. 4. [r] 2 Pet. iii. 5, 6, 7.

of the antediluvian earth, as founded and eſtabliſhed on the waters [s], and ſet as an orb over the face of the deep [t]; conformably to which, on the renovation, or reſtitution of nature to its primæval ſtate, the new earth will appear without a ſea [u]. To which he adds the teſtimony of ancient tradition, that the world was oviform, which was true of that original earth, not only in reſpect to its outward figure, but alſo to the inward compoſition of it; the central parts being repreſented by the yoke of the egg, the exterior region of the earth by the ſhell, and the abyſs of water by the white that lies under the ſhell [x]. The manner wherein he ſuppoſes this earth was ſupplied with water, will be taken notice of, when we come to conſider more particularly the ſtate of the antediluvian earth.

Objections thereto.

SEVERAL objections have been made to the philoſophy of this gentleman's hypotheſis, as that his laws of gravitation ruin the whole contrivance; becauſe if every thing ſubſided according to its ſpecific gravity, the earth, being heavier than the water, muſt neceſſarily place itſelf nearer the center, and ſo leave the waters to cover the face of the whole orb: that his fat, or oily liquid, to catch the terrene particles as they deſcended, is but a weak expedient, becauſe it is impoſſible, that oil, or any other liquor, ſhould ſuſtain ſuch an immenſe heavy orb: that he has, without any reaſon, deprived the old world of the benefit and advantages of a ſea, mountains, and minerals [y]: but the great misfortune is, that ſo coherent and ſurprizing a ſcheme does not in ſeveral particulars accord with the letter of the ſcripture, with which he has in many places taken great liberty, ſuppoſing, that the ſacred books were not always to be ſo literally and naturally underſtood, as was generally believed hitherto. For conſidering the mean capacities of the Jews, which were not capable of ſuch points of philoſophic truths; conſidering the moſt antient ways of conveying (or rather concealing,) ſublime theorems by parables, fables, and hieroglyphics; conſidering the ſcripture ſtile in ſome other caſes, very different from the preſent plain way of diſcourſe; conſidering the main end of thoſe writings, the benefit of the moral world ſeemed not to require a ſtrict adherence to truth in every circumſtance relating to the natural; and conſidering, laſtly, that all ages had endeavoured in vain

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[s] Pſal. xxiv. 2. & cxxxvi. 6. [t] Prov. viii. 27. [u] Revel. xxi. 1.
[x] Burnet. Theor. l. 1. cap. 5. & Tellur. Theor. ſacr. l. 2. c. 10.
[y] Vid. Keill's Examinat. of Dr. Burnet's Theory.

to clear theſe points, according to the ſtrictneſs of the moſt obvious ſenſe, and that the greater improvements in philoſophy ſeemed only to render them ſtill more unaccountable; all theſe conſiderations induced him to ſuppoſe, that the holy writers only ſecured the fundamental and general verities; involving the reſt under, and explaining the whole by a way of ſpeaking, which was myſtical and mythological, rather popular than true; and fitted more to the needs of men than the reality of things [z].

THE other theoriſt, Mr. Whiſton, not only ſhews a greater regard to ſcripture, and has avoided many difficulties, that were chargeable to the former; but proceeds on more philoſophical principles: He firſt lays down this propoſition, that the Moſaic creation is not a nice and philoſophical account of the origin of all things, but an hiſtorical and true repreſentation of the formation of our ſingle earth, out of a confuſed chaos, and of the ſucceſſive and viſible changes thereof each day, till it became the habitation of mankind [a]: which he proves from the firſt words of Moſes, In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth, which plainly imply, that the creation of the univerſe out of nothing, which we uſually ſtile creation, was precedaneous to the ſix days work; the hiſtorian immediately deſcending thence to the chaos of our earth, to which he afterwards confines himſelf; mentioning, indeed, the making of the ſun and other celeſtial bodies, to accommodate his narrative to vulgar apprehenſion, and make it complete; but chiefly to ſecure the Jews from the worſhip of the hoſt of heaven [b]. He therefore ſuppoſes, that the ſun, moon, and ſtars were created before, and only made viſible and conſpicuous to the earth on the fourth day [c]: that the ancient chaos, the origin of the earth, was the atmoſphere of a comet [d], which is no other than a planet unformed, or in its primæval ſtate, placed in a very excentrical orbit; to ſupport which propoſition he endeavours to ſhew, that the atmoſphere of a comet has thoſe ſeveral properties which are recorded of the ancient chaos; that it has ſuch peculiar properties beſides, as lay a rational foundation for ſome of thoſe phænomena of our earth, which can ſcarce otherwiſe be philoſophically explained, and that no other body, or maſs of bodies, now known, or ever heard of in the world, can

Mr. Whiſton's Theory.

[z] Vid. Burnet. Archæol. l. 2. c. 8. [a] Whiſton's new Theory of the Earth. Diſc. of the Moſaic Creation, p. 3. [b] Ibid. p. 4, &c. [c] Ibid. p. 24, &c. [d] Whiſton's Theory, B. II. p. 73.

can ſtand in competition, or pretend to the ſame character. He proceeds to ſuppoſe, that the ſix days of the creation were equal to ſix years; a day and a year being one and the ſame thing [e] before the fall of man, when the diurnal rotation of the earth about its axis, as he thinks, firſt began [f]: which ſuppoſition agrees with the letter of Moſes, and the ſtile of ſcripture elſewhere, wherein a day often denotes a year: and allows a convenient ſpace for the works of creation, which appear to have been leiſurely, regular, and gradual, without any precipitancy, or acceleration, by a miraculous hand on every occaſion; not to mention other arguments, drawn from the peculiar characters of the ſtate of nature before the fall, which will be obſerved hereafter.

On theſe foundations, Mr. Whiſton proceeds to account for the formation of the earth in this manner: That ſuch formation was not a mere reſult from any neceſſary laws of mechaniſm, independently on the divine power; but the proper effect of the influence of the interpoſition, and all along under the peculiar care, of God, who not only created the matter of which the univerſe, and particularly the earth, was to conſiſt, out of a non-exiſtent ſtate, and endued it with its ſeveral properties and powers, but interpoſed more particularly in the formation of the earth, by changing the courſe and orbit of the chaos into that of a planet, by immediately forming the ſeeds of all animals and vegetables; by ordering every diſtinct day's work to be completed in its proper period, that every thing ſhould follow in its own order and place; and principally in the creation of our firſt parents [g]. That at the time immediately preceding the ſix days creation, the face of the abyſs, or ſuperior regions of the chaos, were involved in a thick darkneſs; agreeably to the nature of a thick comet, which is repreſented as containing a central, ſolid, hot body, of many hundred, or thouſand, miles in diameter, and beſides that, a vaſtly large, fluid, heterogenous maſs, or congeries of bodies, in a very rare, ſeparate, and expanded condition, whoſe diameter were ten, or eleven times as long as that of

[e] Empedocles thought, that when mankind ſprang originally from the earth, the length of the day, by reaſon of the ſlowneſs of the ſun's motion, was equal to ten of our preſent months. Plut. de Placitis Philoſ. l. 5. c. 18. a ſurprizing teſtimony to this purpoſe.
[f] Whiſton's Theory, B. II. p. 85, &c. [g] Ibid. Book IV. p. 292, &c.

of the central ſolid, which is the atmoſphere, or chaos it ſelf. But on the change of the comet's orbit, from a very excentrical, to a moderately elliptical one, the commencing of the Moſaic creation, and the influence of the divine ſpirit, all things would begin to take their own places, and each ſpecies of bodies rank themſelves according to the law of ſpecific gravity. By which method the maſs of denſe fluids, which compoſed one part of the entire chaos, being heavier than the maſſes of earth, and water, and air, would ſink downwards with the greateſt velocity, and elevate thoſe maſſes encloſed among them upwards, which muſt diſtinguiſh the chaos into two very different and diſtinct regions; the lower and larger whereof would be a collection of denſe and heavy fluids, or a vaſt abyſs, immediately encompaſſing the central ſolid; the higher and leſſer would be a collection of earthy, watery, and airy parts confuſedly mixed, and encompaſſing the ſaid abyſs. And this he takes to be the ſtate of darkneſs; for the crowding together of all thoſe opake corpuſcles, which before roved about the immenſe regions of the atmoſphere, muſt, by conſequence, exclude the rays of the ſun much more than before [h].

THINGS being in this ſtate, the viſible part of the firſt day's work was the production of light, or its ſucceſſive appearance to all the parts of the earth; with the conſequent diſtinction of darkneſs and light, night and day, upon the face of it. And this was effected by the ſeparation of the upper and elementary chaos of earthy, watery, and airy corpuſcles, into two ſomewhat different regions; the one a ſolid orb of earth, with conſiderable quantities of water in its pores; the other an atmoſphere in a peculiar ſenſe, or maſs of the lighteſt earthy, with the reſt of the watery and airy particles, ſtill ſomewhat confuſedly mixed together. So that on this firſt day, or year of the creation, the earthy, or denſer parts, would take their places loweſt on the ſurface of the great abyſs, would ſettle in part into the ſame, and compoſe an orb of earth; and in its interſtices, and little cavities, all ſuch watery particles as were already in this region, or deſcended upon it before its conſolidation, would be encloſed; and that as far above the ſurface of the abyſs, as their quantity would enable them to reach. On this firſt day alſo, the upper regions of the chaos, now,

[h] Ibid. p. 307, &c.

now, in ſome meaſure, freed from thoſe earthy and opake maſſes, which before excluded the ſame, and cauſed the above-mentioned thick darkneſs, would, in ſome degree, admit the rays of the ſun. Now therefore that glorious emanation, light, would begin to appear on the face of the earth; and, by the annual motion, ſucceſſively illuminate the ſeveral parts of it, and conſequently occaſion the viciſſitude of night and day [i].

The viſible part of the ſecond day's work was the elevation of the air, with all its contained vapours, the ſpreading of it for an expanſum above the earth; the diſtinction thence ariſing of ſuperior and inferior waters; the former conſiſting of thoſe vapours raiſed and ſuſtained by the air; the latter of ſuch as either were encloſed in the pores, interſtices, and bowels of the earth, or lay upon the ſurface thereof. The heat of the ſun, at the concluſion of the former day, beginning conſiderably to penetrate the ſuperior regions of the chaos, and the lower earthy Strata continuing to ſettle ſomewhat cloſer together, the watery parts would ſubſide, and where they could get entrance, ſaturate their inward pores and vacuities, and the atmoſphere would free itſelf more and more from the heavieſt and moſt opake corpuſcles, and thereby become much more tenuious and clear than before. Whereupon, by the time the night, or firſt part of this ſecond day, was over, and the ſun aroſe, the light and heat of that luminary would more freely and deeply penetrate the atmoſphere, and become very ſenſible in theſe upper, or airy regions; and conſequently vaſt quantities of vapours would be elevated and ſuſtained there, and ſo encreaſe the quantities which were there already; while in the mean time all the earthy corpuſcles, uncapable of rarefaction, and with them all ſuch watery particles, as were ſo near the earth that the ſun's power could not ſufficiently reach them, were ſtill ſinking downwards, and the former increaſing the craſſitude and bulk of the ſolid earth, and the latter, if the earth was too ſolid to admit them, as by this time it would probably be, flowing down apace, and covering all its ſurface with water. So that the expanſum, or firmament, which was this day ſpread out above the earth, was plainly the air; the ſuperior waters, all thoſe freſh ones, which, in the form of vapour, a nine, or ten months heat of the ſun, with the aſſiſtance of the central heat, could elevate, and the air ſuſtain, beſides thoſe vaſt

[i] Ibid. p. 311.

vaſt quantities of ſalt ones, which had never yet left thoſe regions: the inferior waters were thoſe which were not elevated, but remained below in the bowels, or on the ſurface of the earth [k].

THE viſible parts of the third day's work were two; the former, the collection of the inferior waters, of ſuch as were now under the heaven, into the ſeas, with the conſequent appearance of the dry land; the latter, the production of vegetables out of that ground ſo lately become dry. In order to apprehend which it muſt be conſidered, that the orb of the earth had been ſettling and fixing itſelf on the ſurface of the abyſs, from the very beginning of the creation; and was by the coheſion of its parts grown ſolid, ſome time before all the lighter and remoter earthy parts were deſcended upon it, ſuppoſe by the end of the firſt day: by which means, and by reaſon of the different denſity and ſpecific gravity of its columns, it was ſettled into the abyſs in different degrees, and thereby became of an unequal ſurface, diſtinguiſhed into mountains, plains, and vallies; which things being ſuppoſed, at the concluſion of the preceding day, the air being crowded with vapours to a prodigious degree, in the night, or former part of this third day, the ſaid vapours muſt needs deſcend on the earth in vaſt quantities, leaving the air by degrees pretty free, and becoming of celeſtial, terreſtrial waters: theſe waters being deſcended by reaſon of the inequality of the earth's ſurface, and its ſolidity, muſt in ſome time have run down from the higher parts, by the declivities and hollows, into the loweſt vallies, and moſt depreſſed regions of all, and there compoſed the ſeas and lakes; ſo that in the morning, the entire face of the globe, which was before covered with the deſcending waters, muſt be diſtinguiſhed into overflowed vallies, and extant continents. The dry land being now diſtinguiſhed from the ſeas, and juſt become moiſt and juicy, like the primitive ſlime; on the ſun riſing, it was of all other the moſt fit ſeaſon for the germination of the ſeeds of vegetables, and the growth of trees, herbs, and plants; for which purpoſe, nine, or ten months continual preſence of the ſun was a time very proper and natural [l].

THE fourth day's work was the placing of the heavenly bodies, ſun, moon, and ſtars in the expanſum, or firmament; that is, the rendering of them viſible and conſpicuous on the face of the earth: together with their ſeveral aſſignations

[k] Ibid. p. 317, &c. [l] Ibid. p. 320, &c.

assignations to their respective offices there. For though the light of the sun penetrated the atmosphere in some sort the first day, and in the succeeding ones had very considerable influence upon it, yet it is by no means to be supposed, that his body was visible all that while; the air, even at this day, being not at all times so clear, as to render it discernible by us, though we are at the same time sufficiently sensible of his force and influence in the constant productions of nature. But on the coming on of this fourth day, and the sun's abode below the horizon for two or three months, those vapours, which were raised the day before, must fall downwards, and so, before the approach of the morning, leave the air in the greatest clearness and purity imaginable, and permit the moon first, and then the sun, most plainly to appear, and be conspicuous to the earth. This fourth day therefore is the time, when both these heavenly bodies, though in being before, yet so as to be wholly strangers to a spectator on earth, were rendered visible: the whole inanimate world, with its vegetable productions, being now complete, according to the tradition of the Chinese [m] inhabiting Formosa and other islands, who hold, that the world, when first created, was without form, or shape; but, by one of their deities, was brought to its full perfection in four years [n].

THE production of the fish and fowl out of waters, with the benediction bestowed on them, in order to their propagation, was the work of the fifth day, which was a very proper time for their introduction. The terraqueous globe being now become habitable, both to the swimming and volatile animals; and the air clear, and so penetrable by that complete heat of the sun, which was requisite to the generation of such creatures; those seeds, or little bodies of fish and fowl, which were contained in the water, (or moist fruitful slime of kin to it) were now exposed to the kindly warmth of the sun, and the constant supply of a most gentle and equal heat from beneath; being neither disturbed by any sudden alteration of the air from winds, nor by the agitations of tides, which in those small seas, and in the absence of the diurnal rotation were imperceptible and gradual: which seeds being invigorated with the divine benediction, became now prolific; and a numerous off-spring of the swimming and volatile kind arose, whereby

[m] Atlas Chinens. part 2. p. 46, sup. p. 325.

[n] Whiston's Theor. ubi

whereby the two fluid elements, air and water, became repleniſhed with thoſe firſt pairs, which were enabled to propagate their ſpecies [o].

THE ſixth day's work was the production of all the terreſtrial, or dry-land animals. The brute beaſts were produced out of the earth; after which the body of Adam was formed of the duſt of the ground; and by the breath of life, breathed into him in a peculiar manner, he became a living ſoul: and ſome time after, on the ſame day, he was caſt into a deep ſleep, and Eve was formed of a rib taken from his ſide. The earth being now grown more ſolid and dry, and the air fully clear and fit for reſpiration, and the other diſpoſition of external nature being ſubſervient, it was a proper ſeaſon for the generation of the land animals, and the introduction of the nobleſt of them, man [p].

THIS is the ſubſtance of the latter theory, wherein among many ingenious and probable ſolutions, there are ſome ſuppoſitions, which have been thought too bold and precarious. Objections to Mr. Whiſton's theory.

IT has been objected, that he is propably miſtaken as to the extent of the Moſaic creation; it being pretty certain, that the moon was formed at that time, or at leaſt placed in its orbit, and made to turn round the earth; for no comets have any ſecondary planets: ſo that ſomething more muſt be intended by Moſes, than the bare rendering the moon viſible; and the word made, being equally applied both to ſun and moon, it is ſuppoſed, it ought in both places to be taken in the ſame, that is, a literal ſenſe.

THE atmoſphere of a comet could not, it has been thought, have been the primitive chaos, being not an obſcure, but a bright pellucid, fluid, which is a conſequence of the intenſe heat of the central ſolid; and becauſe the greateſt part of the bodies which compoſe the upper ſtratum of the earth, would have been vitrified on the comet's near approach to the ſun, and ſo very improper for the formation of the earth.

THAT the diurnal rotation of the earth did commence till after the fall, ſo that till that time days and years were exactly the ſame, has been held a paradox; conſidering the prodigious cold, that muſt be occaſioned by the total abſence of the ſun for one half of the year, and the intenſe heat, that muſt enſue upon its continual ſhining upon it for the other; which immoderate degrees of heat and cold muſt be

[o] Ibid. p. 328. [p] Ibid. p. 329, &c.

be pernicious to the antediluvian plants and animals, unleſs their bodies were of a very different conſtitution from what they are now. Nor can there be any neceſſity to lengthen a day into a year, for the ſake of a gradual and regular formation of things, without precipitance, or acceleration, where an Almighty Agent is acknowledged to be concerned [q].

The Moſaic creation explained.

It may not therefore be amiſs, laying all hypotheſes aſide, briefly to propoſe ſuch an explication of the coſmogony, as may be moſt agreeable both to reaſon and the letter of ſcripture.

And firſt, it is conceived, that the Moſaic creation is neither to be extended to the whole univerſe, nor yet confined to the terreſtrial globe alone; the middle opinion, that it included the ſolar ſyſtem, and that only, ſeeming the moſt probable, from the near ſimilitude and relation the ſeveral planets in that ſyſtem bear to one another, and their having the ſame common center and luminary; ſo that though the hiſtorian chiefly regards the earth in his whole narration, yet there is reaſon to preſume, that the other planets were formed in the ſame manner, and in the ſame time, as the earth, of ſo many particular chaotic maſſes.

Moses, after the general aſſertion, that both heaven and earth were originally made [r] by God, and before he begins his account of their reduction into the preſent ſyſtem, informs us, that the earth, in particular, was at firſt in an unformed and deſart ſtate, when, as a thing preparatory to the work, the ſpirit of God moved upon the face of the waters; by which ſpirit ſome underſtand the third perſon in the bleſſed Trinity [s], others, that plaſtic nature [t], which was ſubſervient to him on this occaſion, or ſome other emanation of the divine power; which it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe moved the chaotic maſs, whoſe ſurface was covered with water, or other fluid matter, and impregnated it with ſeveral kinds of vital influence, preparing every part to receive the intended diſpoſition, order, and life.

Things

[q] Vid. Keill's Remarks on Mr. Whiſton's Theory. [r] The original word בָּרָא is allowed not neceſſarily to ſignify a creation, or production out of nothing: yet as the Hebrew tongue has no other word to expreſs ſuch a creation, it is moſt likely Moſes uſes it here in that ſenſe. [s] Grotius, &c. [t] Dr. Cudworth's Intell. Syſt. p. 148. Yet others by this ſpirit of God underſtand no more than a violent wind, which they ſuppoſe was ſent to dry up the waters. Chal. paraphraſe, Druſius, &c.

THINGS being in this ſtate, the confuſed ſtagnating parts of matter began to range themſelves in order; and the groſſer parts ſubſiding, the lighter and more tenuious mounted up, by which means the atmoſphere being in ſome degree cleared, the luminous rays of the ſun began to pierce it, and cauſed an imperfect and glimmering light, yet ſufficient partly to diſpel the before total darkneſs, and to diſtinguiſh day from night. And this account of the light, which appeared on the firſt day, is much more reaſonable, than to ſuppoſe the ſubſtance of the ſun, much leſs the fixed ſtars, were then extracted from the chaos [u]; becauſe more than ninety-nine parts in an hundred of the matter of the univerſe, are fiery corpuſcles, and if they were included at firſt in the chaos, it could not poſſibly have been dark or caliginous. Nor is it probable, that even the terrene matter of the planets was taken from the Moſaic chaos, not only becauſe it is expreſly called the earth, but becauſe ſuch an imagination is directly overthrown by the now undoubted property of the univerſal gravitation of matter; not to mention the falſe ſuppoſition, which muſt in that caſe be made, of the earth's being the center of the world [x]. To account for this day's light, before the ſun is ſaid to be made, there is no occaſion to recur to the ſuppoſition of its being either the divine Shechinah [y], or no more than a temporary light, occaſioned by the rapid motion communicated by God to a portion of matter [z],

THE ſecond day, the expanſe, or air, called by Moſes heaven, was perfected, being now freed from the groſs terrene particles which before crowded it, and made capable of ſupporting clouds and aqueous vapours, which were the ſuperior waters, as thoſe on the earth were the inferior [a]. By the waters above the firmament cannot be underſtood the planetary waters [b], for the reaſons given above; and the notion, the old chriſtian fathers had of ſuper-celeſtial waters, is perfectly groundleſs.

THE former part of the third day's work was to gather the waters, which before covered the face of the earth, into ſeas and lakes, that the dry land might appear. How this

[u] Which is the opinion of Dr. Nicholls, and others. See his Conference with a Theiſt, Vol. I. Part. 1. [x] Vid. Whiſton, of the Moſaic Creation, p. 35, &c. [y] The notion of Abravanel. [z] Vid. Saurin, Diſſert. p. 2. [a] Grotius, &c.
[b] This is Dr. Nicholls's interpretation, ubi ſupra.

this was effected is not eaſy to determine. That God himſelf ſhould raiſe the mountains, and hollow the chanels of the ſea for this purpoſe, appears not a little indecent; for which reaſon ſome have ſuppoſed, the mountains might have been thrown up by the force of a ſubterraneous fire, or flatus, in the ſame manner as earthquakes are now cauſed [c]: but the more philoſophical opinion is, that they were occaſioned by the different denſities of the ſeveral columns of the earth, when its ſurface was firſt formed, ſome ſinking lower into the abyſs than others; for it is more than probable, that the mountainous columns are much hollower and lighter than the other, notwithſtanding the vulgar opinion to the contrary [d]. The latter part of this day's work was the production of vegetables, which were deſigned as food for the future animals. But how great ſoever we ſuppoſe the fœcundity of the primigenial earth to be, it is ſcarce to be imagined, that trees and plants could arrive at full growth, and bear their ſeveral fruits and ſeeds in ſo ſhort a ſpace as a day, without the aſſiſtance of a ſupernatural power: and as God is on all hands allowed to have formed the ſeeds of thoſe vegetables, it may not, perhaps, be wrong to attribute their ſudden maturation alſo to his interpoſition; though, it be well known, how much vegetation may be helped and forwarded by art, even at this day, of which there have been ſome ſurprizing inſtances, and much more might be expected from nature in that vigorous ſtate.

On the fourth day the two great lights, the ſun and the moon, are ſaid to have been made and placed in the heaven. It muſt not, however, be ſuppoſed they were then firſt created, or aſſigned to their reſpective orbs; for the ſun was not only in being from the beginning of the Moſaic creation, but had all along great influence on the earth, its light and heat gradually encreaſing, and influencing the earth and its productions with greater power, as the air became from time to time more and more pure and defæcated; and the moon, as well as the other planets, kept pace with the earth in its formation; but only, that the bodies of thoſe luminaries, which had been hid from the earth till the fourth day, when the air was perfectly freed from the heterogeneous particles, and the vapours, which before obſcured it, did then firſt appear to the earth, and viſibly begin to perform their ſeveral offices. The ſtars alſo are for the ſame

[c] Ray on the Creation, and Biſhop Patrick in his Commentaries.
[d] See Whiſton's Theory, Book II. p. 82.

ſame reaſon ſaid to be made on that day; tho' the planets, as we have ſaid, were forming before; and the fixed ſtars were no part of this creation [e].

AFTER the formation of the inanimate world, Moſes proceeds to the formation of animals, and he begins with fiſhes and fowls, which were both produced, on the fifth day, out of the waters in great numbers [f]. And as the original of fiſh and volatiles was from the ſame element, ſo there is ſuppoſed to be ſome congruity in their nature, being both oviparous, and their motions of ſwimming and flying ſomething alike.

IN the former part of the ſixth and laſt day, the terreſtrial animals were produced out of the earth.

Of the formation of plants and animals.

THE manner of the original formation of plants and animals, in which the wiſdom of the creator principally appears, has never been accounted for by any philoſopher with any tolerable ſucceſs; matter, and the laws of motion having nothing at all to do in theſe things, whatever they have in the inanimate part of the world. How ridiculous and groundleſs thoſe hypotheſes are, which make them to be produced from the earth, ſuppoſed ever ſo fruitful, by the influence and heat of the ſun, appears from the late diſcovery made in philoſophy, that there is no ſuch thing as equivocal generation of any the meaneſt animal, or plant; the ſun, and earth, and water, and all the powers of nature in conjunction, being able to do nothing at all, towards the producing of any thing endued with ſo much as even a vegetative life [g]. It muſt be therefore neceſſarily allowed, that God

[e] Dr. Nicholls (ubi ſupr.) ſupports the opinion of the creation of other worlds, or Syſtems before ours, by a criticiſm on the Hebrew words ואת (in Geneſ. i. 16.) which ſignify together with; and thence concludes, that by Moſes's text the moon was to rule the night and, or together with, the ſtars, which ſhine then only; the words *he made* being interpolated in our tranſlation. By the ſtars coming in ſo abruptly in this place, ſome have been ready to think, thoſe words were added ſince Moſes's time, or crept into the text from a marginal annotation, made to obviate an objection from idolaters, that the ſtars were not made.

[f] *Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl*, &c. Geneſ. i. 21. But afterwards it is ſaid, that God *formed the fowls of the air out of the ground*, Geneſ. ii. 19. The Jews reconcile this, by ſuppoſing, they were formed out of both elements mixed, viz. out of ſoft ooze. But Calmet (in his commentary) ſays, the firſt paſſage may be rendred, *and let the fowl fly*, &c.

[g] Dr. Clarke's Demonſtration of the being and attributes of God, p. 64.

himſelf, or ſome agent impowered by him, actually formed both plants and animals, making uſe of the earth and water, as the matter only whereof he conſtituted their parts. But whether theſe firſt vegetative and ſenſitive creatures were created in their ſeeds only, (which contain the plants and animals themſelves in little) and diſperſed over the ſuperficial part of the land and water, which had power given them to hatch and bring them forth; or whether they were created in their full ſtate of perfection, ſeems not eaſy to decide. It has been thought by ſome modern philoſophers, that God at firſt created only two of each ſpecies of animals, from which all the reſt proceeded by generation: to ſupport which opinion, they obſerve, that there was but one man and one woman created, and at the deluge but two of each kind (of unclean beaſts) were preſerved in the ark. But it ſeems more conſonant to ſcripture, that a great number of every kind were formed at firſt: we are aſſured, the aquatic creatures and fowls were brought forth abundantly; and plants, having no locomotive power, muſt neceſſarily have been created diſperſedly all the world over. There has been alſo a farther queſtion moved concerning the creation of animals, viz. whether all animals, that already have been, or hereafter ſhall be, were at firſt actually created by God? or whether he hath given to each kind of animals ſuch a power of generation, as to prepare matter, and produce new individuals in their own bodies? and it ſeems to be the moſt reaſonable opinion, that God did himſelf, at firſt, actually create all the individual animals that ever were, or ever ſhall be; and that there is no ſuch thing as any production of new ones. For what were that but a creation of ſuch individuals? and what did God at the firſt creation more than, if this be true, we ſee every day done; that is, produce a new animal out of matter, which it ſelf prepares; all the difference is, that God does that in an inſtant, which the creature muſt take time to do. Beſides, the parent animal cannot be the agent, or efficient in the generation, or forming or nouriſhing of the fœtus, becauſe that is a work of art and reaſon, which brute creatures are not endued withal; nor indeed does man himſelf underſtand any thing of the proceſs of generation in himſelf. Again, it is moſt probable, if not certain, that moſt animals have in them from the beginning the ſeeds, or eggs, of all the young they ſhall afterwards bring forth; which when ſpent and exhauſted, the creature becomes barren: the females

of

of all viviparous quadrupeds being brought forth with their Teſtes, or ovaria; and all birds formed with their ovary, or egg-cluſter, containing the ſeeds of all the eggs they ſhall ever lay. Now had the creature a power of producing new ones, what need was there, that there ſhould be ſo many at firſt formed in them? Whereupon theſe philoſophers argue thus; Let us ſuppoſe, God did at firſt create two animals, a male and female: the female muſt be created with its ovaries, which (as we have ſaid) contain ſo many ſeeds, or eggs, as the creature ſhould ever bring forth young. So it is clear, that not only the firſt pair, but the firſt generation of animals were actually created. Again, this generation, from their firſt appearance, had each of them (that is the females) its Ovaria, containing in like manner, the ſeeds of its future off-ſpring; ſo that this ſecond generation was alſo created in the firſt. The ſame may be demonſtrated of the third and fourth; and ſo on of all the generations that ſhall be, as long as the world ſhall laſt [h].

The creation of man,

WHEN the creation had proceeded thus far, and every thing that could be ſubſervient to man, or advance his felicity, was completed; he, who was to be the lord of all, and for whoſe ſake the whole was framed, was brought into the world, being created in a ſolemn and immediate manner by God himſelf [i], after a conſultation, as it were, of the holy Trinity [k], every perſon wherein may juſtly be preſumed to have been peculiarly concerned in the production of that being, which was to bear the image of God, and be made capable, in ſome degree, of his immortality.

[h] Ray's Phyſico-Theological Diſcourſes, chap. 4. [i] Mr. Whiſton, conceiving it unfit and impoſſible for the divine nature of the Father to be ſo much, and in ſuch a manner, concerned with the corporeal world, and the ſinful race of mankind, is of opinion, that the ſame divine perſon, who was afterwards frequently converſant on earth, gave the law on mount Sinai, and took the title, adoration, and, to others incommunicable, name of God of Iſrael; and who at laſt was incarnate, and died, and ſtill makes interceſſion for us with the Father, and will judge the world at the laſt day; was actually and viſibly on earth in a human ſhape, and truly and really employed in this creation of the world, ſo frequently aſcribed to him in the holy ſcriptures, and particularly in this formation of man, Vide his theory, Book IV. p. 330. [k] Gen. i. 26. Moſt of the modern expoſitors take the plural number here uſed, *Let us make*, &c. to be no more than a majeſtic form

MAN then was, by a divine power, created on the ſixth day, after the terreſtrial animals had been produced; his body was formed out of the duſt of the ground [l], whence he had the name of Adam [m], and his ſoul immediately infuſed into him by his creator; in which better and immortal part more evidently conſiſted that image, or reſemblance, of God, wherein he is ſaid to have been made [n]. The woman was formed alſo on the ſame day [o], out of the ſide [p] of the man, who had been caſt into a deep ſleep for that end [q]. And this original, it is to be ſuppoſed, was choſen, to conciliate the ſtricter love and union between them; the ſide being alſo the moſt proper part to denote that equality with the man, for which the woman was deſigned; whereas if ſhe had been taken from the head [r], it might have argued ſome intended ſuperiority, or form of ſpeech, as princes now uſe. The Jewiſh doctors are of opinion, that this deliberation was real, and held with ſuch angelical beings as God might employ in the work of man's creation: and on this occaſion tell the following ſtory; That, as Moſes was writing his book by God's appointment, and theſe words came to be dictated, he made ſome difficulty to ſet them down, crying out, *O Lord wouldſt thou then lead men into error, and make them doubt of the doctrine of the unity?* whereupon God anſwered, *I command thee to write, and if any will err, let them err.* Bereſhit Rabba. Philo the Jew ſays, the true reaſon of this expreſſion is known to God only; yet he conjectures that man alone, of all creatures, being capable of the contraries of virtue and vice; the creation of ſuch a mixed being was partly proper, and partly improper for God himſelf, who therefore here beſpeaks his coadjutors, that what is irreprehenſible in the actions, or will of man may be attributed to God, and what is otherwiſe, to his ſubordinate agents. De mundi opificio, p. 15, &c.

and of woman.

[l] Geneſ. ii. 7. [m] אדמה Adamah in Hebrew ſignifies Earth, but more properly, as is ſaid, a ſort of red earth, or clay, from the root אדם to be red. Ludolphus derives it from the Æthiopic, Adama, i. e. to be pleaſant or delightful, which epithets are attributed to the earth for its amenity, and might be to the firſt man for his beauty. But this name of Adam, it muſt be obſerved, is an appellative, rather than a proper name, and includes even both the ſexes. Ibid. According to ſome of the Perſian mages (but not the more orthodox) the firſt human pair were named Miſha and Miſhâna. Hyde, hiſt. rel. vet. Perſ. c. 10. [n] Gen. i. 26. 27. Ib. v. 1 [o] Ibid. i. 27. [p] The original word, which ſtrictly ſignifies a Rib, may be alſo tranſlated Side, as it is all along by the Septuagint. [q] Geneſ. ii. 21. [r] Which ſome have imagined. Vid. St. Romuald, Abbregè du Treſor Chronolog. Tom. I. p. 35.

or if from the lower parts [s], the contrary. From what Adam ſaid on his firſt ſight of the woman, *that ſhe was bone of his bone, and fleſh of his fleſh*, it appears, he well knew whence ſhe was formed; whether he was ſenſible of the paſt operation, or had it otherwiſe revealed to him, as probably it was in a viſion as he ſlept. Beſides Eve, it is pretended by ſome Rabbins, that God made another woman out of the earth named Lilith, of whom the Jews relate many ſtories [t].

Traditions concerning their ſize,

THAT the firſt pair were created in an adult and perfect ſtate, immediately capable of the full exerciſe of their natural powers and faculties, is not to be doubted: nor is it to be imagined, but that they both came out of their maker's hands in the greateſt perfection both of body and mind [u]. But we muſt not hence entertain thoſe extravagant opinions, which ſome have held in thoſe reſpects. The Talmudiſts ſay, that Adam reached from one end of the earth to the other, when firſt created, but that, when he had ſinned, God ſqueezed his ſtature to an hundred ells [x]: though others ſuppoſe this was done at the requeſt of the angels, who were terrified at his gigantic ſize, and that God ſtill left him nine hundred cubits high [y]; and that was not a great deal too much, if he waded through the ſea into our continent after his expulſion from paradiſe, which, as ſome imagine, was ſeparated from this world by the ocean [z]. The Mohammedans alſo have a tradition from their prophet, that Adam was high as a tall palm tree [a]; but this would be too much in proportion, if that were really the print of his foot, which is pretended to be ſuch, being ſomewhat above two ſpans long, on the top of a mountain in the iſland of Ceylon, thence named Pico de Adam; and too little, if Eve were of ſo enormous a ſize, as is ſaid, that when her head lay on one hill near Mecca, her knees reſted on two others in the plain, about two muſket-ſhots aſunder [b]. The beauty, beauty of Eve is ſaid to have been ſo extraordinary, that the prince of the angels fell in love with her, which occaſioned his fall [c]: and to give as charming an idea of Adam's per-

[s] Some Rabbins ridiculouſly fancy, that God at firſt made Adam with a tail, but finding it leſſened the beauty of his workmanſhip, he reſolved to cut it off; however, he made it ſerve for the matter whereout he formed the firſt woman. Vid. Bartoloccii Biblioth. Rabbin. Tom. I. p. 68. [t] Vid. St. Romuald, ubi ſupra. Heidegger, Hiſt. patriarch. Tom. I. p. 112. [u] Vid. Philon. Jud. de mundi opificio, p. 31. [x] Talmud, in libr. Sanhedrim. [y] Vid. Bartoloccii Biblioth. Rabbinic. Vol. I. p. 65, 66. [z] Barcepha, in tract. de Paradiſo, cap. 14. [a] Yahya, Comment. in Korân. [b] Monconis, Voyages, part I. p. 372, &c. [c] Vid. Bartolocc. ubi ſup. p. 322.

ſon, ſome have imagined, that God, at his creation, cloathed himſelf with a human body ſuperlatively beautiful, and by that model formed the body of Adam; which apparition was the firſt prelude of the incarnation [d]: and what is yet more wonderful, Adam all the while looked on, and ſaw his maker, in that lovely form, faſhioning every limb [e]. Nor have the gifts of his mind been leſs magnified than his ſtature and beauty: ſome Rabbins [f] have been contented to equal him with Moſes and Solomon; others aſſert, that he was maſter of every ſcience and art; that he knew more the firſt day of his creation, than any other by the experience of a long life [g]; nay, that he ſurpaſſed the angels themſelves in knowledge [h]: allegorically interpreting what is ſaid of his ſtature's reaching from one end of the world to the other, of the extent of his underſtanding [i].

and knowledge.

Suppoſed, by ſome, to have been created double.

But it is ſtill more groundleſs and extravagant to ſuppoſe, as ſeveral Rabbins have done, that Adam's body was created double, male on one ſide, and female on the other, being joined together by the ſhoulders, the heads looking directly contrary ways: and that God, when he had made Eve, had no more to do than to ſplit this body in two [k]. Others join them by their ſides, and ſay the male body was on the right, which embraced the other round the neck with his left hand, while the other did the ſame to him with her right. Theſe dreams are ſufficiently refuted by the

[d] Eugubin. in Coſmopœia, apud Salian. Annal. Tom. I. p. 106.
[e] The Latin terms are, Cum fingeretur homo, manus illas divinas aſpexit ambroſioſque vultus illos, pulcherrima brachia corpus ſuum fingentia, finguloſque artus ducentia. Idem, ibid. [f] Apud Rivini Serpent. Seduct. p. 50. [g] Vid. Salian. ubi ſup. p. 107, 113:
[h] To prove this, they pretend to alledge the teſtimony of God himſelf. They ſay, that the angels having ſpoken of man with ſome contempt, when God conſulted them about his creation, God made anſwer, that the man was wiſer than they; and to convince them of it, he brought all kinds of animals to them, and aſked them their names; which they not being able to tell, he put the ſame queſtion to the man, who named them one after another; and being aſked his own name, and God's name, he anſwered very juſtly, and gave God the name of Jehovah. Rivin. Serpent. Seduct. p. 56. This ſtory has been adopted by Mohammed in his Korân, cap. 2. ver. 30, &c. [i] Ibid. p. 49, &c.
[k] Vid. Heidegger. Hiſt. Patriarch. Tom. I. p. 85. which author attributes this opinion to two famous Rabbins, Manaſſes Ben Iſrael (in Conciliat. in Geneſ.) & Moſes Maimonides (in More Nevoch. p. 2. cap. 30), who yet rather approve a different ſentiment.

the text of Moſes. It may not however be improper to add a word of the Hermaphrodites, or Androgynes, of which Plato has ſaid ſo much: they were bodies which had the two ſexes, with four arms, four legs, and two faces on one neck, turned one towards the other. This duplicity of numbers gave them a prodigious ſtrength, and conſequently inſpired them with great inſolence, and they thought of no leſs than making war againſt the gods: who conſulting on means to bring them to reaſon, the advice of Jupiter was approved, and that was to ſplit them in two; which being done, each part ſtill preſerved a ſtrong inclination to unite itſelf to the other, and this was, according to him, the original of love [l].

Mohammedan traditions concerning the creation of man.

THE Mohammedans have ſeveral peculiar traditions about the creation of Adam. They ſay, that the angels Gabriel, Michael, and Iſrafil were ſent by God, one after another, to fetch for that purpoſe ſeven handfuls of earth from different depths, and of different colours (whence ſome account for the various complexions of mankind [m]); but the earth being apprehenſive of the conſequence, and deſiring them to repreſent her fear to God, that the creature he deſigned to form would rebel againſt him, and draw down his curſe upon her, they returned without performing God's command; whereupon he ſent Azrail on the ſame errand, who executed his commiſſion without remorſe; for which reaſon God appointed him to ſeparate the ſouls from the bodies, being therefore called the angel of death. The earth he had taken was carried into Arabia, to a place now between Mecca and Tayef, where, being firſt kneaded by the angels, it was afterwards formed by God himſelf into a human form, and left to dry for the ſpace of forty days, or, as others ſay, as many years; the angels, in the interim, often viſiting it, and Eblis (afterwards the devil) among the reſt: but he, not contented with looking on it, kicked it with his foot till it rung, and knowing God deſigned that creature to be his ſuperior, took a ſecret reſolution never to acknowledge him as ſuch. After this, God animated the figure of clay, and endued it with an intelligent ſoul; and when he had placed him in paradiſe, formed Eve out of his left ſide [n].

THE

[l] Plat. in Sympoſ. pag. 1185. Ed. Francof. 1602. [m] Al Termedi, from a tradition of Abu Muſa al Aſhari. [n] Khond Amîr, Jallalo'ddin, Comment. in Koran, &c. Vid. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 55.

The Phœnician tradition.

THE two firſt human pair, according to the Phœnician tradition, were begotten, or generated by the wind Colpias, and his wife Baau, which is interpreted night [o]; that is, by a hollow wind acting on unformed matter: the meaning being no more than this, that a wind incloſed in ſeveral cavities of unſhapen matter, worked out of it the firſt man; the rude matter being the paſſive principle, or cauſe, and therefore here figuratively called the wife; and the encloſed wind being the active principle, and therefore here intimated to be as it were the huſband, in this firſt generation [p].

Of the human ſoul:

THAT the ſoul of man is a ſpiritual ſubſtance, independent on the matter it informs, is evident to any, who conſiders the power and freedom of its operations, which no accident can be ſuppoſed to have; and which matter, with all its refinements and maturations, can never be able to perform. It has, however, been queſtioned, whether the

whether infuſed, or ex traduce.

ſouls of men are infuſed into them immediately from God, or whether they are derived, ex traduce, from their parents. The latter opinion has been maintained, from all other creatures having the power of propagating their ſpecies in full perfection; by which it ſeems to follow, that mankind were endued with the ſame; from the likeneſs of temper and diſpoſition of mind, which children often take from their parents; and from the indecency of conceiving God to be inceſſantly making ſouls, when-ever the ſexes are ſtimulated to ſatisfy their natural appetite. But it is ſcarce poſſible to maintain the immateriality and immortality of the human ſoul on this ſuppoſition: for if the ſoul be propagated by generation, it muſt, to our beſt apprehenſion, be material, and liable to corruption [q]; it is therefore more reaſonable

[o] Sanchoniatho, apud Euſeb. de Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 10. As to the words Colpias and Baau, Bochart takes the firſt of them to be the ſame with קול-פי-יה Col-pi-yah, i. e. the voice of the mouth of God; but this is improbable, becauſe it is plainly the name of a wind, derived from the Greek Κόλπος, which ſignifies a hollow place or cavity, whether thoſe little ones in our boſoms, garments, &c. or thoſe large ones which we call bays in the ſea-ſhore: nor is there ſuch a phraſe in the Hebrew tongue, as the voice of the mouth of Yah; beſides other reaſons. Baau he would correct Baut, which he affirms to ſignify the night: but it is more probably the בהו Bohu of Moſes, as Scaliger and Grotius agree. Vid. Cumberland's Remarks on the Hiſt. of Sanchoniatho, p. 207. [p] Cumberland, ibid. p. 209. [q] Vid. Cudworth, Intell. Syſt. p. 38.

reaſonable to believe, that though God has committed the formation of our bodies to the agency of ſecond cauſes, yet he has reſerved the production of our ſouls to himſelf, who is the Father, and God *of the ſpirits of all fleſh* [r].

Whether our ſouls were created at once, or ſucceſſively.

IT has alſo been doubted, whether the ſouls of mankind were all created at once, together with that of Adam, in order to be united to certain bodies, which ſhould be prepared afterwards for their reception; or whether they are ſucceſſively created, as the bodies they are to inform are made fit to receive them? Such of the old philoſophers who believed the ſoul to be a diſtinct ſubſtance from the body, as Pythagoras, Empedocles, and Plato, concluded, that all ſouls muſt pre-exiſt in the univerſe, before generation and tranſmigration into their reſpective bodies; and this doctrine was not confined to human ſouls only, but extended univerſally to all ſouls and lives whatſoever; for the antients were ſo far from denying the ſenſe and conſciouſneſs of brutes, that the generality of them allowed them the faculty of reaſoning [s], though they were not able to expreſs their thoughts as man did: for which reaſon they were ſuppoſed, by ſome, to tranſmigrate indifferently from men into other animals, and from animals into men; it being only the difference of the organs, and the modification of the matter to which they were united, wherein conſiſted the ſeeming diſparity of their powers. Several of the antient chriſtians have alſo believed the pre-exiſtence of ſouls, induced by this conſideration, that it was incongruous to bring God upon the ſtage perpetually, and make him immediately interpoſe every where in the generation of men, by the miraculous production of their ſouls out of nothing. Nay, the continual creation and decreation of the ſouls of brutes has been thought ſo improbable, that it has been fancied, they are but ſo many particular eradiations, or effluxes, from that ſource of life above, which animate ſuch matter, as is fitly prepared to receive and be actuated by them, ſo long as it continues ſuch; but when thoſe organized bodies, by reaſon of their indiſpoſition, become incapable of being further acted upon, are reſumed and retracted into that original head, or fountain; it ſeeming not at all abſurd to grant perpetuity of duration to the ſouls even of brutes, any more than to every the

[r] Numb. xvi. 22. Vid. Mr. Stackhouſe's Body of Divinity, p. 223, &c. [s] Vid. Plutarch. de placitis Philoſ. l. 5. cap. 20. See Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Pereira, Rem. E.

the leaſt particle of matter [t]. Nor is this doctrine of pre-exiſtence unknown to the Mohammedans, who imagine, that God drew out of the loins of Adam all his poſterity at once, and made a covenant with them, that they ſhould acknowledge him for their lord [u]. They ſay, that all theſe men were actually aſſembled together in a valley near Mecca, or, as others ſay, in the plain of Dahia in India, in the ſhape of piſmires, which are indued with underſtanding; and after they had in the preſence of the angels, as witneſſes, confeſſed their dependence on God, they were again cauſed to return into the loins of their great anceſtor [x]. That the Jews had likewiſe ſome notion of the ſoul's exiſting before the body, appears from their queſtion put to our Saviour, whether the man that was born blind [y], had himſelf ſinned, or his parents, to deſerve that puniſhment; and as this opinion was not then contradicted, ſome have ſuppoſed it to have been thereby tacitly approved.

NOTWITHSTANDING which, the vulgar opinion of the ſucceſſive creation of ſouls, may with good reaſon be allowed; for why ſhould we imagine, that God put forth all his creative vigor at once in a moment, ever afterwards remaining a ſpectator only of the conſequent reſult, and permitting nature alone to do all, without any farther interpoſition [z]? and how is it poſſible, that if our ſouls were ever in ſuch a ſtate of pre-exiſtence, we ſhould have ſo perfectly loſt all memory and conſciouſneſs of any thing?

Whether men before Adam.

BEFORE we have done with this ſubject, the creation of man, we muſt take ſome notice of the opinion of thoſe who think mankind were in being before Adam, who was the progenitor of the Jews only. To ſupport which, they alledge, that Moſes makes mention of two diſtinct creations, one of mankind in general [a], and the other of Adam and Eve [b]; and in the progreſs of his hiſtory gives ſtrong intimations, that there were ſeveral more men in the world when they were created; elſe it is not eaſily to be conceived, how Cain could be a tiller of the ground [c], which muſt pre-ſuppoſe all the artificers that have relation to tillage; or what reaſon he had to apprehend, that every one that found him would ſlay him [d]; nor can his going into another country, marrying

[t] Cudworth, ubi ſupra, p. 44, &c. [u] Al Korân. cap. vii. ver 173. [x] See D'Herbelot, Biblioth. orient. p. 54. Marraccius in Alcoran. p. 290. [y] John ix. 2. [z] Cudworth ubi ſupra. [a] Geneſ. i. 27. [b] Geneſ. ii. 9. Ib. v. 1. [c] Geneſ. iv. 2. [d] Geneſ. iv. 14.

ing a wife, and building a city [e], be otherwiſe accounted for. From which they would infer, that Moſes intended only to give an account of the origin of the Jews, and not of the primitive parents of the whole human race [f]. Theſe objections are eaſily anſwered; for the paſſage, wherein the creation of man is mentioned the ſecond time, is plainly no more than a recapitulation of what had been ſaid before of the creation of the world in general, with a more particular detail of that of our firſt parents. And as to the numbers of men ſuppoſed to be in the world, about the time of the murder of Abel, it is by no means improbable, that theſe ſhould be the deſcendants of Adam and Eve, whoſe poſterity, in the ſpace of near one hundred and thirty years, (for it was in that year of Adam's age that Seth, who was given in lieu of Abel, was born) might, by a fair calculation, be multiplied to many thouſand ſouls, conſidering the primitive fœcundity, and that none are ſuppoſed to have died in the interim [g].

Their difference of colour accounted for.

BUT the moſt plauſible objection of the pre-adamites is, that if Adam and Eve be allowed to be the progenitors of all mankind, there can be no tolerable cauſe aſſigned of the difference in colour between the whites and the blacks; it being very improbable, they were both the off-ſpring of the ſame parents. To this it may be anſwered, that the variety of complexions in the world may be rationally accounted for another way. We know how the hair and colour of mens bodies differ, according to the climate they inhabit, and their greater, or leſſer diſtance from the ſun: we may therefore well conclude, that the firſt colony, which ſettled in a very hot country, received a great change in their complexion, proportionable to the heat of the climate, and became very tawny, gradually inclining to blackneſs, as the ſun was more intenſe upon them. Hence, in a generation or two, that high degree of tawnineſs might become natural, and at length the pride of the natives. The men might begin to value themſelves upon this complexion, and the women to affect them the better for it; ſo that their love for their huſbands, and daily converſation with them, might have a conſiderable influence upon the fruit of their wombs, and make each child grow blacker and blacker, according to the fancy and imagination of the mother; the force of which

[e] Ib. ver. 16, 17. [f] Vid. Peyrerii Præadamit. l. 3. cap. 4. Blount's Oracles of Reaſon, 218. [g] Vid. Nicholls's conference with a Theiſt, Vol. I. part I.

which is evident from many inſtances. Upon this ſuppoſition, the children thus produced muſt every birth approach nearer to an abſolute blackneſs; and as their tender bodies came to be expoſed naked (as the manner of ſuch countries is) to the violent heat of the ſun; their ſkin muſt needs be ſcorched in an extraordinary manner; and, perhaps, its very texture altered, and by that means contract a blackneſs far ſuperior to that of their parents. By ſuch degrees it is not improbable, that people of the faireſt complexion, when removed into a very hot climate, may, in a few generations, become perfect negroes. As to what ſome have imagined, that this blackneſs was at firſt ſupernatural, and a judgment inflicted upon Ham, the ſon of Noah, for diſcovering his father's nakedneſs [h], and that all people of that complexion are the progeny of that undutiful ſon [i]; this ſeems very unlikely, and without foundation, the curſe on that occaſion being laid on Canaan, the ſon of Ham, by name, and yet his poſterity are allowed not to have been black.

THUS have we attended the earth through its ſeveral degrees of formation, ſeen it perfected, cloathed with trees and plants, and repleniſhed with animals; and at laſt man, for whom the whole was deſigned, and to whom the dominion of it was expreſly given by its maker, introduced, and placed in it.

The time and ſeaſon of the creation.

WHETHER all this was really done in the ſpace of ſix days, has been a queſtion; ſome, as has been obſerved, thinking it much too ſhort for ſuch a work, and others too long [k], ſuppoſing, that the world was created in a moment, and that Moſes extends it to ſix days, the better to help the imagination of the people, that things may ſeem to riſe in ſome order and method, and to take off any image of haſte, or precipitancy. But we cannot ſee any reaſon to depart from the letter of Moſes in this particular, the creation deſcribed by him being not the creation of the ſubſtance of all things out of nothing, which was moſt probably the effect of one individual act, but the formation of one world, or ſyſtem only, out of matter before created [l].

IT has been diſputed alſo in what ſeaſon of the year the world was made; which, it is to be preſumed, muſt be meant in reſpect of the place where Adam was created; for otherwiſe all theſe ſeaſons muſt have been in being at once

[h] Geneſ. ix. 22. [i] Ibid. ver. 25. [k] St. Auſtin. Philo. Jud. Le Grand, Hiſt. ſacra. [l] Vid. Burnet. Archæol. l. 2. p. 312.

once in different parts of the world. Some have ſuppoſed the vernal equinox to have been the time; but others the autumnal, which opinion is the more generally received [m], and ſeems to be confirmed from the years antiently beginning from that time [n]. This indeed was afterwards altered by Moſes, who ordered the eccleſiaſtical year ſhould commence from the vernal equinox, or the month Niſan [o]: but the Jews in civil affairs ſtill continued to compute from the former, or the month Tiſri.

ANOTHER ſubject of enquiry has been the place where Adam was created. There is an antient tradition, that it was in Syria, near where Damaſcus now ſtands [p]; others will have it to have been in Armenia [q]; but it was, moſt probably, in, or near the garden of Eden, the ſeat deſigned for him, where-ever that was. The place where Adam was created.

THE Mohammedans, who have very right notions as to the creation of the world in ſix days, do, however, believe, that God, previous to that creation, made the table whereon, as they ſuppoſe, his decrees are written; the pen wherewith they are written; the waters whereon his throne is eſtabliſhed; and the throne itſelf [r]: wherein they have imitated the Jews, who ſay, that God created ſeven things before the world; viz. paradiſe, the law, the ſouls of juſt men, Iſrael, the throne of God's glory, Jeruſalem, and the Meſſiah [s]. Things made prior to the creation.

BEFORE we quit this ſubject, it may be expected we ſhould ſay ſomething of the creation of angels, who ſo eminently concerned themſelves in the affairs of mankind, at leaſt in the firſt ages of the world. Of angels.

ANGELS, in the proper ſignification of the word [t], do not import the nature of any being, but only the office, to which they are appointed, eſpecially by way of meſſage, or intercourſe between God and his creatures; in

[m] Vid. Jacob. Cappelli Obſerv. in Geneſ. c. i. ver. 14. p. 583. [n] Vid. Exod. xxiii. 16. & xxxiv. 22. [o] Exod. xii. 2. [p] Vid. Heidegg. Hiſt. Patriarchar. Tom. I. p. 84. [q] Calmet's Comment. in Geneſ. [r] Vid. Ecchellens. Hiſt. Arab. c. 9. [s] Maſſechet Peſachim. [t] The word Angel is Greek, and ſignifies a Meſſenger: the Hebrew מלאך, the Arabic ملك, and Perſian پیغام, ſignify the ſame thing. The angels are in Daniel (cap. iv. ver. 13, &c.) called עירים or Watchers, from their vigilance; for which reaſon they are, in the remains we have of the prophecy attributed to Enoch, named Egregori; which word imports the ſame in Greek.

in which ſenſe they are called the miniſters of God, who do his pleaſure and miniſtering ſpirits ſent forth to miniſter for them who ſhall be heirs of ſalvation. That there are ſuch beings as we call angels, that is, certain permanent ſubſtances, inviſible, and imperceptible to our ſenſes, endued with underſtanding and power ſuperior to that of human nature, created by God, and ſubject to him, as the ſupreme Being; miniſtering to his divine providence in the government of the world by his appointment, and more eſpecially attending the affairs of mankind; is a truth ſo fully atteſted by ſcripture, that it cannot be doubted, and was ſo generally acknowledged by the Jews, that it is ſcarce to be believed, that even the Sadducees themſelves utterly denied their exiſtence, but only that they had no notion of their appearing in thoſe latter times; as many Chriſtians, though they do not abſolutely impugn the being of ſpirits, yet are far from giving credit to the frequent ſtories of apparitions. Nay, the exiſtence of ſuch inviſible beings was generally acknowledged by the antient heathens, though under different appellations; the Greeks calling them dæmons, and the Romans genii, or lares [u]: Epicurus ſeems to have been the only one among the old philoſophers who abſolutely rejected them [x]; and indeed, the belief of middle intelligences influencing the affairs of the world, and ſerving as miniſters, or interpreters, between God and man, is as extenſive as the belief of a God; having never, as we know, been called in queſtion by thoſe who had any religion at all.

And, had we no ſuch revelation or tradition, it ſeems very reaſonable to ſuppoſe, there are intermediate beings to fill up the gap which would otherwiſe be in nature; for as there is a gradation of creatures on earth, ſome haveing barely being, as earth, air, and water; ſome that beſides being have life, as vegetables; ſome that beſides life have ſenſe and perception, as brute animals; and ſome that beſides ſenſe have reaſon and cogitation, as men: and as we ſee our ſenſitive part exiſts in beings beneath us; ſo it is very probable, that our more noble and intellectual part exiſts in beings, as much ſuperior to us as we are to brutes; and that there is a like gradual aſcent from the loweſt rank of them, which borders upon man, to the higheſt, which comes

[u] Vid. Plutarch. de placitis philoſ. l. 1. c. 8. & Varron. apud Auguſt. de civit. Dei, l. 7. cap. 6.

[x] Vid. Plut. ibid.

comes as near as a finite creature can, to an infinite deity [y].

THAT the angels were in being long before the Mosaic creation, is generally allowed [z]; and indeed cannot be doubted, since they were actually present, if not employed in that creation, *when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of* God *shouted for joy* [a]; and since it is more than probable, that the fall of the apostate angels was some time at least before it. When created.

AS to the natures of these beings, we are told, that they are spirits [b], but whether pure spirits divested of all matter, or united to some thin bodies, or corporeal vehicles, has been a controversy of long standing. Not only the antient philosophers, but some of the christian fathers [c], were of opinion, that angels were cloathed with ethereal, or fiery, bodies, of the same nature with those which we shall one day have, when we come to be equal to them. But the more current opinion, especially of latter times, has been, that they are substances entirely spiritual, though they can at any time assume bodies, and appear in human, or other, shapes [d]. Their nature, power, employment, &c.

THAT the angelical powers and abilities vastly excel those of man, cannot be denied, if we consider, that their faculties are not clogged, or impeded, as ours are, by any of those imperfections which are inseparable from corporeal beings: so that their understandings are always in perfect vigor; their inclinations regular; their motions strong and quick; their actions irresistible by material bodies, whose natural qualities they can controul, or manage to their purposes, and occasion either blessings, or calamities, public or private, here below. Instances of which are too numerous to mention.

Besides their attendance on God, and their waiting and executing of his commands, they are also presumed to be employed

[z] Vid. Stackhouse's Body of Divinity, p. 185, &c. [z] Vid. Burnet. Archæol. l. 2. p. 300, &c. [a] Job. xxxviii. 7. Yet some have imagined, they were created the first day, and designed by Moses under the name of Light: Others, that they were created the sixth day, after man, to crown and consummate the creation, which rose by degrees from the less to the more perfect parts. [b] Vid Tillotson's Serm. Vol. II. [c] S. Basil, S. Athanasius, and Methodius; and also St. Augustin. apud Sixt. Senens. l. 5. Annot. 8. Vid. Acta Concil. Nicen. 2. Act. 5. [d] Maimond More Nev. p. 2. cap. 49.

employed in taking care of mankind and their concerns: and that every man had ſuch a tutelar, or guardian, angel, even from his birth, was a firm belief and tradition among the Jews; and our Saviour himſelf ſeems to have been of the ſame ſentiment [e]. The heathens were alſo of the ſame perſuaſion [f], and thought it a crime to neglect the admonitions of ſo divine a guide [g]. Socrates publickly confeſſed himſelf to be under the direction of ſuch an angel, or dæmon, as ſeveral others have ſince done [h]. And on this tutelar genius of each perſon they believed his happineſs and fortune depended. Every genius did his beſt for the intereſt of his client; and if a man came by the worſt, it was a ſign the ſtrength of his genius was inferior to that of his opponent, that is of an inferior order; and this was governed by chance. There was ſome genii, whoſe aſcendant was ſo great over others, that their very preſence entirely diſconcerted them; which was the caſe of that of Auguſtus in reſpect to that of M. Antony [i]: and for the ſame reaſon, perhaps, ſome perſons have wit, and ſpeak well, when others are abſent, in whoſe preſence they are confounded, and out of countenance. The Romans thought the tutelar genii of thoſe who attained the empire, to be of an eminent order, on which account they had great honours ſhewn them: nations and cities alſo had their ſeveral genii [k]. The antient Perſians ſo firmly believed the miniſtry of angels, and their ſuperintendance over human affairs, that they gave their names to their months, and the days of their month, and aſſigned them diſtinct offices and provinces [l]: and it is from them the Jews confeſs to have received the names of the months and angels, which they brought with them, when they returned from

[e] Vid. Matth. xviii. 10. [f] Vid. Menand. Arrian. in Epictet. [g] Vid. M. Antonin. Meditat. l. 2. § 15. l. 5, § 19. &c. Plotin Ennead. 3. l. 4. Diog. Laert. in Zenon. p. 418. [h] Particularly Plotinus, whoſe dæmon is ſaid to have appeared at the evocation of an Egyptian prieſt, in the temple of Iſis at Rome, in the preſence of Plotinus himſelf, and proved to be a god, and not a ſimple dæmon; whereupon Plotinus was immediately congratulated by the prieſt, on ſo extraordinary a prerogative. Porphyr. in vita Plotini. [i] Plutarch. in Antonio, p. 930. [k] Vid. Dodwell. præl. II. ad Spart. Hadrian. p. 176. &c. [l] Vid. Hyde, Rel. vet. Perſ. cap. 19, & 20.

from the Babyloniſh captivity [m]. After which, we find, they alſo aſſigned charges to the angels, and in particular the patronage of empires and nations; Michael being the prince of the Jews [n], as Raphael is ſuppoſed to have been of the Perſians [o].

THE Mohammedans have ſo great a reſpect for the angels, that they account a man an infidel who either denies their exiſtence or loves them not. They believe them to be free from ſin, enjoying the preſence of God, to whom they are never diſobedient: that they have ſubtil pure bodies, being created of light; and have no diſtinction of ſexes, nor do they need the refreſhment of food or ſleep. They ſuppoſe them to have different forms and offices; that ſome adore God in ſeveral poſtures; others ſing his praiſes, and intercede for men, ſome carry and encompaſs his throne; others write the actions of men, and are aſſigned guardians to them [p].

AS the numbers of theſe celeſtial ſpirits are very great [q], it is likewiſe reaſonable to believe, that there are ſeveral orders and degrees among them, which is alſo confirmed by ſcripture: whence ſome ſpeculative men have diſtributed them into nine orders, according to the different names by which they are there called; and reduced thoſe orders into three hierarchies; as they call them; to the firſt of which belong ſeraphim, cherubim, and thrones; to the ſecond, dominions, virtues, and powers; and to the third, principalities, arch-angels, and angels. They imagine farther, that there are ſome who conſtantly reſide in heaven; others who are miniſters, and ſent forth, as there is occaſion, to execute the orders they receive from God by the former. The Jews reckon but four orders, or companies, of angels, each headed by an arch-angel; the firſt order being that of Michael, the ſecond of Gabriel, the third of Uriel, and the fourth of Raphael; but though the Jews believe them to be but four, yet it ſeems there were rather ſeven [s]. The Perſians alſo held, there were ſubordinate degrees among the angels [t].

[m] Talmud Hieroſol. in Roſh ha ſhana. [n] Dan. xii. 1. [o] Hyde, ubi ſup. p. 270, 273. [p] Compendium Theolog. Moham. c. 3. apud Reland. de Rel. Mohammed. [q] Revel. v. 11. [r] Maimonid. More Nevoch. part. 2. c. 10. [s] Revel. iv. 5. viii. 2. Tobit xii. 15. [t] Vid Hyde, de Rel. vet. Perſ. c. 12, & 20.

Of the fallen angels.

ALTHOUGH the angels were originally created perfect, good, and obedient to their master's will, yet some of them sinned [u], and kept not their first estate [x], but left their habitation, and so, of the most blessed and glorious, became the most vile and miserable of all God's creatures. They were expelled the regions of light, and cast down to hell, to be reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, until the day of judgment. With heaven they lost their heavenly disposition, which delighted once in doing good, and praising God; and fell into a settled rancour against him, and malice against men: their inward peace was gone; all desire of doing good departed from them; and, instead thereof, revengeful thoughts and despair took possession of them, and created an eternal hell within them.

The time of their fall, their offence, &c.

WHEN, and for what offence these apostate spirits fell from heaven, and plunged themselves into such an abyss of wickedness and woe, are questions very hard, if not impossible, to be determined by any clear evidence of scripture. As to the time, it is most reasonable to believe, that their fall preceded the creation of the world; though some have imagined it to have been after, and that carnality, or lusting to converse with women upon earth [y], was the sin which ruined them [z]: an opinion built on a mistaken interpretation of scripture, as if angels were meant by the sons of God, who are said to have begotten the mighty men of old on the daughters of men [a]. Others have supposed, that the angels, being informed of God's intention to create man after his own image, and to dignify his nature by CHRIST's assuming of it, and thinking their glory to be eclipsed thereby, envied man's happiness, and so revolted [b]: and with this opinion that of the Mohammedans has some affinity, who are taught, that the devil, who was once one of those angels who are nearest to God's presence, and named Azazil [c], forfeited paradise for refusing to worship, or pay homage to Adam, at the command of God [d]. But on what occasion soever it first shewed itself, pride seems to have

[u] 2 Pet. ii. 4. [x] Jude, ver. 6. [y] See before p. 144. [z] Josephus, Philo Jud. Origen, Tertullian, &c. [a] Genes. vi. 2, 4. [b] Irenæus, Lactantius, Gregory Nyssen, &c. [c] Vid. Reland. de Rel. Mohammed. p. 189, &c. [d] Al Korân, cap. 2. ver. 34.

have been the leading ſin of the angels [e]: who admiring, and valuing themſelves too much on the excellence of their nature, and the height of their ſtation, came at length to entertain ſo little reſpect for their creator, as to be guilty of downright rebellion and apoſtacy [f].

IT is certain from ſcripture, that theſe fallen angels were in great numbers [g], and that there was alſo ſome order and ſubordination preſerved among them; one eſpecially being conſidered as their prince, and called by ſeveral names, Belzebub, Satan, or Sammaël by the Jews; Ahâriman by the Perſians; and Eblis by the Mohammedans. Their conſtant employment is not only doing evil themſelves, but endeavouring by all arts and means to ſeduce and pervert mankind, by tempting them to all kind of ſin, and thereby bringing them into the ſame deſperate ſtate with themſelves.

Of intermediate ſpirits, or Genii.

BESIDES the angels and devils, the Mohammedans believe there are a ſort of intermediate creatures, which they call Jin or Genii, of a groſſer fabric than angels; ſome of whom are good, and others bad, and capable of future ſalvation or damnation, as men are. The Orientals pretend, that theſe Genii inhabited the world for many thouſand years before the creation of Adam, under the reigns of ſeveral princes, who all bore the common name of Solomon: but falling at length into an almoſt general corruption, Eblis was ſent to drive them into a remote part of the earth, there to be confined: that ſome of that generation, ſtill remaining, were by Tamûrath, one of the antient kings of Perſia, who waged war againſt them, forced to retreat into the famous mountains of Kâf. Of which ſucceſſions and wars, they have many fabulous and romantic ſtories. They alſo make different ranks and degrees among this kind of beings, (if they are not rather of different ſpecies) ſome being called abſolutely Jin, and ſome Peri or fairies; ſome Div, or giants; others Tacwins, or fates [h].

[e] Vid. i. Tim. iii. 6. and the magnificent compariſon of the fall of proud Sennacherib to that of Lucifer; Iſaiah xiv. 12, &c. [f] The opinion of St. Chryſoſtome, Theodoret, Athanaſius, &c. [g] Yet ſome have endeavoured to prove there is no more than one devil. Vid. Lettres de Bayle, Tom. I. p. 360. [h] Vid. D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 369, 820, &c.

As to the antient Greeks and Romans, we do not find, they had any notion of evil ſpirits, or devils, in the uſual ſenſe of the word, if we except only Plutarch's evil principle before-mentioned. Their infernal gods were not conceived to be of an evil nature; and though they believed the furies were the tormentors of wicked men in another life, yet they looked on them as goddeſſes, and the avengers only of evil actions.

MUCH more might be added to what we have already ſaid on theſe ſubjects; but as we may be thought already to have exceeded the bounds of an introduction, we ſhall here conclude it, and haſten to the hiſtory itſelf.

AN

A MAP *of the most probable Place of the* GARDEN *of* EDEN, PLAIN *of* SHINAAR, *and* Mountain where the ARK rested, *according to this* History.

Ejmiadzin or 3 Churchas
Eriwan
M. MASIS where rested the ARK
R. Araxes or Aras
Nackshivan
R. Kur
PART of the CASPIAN SEA
R. Tigris or Hiddekel
Senjar
SHINAAR
EDEN
Here or somewhere near
R. Shat al Arab
R. Euphrates or Frat
PART of PERSIA
KHUZESTAN or Country of CUSH
R. Gihon
R. Pison
HAVILAH
PART of ARABIA
PART of the PERSIAN GULF

40 39 38 37 36 35 34 33 32 31 30

S. W. Sculpt

AN
UNIVERSAL
HISTORY.

BOOK I.

The ASIATIC *History to the Time of* ALEXANDER *the Great.*

CHAP. I.

The General History of the WORLD till the FLOOD.

SECT. I.

The Creation of Man, and the Situation of the Garden of EDEN.

IN the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. The earth was once in a confuſed and deſolate ſtate, but, by divine providence, and ſecond cauſes ſubſervient to that purpoſe, gradually, in the ſpace of ſix days, reduced into a habitable world; cloathed with trees, ſhrubs, plants, and flowers, and ſtocked with various kinds of animals. And when all theſe things were, by the care and beneficence of God, prepared for the reception of his principal gueſt, then, and not till then, was Man created, and introduced into the world [a].

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The creation of the world, and of man.

[a] Geneſ. i.

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The happy ſtate of the firſt pair.

WHATEVER opinions the ancient heathens might have of the origin of mankind, we are aſſured, by the moſt authentic records, that we are deſcended from two perſons, Adam and Eve [b], who were formed by God in the moſt abſolute perfection both of body and mind, and ſubject to none of thoſe irregular appetites, diſeaſes, wants, and ſorrows, which they afterwards, by their rebellion, brought on themſelves, and their unhappy poſterity. And leſt any thing ſhould be wanting to complete their happineſs, a moſt delightful habitation was prepared for them in Eden, by their gracious creator; a garden, or paradiſe [c], whereon all the beauties of nature were profuſely beſtowed, well watered, and planted with all ſorts of trees, that were either pleaſant to the ſight, or good for food. In the midſt of which garden were two trees of a very peculiar, and, it ſeems, contrary, nature; one called the tree of life, the fruit of which had the virtue of rendering thoſe who eat it, in ſome degree at leaſt, immortal; and the other the tree of knowledge of good and evil, the conſequence of the taſting of which was ſo pernicious to them and their off-ſpring [d].

Situation of the garden of Eden.

BUT before we proceed, it may be expected, we ſhould ſay ſomething with reference to the ſituation of this garden, concerning which there has been ſo great a variety of opinions among learned men.

Extravagant opinions concerning it.

SEVERAL of the primitive fathers believed, that there never was a local paradiſe, and that all which is ſpoken of it in ſcripture is to be underſtood in an allegorical ſenſe: others, who allowed the reality of paradiſe, have ſwerved ſo far from the letter, as to ſuppoſe it not to be ſituated on any part of this terreſtrial globe. They have placed it in the third heaven, within the orb of the moon, in the moon itſelf, in the middle region of the air, above the earth, under the earth, in a receſs hidden and removed from the knowledge of men, in the place poſſeſſed at preſent by the Caſpian ſea, under the Arctic pole, and under the equator, with many more ſuch extravagancies, which have been collected by ſeveral authors [e], ſome of whom have thought it worth while to give ſuch whimſies a ſerious anſwer.

ON

[b] Geneſ. iii. 20. [c] Geneſ. ii. 8, &c. [d] Geneſ. ii. 17.
[e] Steph. Morinus, differt. de parad. terreſt. præfix. oper. Bocharti, Edit. 1722. Moſes Bar Cepha, de paradiſ. comment. P. Dan. Huet. de ſitu paradiſi.. Burnet's Theory of the Earth. Raleigh's hiſt. of the World, &c.

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ON the other hand, many of thoſe who have allowed a terreſtrial paradiſe, have fallen into no leſs extravagancies. There is ſcarce a corner of the earth which has not been ranſacked in ſearch of it. They have looked for it in Aſia, in Africa, in Europe, in America, in Tartary; upon the banks of the Danube, and the Ganges; in the iſle of Ceylon, in Perſia, in Armenia, in Meſopotamia, in Chaldea, in Arabia, in Paleſtine, in Syria; about the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus; near the cities of Damaſcus and Tripoly; in Ethiopia, towards the mountains of the moon; and, which will doubtleſs be thought as much out of the way, in Sweden.

What owing to.

THIS diverſity of opinions proceeds partly, from that humour, which prevailed in the early ages of chriſtianity, of allegorizing all paſſages of ſcripture which had the leaſt appearance of difficulty in them, and partly, from the little agreement to be found betwixt the geography of Moſes and that of the heathen authors, whoſe imperfections are not yet perhaps ſufficiently ſupplied, to reſolve this difficult problem. As for the Jews, from whom we might have expected ſome light into matters which concern their own antiquities, they are perfectly ignorant of the geography of their bible, and have run as much aſtray as other nations, in their deſcriptions of paradiſe; ſuppoſing, as Joſephus [f], and all the reſt of their authors have done, the Ganges and the Nile to be two of the four rivers, in which the chriſtian fathers have almoſt unanimouſly followed them.

Several Edens.

THERE are ſeveral places which bear the name of Eden; we find two mentioned in ſcripture, beſides that in the Moſaical deſcription, if it be not one of them; viz. one near Damaſcus in Syria [g], the other in, or about, Thelaſſar in Chaldea [h]. Ptolemy places an Addan in this laſt country, and another on the Euphrates. There is alſo another Eden in Syria near Tripoly [i], in the road to Damaſcus, as the former ſeems likewiſe to be. Cartwright, in his travels [k], gives an account of an iſland in the Tigris [l], called Eden, as he informs us, by the people of the country, and about twelve

[f] Antiq. Jud. lib. I. cap. i. [g] Amos i. 5. [h] 2 Kings xix. 12. Iſaiah xxxvii. 12 [i] Maundrel's travels, p. 135. [k] Vid. The preacher's travels, p. 91, 95. [l] Vid. Aſſemani Bibl. orient. tom. I. p. 526.

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twelve miles above Mausel (A). There is a city near Tarsus in Cilicia, still called Adena, and Aden is a very noted one on the coast of Yaman, or Arabia Felix, a little without the straits of Bâb al Mondab; for Eden, or Aden, signifying pleasure, that name was given to places remarkable for the delightfulness of their situation, considered either in themselves, or comparatively with the adjacent country; and the last seems to be the case of Aden in Arabia, which has nothing more than ordinary to deserve that name, but the barrenness of the neighbouring soil.

The Mosaical paradise local, not imaginary.

It appears plainly from the Mosaical description (B), however preposterous a learned author [m] thinks it, that Moses had no imaginary paradise in view, but a portion of this habitable earth, bounded with countries and rivers, very well known by the names he gives them, in his time, and (as appears from scripture) for many ages after. Eden is as evidently a real country as Ararat, where the ark rested, and Shinaar, where the sons of Noah removed after the flood. We find it mentioned as such in scripture, as often as the other two; and there is the more reason to believe it, because the scenes of these three remarkable events are laid in the neighbourhood of one another, in the Mosaical history: but the Jews having, probably, during the distraction

[m] Burnet's Theory of the Earth, book II. chap. i. at the end.

(A) This remark, whether true or false, seems to have occasioned Raleigh's straining the expression in the Nestorian epistles, (1) translated into Latin by Masius, where that isle is not called Eden, but is said to be in the Tigris, a river of Eden.

(B) *And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden* (2).—*And a river went out of Eden to water the Garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads* (3). *The name of the first is Pison* [*Fishon*]: *that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havila, where there is gold* (4). *And the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium* [*Bdolah*] *aud the onyx-stone* [*Shoham*] (5), *And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia* [*Cush*] (6). *And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth toward the east of* [*or eastward to*] *Assyria* [*Ashur*]. *Amd the fourth river is Euphrates* [*Perath or Frat*] (7).

(1) Ad calcem Bar Cephæ, comment. de situ paradisi, p. 264.
(2) Gen. ii. 8. (3) Ibid. ver. 10. (4) Ver. 11.
(5) Ver. 12. (6) Ver. 13. (7) Ver. 14.

tion of their affairs about the time of the captivity, loſt the remembrance of all the particulars relating to this account of Eden, (as indeed they have of moſt things relating to their antiquities) except that of the rivers Hiddekel and Frat; the chriſtians, who have buſied themſelves much in ſearch after it, have loſt their way for want of guides, which had been the occaſion of ſo many ſtrange notions about it, as we have already mentioned; and there muſt always be a difference among men in opinions, where the uncertainty and defectiveneſs of the proofs leave room for controverſy.

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SOME of the lateſt moderns [n], miſled by the affinity of names, have ſuppoſed, they found the name of the Piſon preſerved in the Paſi-tigris, or rather (as they would have it, to favour their hypotheſis) the Piſo-tigris, whilſt others [o] take it for granted, that it is the Phaſis, as they conclude the Aras to be the Gihon, from the conformity of the ſignification; both thoſe terms being uſed by the Perſians to ſignify any great river in general. But at that rate, Eden may be any where, and every where, ſince a conformity of names, either in ſound or ſignification, may be found in all countries; and if that ſort of proof be admitted, unleſs under proper reſtrictions, it will be no hard matter to prove, that America was peopled immediately by the poſterity of Noah, as ſome have alledged.

This enquiry uncertain and conjectural.

THE Bdolah and Shoham, which were the produce of Havilah, being unknown names, as well as that of their native country, they are interpreted by every one ſo as to favour the ſcheme he eſpouſes. Thus the Bdolah is rendered bdellium, the carbuncle, the loadſtone, the Oleaſter. Thoſe who place paradiſe in Armenia, will have it to be cryſtal [p], becauſe they find that ſtone thereabouts; and thoſe who ſituate it in Chaldea, towards the Perſian gulph, inſiſt, that it ſignifies pearl, which is fiſhed in great quantity in Bahrein near al Katîf, on the Arabian coaſt, where the country of Havilah is to be found, according to this hypotheſis; and it muſt be owned, this conjecture ſeems to come neareſt to the truth, conſidering manna is compared [q] to the Bdolah for colour; and ſo the Talmudiſts deſcribe manna to be round as coriander-ſeed, and white as pearls. In like manner the Shoham is made by different authors to ſignify the beryl, and the

[n] Francis Junius, Hugo Grotius. [o] Will. Sanſon, in geograph. Aſiæ. Reland, diſſert. de ſitu paradiſi, p. 7. Calmet, comment. ſur la Gen. ii. 8. [p] Reland, ibid p. 27. [q] Numb. xi. 7.

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the emerald [r]; perhaps with as little propriety, as it is rendered in our bibles the onyx-ſtone, which tranſlation is condemned by Bochart [s] and others (C).

The ſchemes which place Eden in Syria and Armenia ill-grounded.

Of the three ſchemes which at preſent obtain amongſt the learned; the firſt, which places paradiſe near Damaſcus in Syria, about the ſprings of Jordan, and has for its patrons Heidegger [t], Mr. le Clerc [u], Pere Abram [x], and Pere Hardouin [y], ſeems the worſt grounded, being deſtitute of all the marks ſpecified in the Moſaical deſcription, which ought always to be the principal teſt in this enquiry. The ſecond hypotheſis places Eden in Armenia, between the ſprings or heads of the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Araxes, and the Phaſis, and is eſpouſed by two great men, eminent for their ſkill in geography, namely, Sanſon and the late Mr. Hadrian Reland [z], beſides Calmet [a]. But this ſcheme is not much better ſupported than the firſt; for, according to the modern diſcoveries, the Phaſis does not riſe in the mountains of Armenia, near the ſprings of the Euphrates, the Araxes, and the Tigris, as Strabo [b], Ptolemy [c], Dionyſius [d], and the reſt of the antients have wrongly informed us, which led them, without doubt, into this error; but, by the map of Colchis, or Mingrelia, in Thevenot's collection, and the account of Sir John Chardin, in his travels, that river has its ſource far away in mount Caucaſus, and does not flow from ſouth

[r] Reland, ibid p. 31. [s] Vol. I. p. 30. [t] Hiſtor. patriarch. p. 94. [u] In Gen. cap. ii. 8. [x] Pharus vet. teſt. l. 2. n. 16. p. 6. [y] In his Edition of Pliny. [z] Diſſertat. de ſitu paradiſi. [a] Dict. de la Bible, p. 150, & Commentaire ſur la Geneſe, cap. ii. 8. [b] Lib. X. & XI. [c] Tab. III. Aſiæ. [d] Periegeſis.

(C) On this occaſion we cannot help obſerving, that our tranſlators have often ſwerved from the original Hebrew, to follow the Septuagint, if not the German verſion, eſpecially in names and terms. Thus Aram is generally rendered Syria; Khaſhdim, Chaldea; Mizraim, Egypt; Cuſh, Ethiopia; and the like, but we need not ſend the reader farther than the moſaical deſcription of Eden above cited, in which it appears, that there are no leſs than ſix variations. They have moreover introduced a corrupt pronunciation, either by following the German orthography inſtead of the Engliſh, or continuing the orthography of the vulgate, which prevailed before the reformation. Thus they have conſtantly made uſe of the J conſonant inſtead of the Y: Jacob and Joſeph ſhould be written Yacob and Yoſeph, or rather Yoſef; Benjamin Benyamîn, or rather Benyamim.

south to north, but on the contrary from north to south; a great extent of country, and the river Kor (which by its situation would much better supply the place of the Pison than the Phasis) interposing; as may be seen by the map. As one mistake generally draws on another, Reland, led again by that deceitful guide the similitude of names, supposes Cush to be the country of the Cossæans, or Cussæans; but if the Cussæans were the inhabitants of the mountains [c], which, with Parthia, bounded Media on the east; and which, in all likelihood, as he conjectures, was Kuhestân, or the mountain country, as that name signifies; how could they be settled along the Araxes, which yet it was necessary they should be, to favour his opinion? for Kuhestân is the most eastern, or north-eastern part of Irâk Ajami, a well-known province of Irân, or Persia at large, agreeable to Diodorus Siculus [f] and Arrian, [g], who makes the country of the Cossæans a part of Media; though some place them in Persia, and Ptolemy in Susiana: besides, the Phasis and Scythia (which Sanson understands by Cush, or the Cossæans) seem to have been too remote to be known to Moses. Neither does this hypothesis account for that river which watered paradise, and from whence the other four had their rise; and Reland will not allow it can be done, but by supposing a subterranean river, which may as well serve for the scheme of the Jews, followed by the Fathers, which makes the Pison and Gihon, the Nile and the Ganges.

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According to the third opinion, Eden is placed upon the united stream of the Dijlat, or Hiddekel, and Frat, called by the Arabs, Shat al Arab, that is, the river of the Arabs; which [h] begins two days journey above Basrah, and, about five leagues below, divides again into two, or three channels, which empty themselves into the Persian gulph. By this hypothesis the Shat al Arab is the river passing out of Eden, which river, considered according to the disposition of its channel, and not according to the course of its stream, divides into four heads, or different branches, which make the four rivers; two below, viz. the two branches of the Shat, which serve for the Pison and Gihon; and two above, viz. the Frat and Dijlat, or the Euphrates and Hiddekel. According to this disposition, the western branch of the Shat will be Pison, and the adjoining part of Arabia, bordering on the Persian gulph, will be Havilah; and the eastern branch will be the Gihon, encompassing the country of Cush, or Khuzestân, a province of Irân, as it is still named by the Persians. This

The third scheme most probable.

[c] Strabo, lib. XIV. [f] Lib. XVII. cap. iii. [g] In histor. Ind. [h] Thev. trav. Part. II. chap. ix.

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Eden to be looked for in Chaldea.

This opinion was first started by Calvin, and is, with some little variation, followed by Stephanus Morinus, Bochart, and Huet bishop of Avranches; and, indeed, all the passages of scripture, where Eden is mentioned, concur to establish it some-where hereabouts. The prophet speaking of Tyre, says, Haran, and Canneh, and Eden were thy merchants [i]. Now if Canneh be Calneb, or Calyo which is taken to be Ctesiphon, or Medain, the seat of the Parthian race of Persian kings, then Eden must have been the south of that city, according to the order of mentioning the places, which seems to be from north to south. The same order is observed in two other places of the old testament, where mention is made of Gozan, Haran, Rezeph, and the children of Eden which were in Telassar [k]. To this we may add an argument of some, that the city of Enoch, or rather Hanukh, built by Cain, and called after the name of his son, is placed to the east of Eden [l]; and Ptolemy places a city, called Anuchta, in Susiana, or the country of Cush.

With regard to the natural marks ascribed to Havilah, authors mention that part of Arabia is productive of gold; and as for the Bdolah and Shoham, they may be made the produce of any country, as we have before observed. However, the Bdolah, being considered either as pearls, or bdellium, (supposed to be a transparent, odoriferous, but bitter, gum) is allowed to be a native of Arabia.

Objections to the third scheme.

But though this hypothesis seems the best of any that hath been yet advanced, and to account tolerably well for the Mosaical description, yet is it liable to exception: for the two branches of the Shat al Arab, which by this scheme represent the Pison and the Gihon, seem not considerable enough to deserve the name of rivers, nor are of sufficient length to encompass countries of any extent; the place where the Shat al Arab divides below Basrah, being not above eighteen leagues [m] distant from the places where those two branches fall into the sea. Indeed, if we could be sure there was a third branch, which, according to some accounts and maps, parting from the Shat about Basrah, falls into the sea at al Katif, it might serve tolerably well for the Pison; and for the Gihon, we should chuse to substitute either the river Karon, or the river Karha; the first

[i] Ezek. xxvii. 23.
[k] Isaiah xxxvii. 12. 2 Kings xix. 12.
[l] Gen. iv. 17.
[m] Thevenot's travels, Part II. chap. x. Teixeira, in his journey from Basrah to Aleppo.

firſt of which falls into the Shat al Arab, the other into the Tigris, and may much more properly be ſaid to encompaſs the whole land of Cuſh, as running through Khuzeſtan; whereas the eaſtern branch of the Shat waſhes only a corner of that country, or rather one ſide of an iſland made by it and the Caron. Year of the World, 1. Year before Chriſt, 4305

OR ſuppoſe, we ſhould alter this ſcheme a little, and ſituate Eden above the confluence of Euphrates and Tigris, we ſhall find one, or two large arms, croſſing the intermediate country from one river to the other, which would much better ſupply the place of the Piſon and Gihon, than the branches of the Shat al Arab, provided, other circumſtances agreed with this alteration. If theſe branches of the Tigris had been known to Grotius and others, they would not perhaps have fallen into ſo groſs a miſtake, as to make the Nahar Malca, or Royal River, which paſſes from Euphrates to Tigris, the Gihon: it would better have ſuited with the Moſaical deſcription to have ſuppoſed it to be the river of Eden, which was divided into four heads, in which caſe the parts of thoſe rivers to the ſouth of the Nahar Malca, would ſerve for the Piſon and Gihon; and indeed, that would anſwer the Moſaical deſcription, as to the rivers, almoſt without exception. But the truth is, ſuch an hypotheſis cannot be admitted without overthrowing the credibility of the ſcripture, and allowing the moſt antient books in it were written after, or in the times of, the Babyloniſh captivity; for the Nahar Malca, or Baſilicos Potamos, as the Greeks called it, is an artificial canal ſtill in being, cut from Euphrates to Tigris, a little above Babylon, in the later times of the Babylonian empire. The oriental authors attribute this work to Nimrod [n]; perhaps it may be the ſame with the river Cutha, which, a Perſian author [o] ſays, was dug by a king of Babel of the ſame name, and ſuppoſed to be Cuſh the father of Nimrod. New ſchemes propoſed.

THOSE who patronize the Armenian paradiſe, may likewiſe improve, or amend, their ſcheme, out of the modern travellers and maps *, where they will find the Morad Shai, which falls into Euphrates, and the Kor, which joins the Araxes or Aras, either of them better fitted to ſupply the place of the Piſon than the Phaſis; or,

[n] Vid. Hyde, de Relig. vet. Perſar. p. 40. [o] Tabari, in cap. de morte Saræ apud Hyde, ibid.

* Particularly thoſe of De Liſle, which are far the beſt.

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or, if they chuſe to have the Euphrates and Tigris united with the other two Moſaical rivers, they may adopt the Sert, which falls into the Tigris at Heſn Keifa, and throw out the Aras and Kor, the head of which laſt Ptolemy has made to change place with that of the Phaſis. As a wrong, or confuſed, account of the riſe and courſe of rivers, delivered by the antients, has been the occaſion of many of the miſtakes into which authors have fallen in treating of this ſubject, the inquirer ought to have recourſe to the modern obſervations of geographers and travellers, which often help where the others fail, but have been too much neglected by the learned.

The Moſaical deſcription of Eden imperfect.

After all, we ought not to be ſo earneſt about this matter; for, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the Moſaical deſcription does not agree with the ſtate of things, either as they now are, or ever were in all probability: for there is no common ſtream, of which the four rivers are properly branches, nor can one conceive, how a whole land can be encompaſſed by a river, as Havilah is ſaid to be by the Piſon, and Cuſh by the Gihon, without being an iſland. But we are to conſider paradiſe deſcribed according to Moſes's notion of things, and that imperfect knowledge of the world which they had in thoſe early times. It is abſurd in this caſe to alledge an alteration made by the deluge in the bounds of countries, or the courſe of rivers; for Moſes deſcribes things as they were ſuppoſed to be at the time he wrote; nor is it credible, that the Hiddekel and Frat were branches of a river before, and had ſprings of their own afterwards.

It is obſervable, that there is no manner of doubt in authors, with relation to theſe two rivers; nor indeed is there the leaſt room for it, they having retained their names nearly, if not exactly the ſame, to this day; for what the Hebrews called Hiddekel, the Arabs, and perhaps the Aſſyrians and Chaldeans, called Dijlat then, as they do at preſent; and the Pherath, Forat, or Frat, is ſtill called Frat by the neighbouring people; for Euphrates is one of thoſe corrupt names, which our tranſlations have borrowed from the Septuagint verſion, and which probably the Greeks, as Reland [p] judiciouſly obſerved, took from the Perſians, who often ſet the word Ab, or Au, which ſignifies water, before the names of rivers; of which word and Frat the name

[p] De ſitu paradiſi.

name Euphrates is compounded. The other opinion which forms that name from a conjunction of Frat with the preceding particle Hua, in the Hebrew text, is absurd; as supposing, the Greeks first came acquainted with that river, by reading this passage of Moses relating to the situation of Eden. Year of the World, 1, Year before Christ, 4305

THE oriental nations give the name of paradise to several places, rather for the deliciousness of their situation, than a real persuasion, that any of them was the paradise of Adam, which the Mohammedans in particular do believe not to be on earth, but in the seventh heaven [s]. And of the antient Persians, some thought it to be in the sun, as the Manichæans, and other heretics did; and others, that there is no paradise now in being, but after the resurrection the earth will be renewed, by being melted and changed into another form, and a paradisiacal state [t]; so that they seem to have believed the whole earth to have been paradise, before the curse given it at the fall [u]. However, the terrestrial paradises, mentioned by the Arabs and Persians, are; 1. The plain of Damascus, which they call al Gauta. 2. Obolla, a village in Irâk, on the western branch of the Shat al Arab, where there are most pleasant gardens. 3. Sheb Bawân, a place in Fars, or proper Persia, situate on the river Nilâb, near Nubendijân. 4. Sogd Samarkand, or the valley of Samarkand [w]. 5. Gangdîz, or the castle of the Ganges, called also Behishti Gang, or the paradise of Ganges, Arîm, or Arîn, and Kubbat al ard, or the vertex of the earth. 6. Jam gherd. But these two last places are imaginary, and supposed to be situate eastward of China, in the middle of the sea, where the zodiac and equator intersect each other, exactly at one hundred and eighty degrees of longitude from the fortunate islands (or Canaries), where they place the other intersection. So that these two places are supposed to be paradisiacal, as considered mathematically, and situate exactly under the intersection of the equator, where they think, the temperance and clemency of the air must needs render such a situation extreamly delightful. The Indians place their earthly paradise in Cashmîr, near the head of the Ganges (whence that above mentioned seems to have taken its name, though in another part of the world), and this not only Several paradises,

[s] Vid. Marrac. in Alc. p. 24. [t] See before, p. 140.
[u] Hyde de Rel. vet. Pers. c. xxxiii. p. 400. [w] Vid. D'Herbelot, p. 378, & 381.

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only on account of the amenity of that ſmall kingdom [x], eſpecially in reſpect of the more ſouthern parts of India; but becauſe the river Ganges, which that nation eſteems ſo ſacred, is ſuppoſed to take its riſe from thence [y]. But the more general tradition of the eaſt is, that paradiſe was in Serendib, or rather Selandiv (D), that is the iſland of Selan, or, as we corruptly call it, Ceylan, or Zeilan (E) [z]. The Arab writers alſo take notice of ſeveral paradiſes, as that of Iram, or Aram, in Yaman, or Arabia Felix, built by Shaddâd, the ſon of Ad, who being deſtroyed, together with his people, by a divine judgment, his palace and gardens, wherein he exceedingly prided himſelf, were rendered inviſible (though preſerved to this day), and never ſeen but by God's particular permiſſion; which favour one Colabah pretended to have received, in the reign of the Khalif Moawiyah [a]: and another planted by the Molâhidah, or Iſmaelians, a race of princes, called by the Europeans Aſſaſſins, in a valley in Curdiſtân; which was deſigned, by its delightfulneſs, to raviſh the perſons to whom it was ſhewn, and make them believe it was in the prince's power to place them in paradiſe; and, in hopes of that felicity, to engage them in an implicit obedience to all his commands, and to commit any villainy, which he ſhould judge conducing to his deſigns.

Nor were the antient heathens themſelves without ſome obſcure tradition concerning a paradiſe, or rather ſeveral paradiſes, in the earth; but they generally placed them out of our continent; in the ocean, or beyond it, or in another hemiſphere, as the garden of the Heſperides, the Fortunate iſlands, Ogygia, and Taprobane [b], and the like; which as they were all characteriſed like ſo many paradiſes, ſo they were all ſeated out of this continent by their geography and deſcriptions of them. From which tradition, and the general inclination of the chriſtian fathers, as well as profane authors, to place paradiſe in the ſouthern

[x] Vid. Bernier. [y] Vid. Hyde, ubi ſupra, c. x. p. 172, &c. [z] Vid. D'Herbelot, ubi ſup. p. 378. [a] Vid. eund. p. 51, &c. [b] Vid. Diodor. Sic. l. ii. p. 173.

(D) Div. in the Malabaric tongue, ſignifies an iſland. (E) It is ſurprizing, that Mr. Le Clerc ſhould take Serendib for Madagaſcar (1).

(1) Comment. in Gen. c. viii. p. 72.

southern hemisphere, or beyond the equinoctial, a late learned man [c] was induced to believe the same thing; though he supposed the whole earth, before the fall, to be, in an eminent degree, paradisiacal. Year of the World, 1. Year before Christ, 4305.

SECT II.

Of the fall of man.

GOD having placed Adam, immediately after his formation, in the garden of Eden, whose situation we have been endeavouring to discover, to dress and to keep it, gave him leave to eat freely of the fruit of every tree in the garden, except only that of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which he strictly commanded him not to taste, under pain of death, the certain consequence of his disobedience [f]. Adam placed in paradise, and forbidden the tree of knowledge.

THE first thing which Adam did, after his introduction into paradise, and the very day of his creation, was, to give names to all the beasts and birds which presented themselves before him, not only for that purpose [g], but to perform their homage, as it were, and make Adam sensible, that there was none among them fit to be a companion for him [h]. We might on this occasion say something of the original of speech, did we not reserve that enquiry for a more proper place. He names the beasts and birds.

AFTER this God having formed Eve out of the side of Adam, as he slept, brought her to him, who knowing her to be *bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh*, took her for his wife, and lived with her, free from any sense of shame, though they were both naked [i]. Takes Eve to wife.

HOW long they continued in this happy condition, is very uncertain; it is probable, they did immediately transgress the divine command, but it should seem, by the narration of Moses, that their fall was not long after their creation. The Jews in general, and most of the christian fathers, believe it to have been on the very day they were created [k]; but this is next to impossible; for a day would be a great deal too short for the several actions, that must on that supposition have been comprized in it. The continuance of the state of innocence.

[c] Dr. Burnet in his Theory, l. ii. c. 7. [f] Genes. ii. 15, &c. [g] Genes. ii. 19. [h] Ibid. ver. 20. [i] Ibid. ver. 21, &c. [k] Vid. Edward's survey, Vol. I.

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Besides, God, himself, after the sixth day was past, declared (as at the end of the preceding days) every thing to be very good [l]; which is not reconcileable with truth, if sin, the greatest evil, had then entered into the world. Some therefore conjectured, that this calamity happened the eighth day [m], and others, the tenth of the world's age; supposing that in commemoration thereof the great day of expiation, being the tenth day of the year, was instituted in after-times [n]. If we can subscribe to the opinion of those who make a day and a year to have been the same before the fall [o], there is indeed no difficulty in supposing it even on the sixth day.

The fall as related by Moses.

The fall of man is succinctly related by Moses, in the following manner [p]; that the serpent, being more subtle than any beast of the field, asked the woman, whether it was true, that God had not granted her and her husband leave to eat of every tree in the garden? to which she answered, that God had allowed them to eat of all, except only the fruit of the tree in the midst of the garden; which he commanded they should not taste, nor so much as touch, lest they should die. The serpent replied, that they should not die; for God knew the virtue of the tree, and that so soon as they eat of it their eyes would be opened, and they become like gods, knowing good and evil. Whereupon Eve, seeing the fruit tempting to the view, and desirable to make one wise, took of the fruit of it, and eat; and gave also to her husband of it, and he did eat. Immediately the eyes of both were opened, and they, knowing they were naked, sewed fig-leaves together, and made themselves aprons. After this, Adam and Eve, hearing the voice of God, walking in the garden in the cool of the day, hid themselves among the trees; but on God's calling for Adam, he excused himself for not appearing, because he was naked. Upon this, God demanded of him, who it was that told him he was naked, and whether he had disobeyed his command, in eating the forbidden fruit? Adam did not encrease his guilt by denying it, but confessed, that the woman had offered him the fruit, and he had tasted it. She being examined likewise, acknowledged what she had done, but said, the serpent had seduced and deceived her. God then proceeded to judgment:

[l] Genes. i. 31. [m] Edwards, ubi supr. [n] Vid. Usser ad ann. mundi, 1. & Bayle, Dict. hist. Art. Abel, Rem. A. [o] Vid. Whiston's Theory, l, 2. p. 96, &c. [p] Genes. iii. 1, &c.

ment: he first cursed the serpent above all beasts, and condemned him to go on his belly, and eat the dust; adding, that he would put enmity between him and the woman, and their several off-spring; and that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, who should bruise the other's heel. The woman was punished with the pain of child-birth, and put in subjection to her husband; and as to the man, God cursed the ground for his sake, declareing, that it should bring forth thorns and thistles, and that he should earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, till he returned to the dust from whence he was taken. And at last God, having cloathed them both with skins, turned them out of the garden, lest they should take of the tree of life, and eat and live for ever; and to prevent any attempt to return to their former habitation, he placed cherubims, at the east of the garden, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to guard the passage to the tree of life.

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THIS concise account being, at first view, incumbered with some improbabilities, several learned and pious men have been inclined to believe, the whole ought to be taken in an allegorical sense, and not according to the strictness of the letter; alledging for their excuse, that the antients, and particularly the eastern nations, had two different ways of delivering their divinity and philosophy, a popular and a mysterious, or hidden one: of which dubious sort of stile the scripture often makes use in explaining natural things; sometimes in accommodating itself to the capacities of the people, and at other times to the real, but more veiled, truth; and that to obviate the many difficulties which occur in the literal history of this sad catastrophe, the safest way is, to understand it as a parabolical story, under which the real circumstances are disguised and concealed, as a mystery not fit to be more explicitly declared.

Some objections to the letter of that relation.

THE first objection made to the letter of this history is in relation to the serpent, and particularly the improbability of his having the use of speech, and rational discourse; for to suppose an evil spirit, or the devil, made of the organs of this animal, has no foundation in the text of Moses, who attributes the seduction of Eve to the natural craftiness of the serpent only. Besides, the very speech of such an animal, if Eve had taken it to be dumb, must have so frighted her, that she would scarce have staid and entered into conference with it. And if the serpent had originally the gift of speech, but lost it, as a punishment of his crime in seducing the woman, Moses would surely not have

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passed it over in silence, and mentioned so small a penalty, as going on his belly and licking the dust; the meaning of which words it is not easy to explain, unless we say, that the serpent did before walk upright, or on four feet; for if he crept from the beginning, it seems ridiculous to impose, as a punishment for a crime, what he was by nature subject to.

As to the trees, the nature of them both seems to have been very extraordinary: the tree of life, it is said, had the virtue to prolong life considerably, if not for ever. But if the longævity, or immortality of men had depended only on one tree, what if Adam had not sinned? How could his posterity, when they were dispersed over the face of the whole earth, have been able to come and gather fruit from this tree? Or how could one tree have sufficed all mankind? The nature of the tree of knowledge is still more difficult to conceive; it seems to have instilled into our first parents a new sense of shame and modesty, to which, before the fall, they were utter strangers. But a very different virtue is intimated to have been in the tree, that on eating of it a man became as a God, knowing good and evil.

Some further objections have been also made to this history; as the slightness of the crime for which so terrible a punishment has been laid on mankind (for which reason some have thought Moses's design in this relation was to authorize the rigor of his own laws); the improbability of Adam and Eve's sewing fig-leaves together without thread or needle, and of God's making them coats of skins, and consequently by himself, or (as is more decent to suppose) by an angel killing and fleaing the animals; and the needless precaution of placing cherubims to guard the entrance of the garden, lest the exiles should endeavour to repossess themselves of it, by fraud, or force [q].

Concluding therefore, that these things will not bear a literal construction, an allegorical, or figurative, sense has been put on this whole account; and it is pretended, that the history of the fall exhibits the defection of the soul; the serpent represents concupiscence; the man, to whom he durst not apply himself, is the picture of reason; and the woman, whom he so easily seduced and overcame, is the emblem of sense; and so on [r].

But

[q] Sic vacat exiguis rebus adesse Deo. Vid. Burnet. Archæol. l. 2. c. 7. See also Phil. Jud. de mundi opificio, p. 36. Maimon. More Nevoch. Part II. c. 30. [r] Vid. Saurin's Dissertations.

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The literal ſenſe defended.

BUT though it cannot be denied, that ſome of the ancient philoſophers affected ſuch an allegorical way of writing, to conceal their notions from the vulgar, and keep their learning within the bounds of their own ſchool, yet it is apparent, Moſes had no ſuch deſign; and as he pretends only to relate matters of fact, juſt as they happened, without art, or diſguiſe, it cannot be ſuppoſed, but that this hiſtory of the fall is to be taken in a literal ſenſe, as well as the reſt of his writings.

The tempter was the devil, who abuſed the body of the ſerpent.

AS to the particular objections which have been mentioned, and firſt, as to the ſerpent; it is anſwered, that as Moſes contents himſelf with relating facts as they appeared, without any comment or explication; he makes the ſerpent, it is true, who was the viſible inſtrument, to have been the ſeducer of the woman, and ſays nothing of the latent efficient cauſe: for which reaſon ſome of the antient Jews were of opinion, that the whole paſſage is to be underſtood of a real ſerpent, which creature they ſuppoſe had originally the gift of reaſon and ſpeech; ſo that Eve might well have underſtood him (F). Others, thinking this too difficult of belief, have imagined, that it was not a real ſerpent, but only the devil under that name: but this opinion is no leſs liable to exception. For though the devil is frequently ſtiled in ſcripture the ſerpent, and the old ſerpent, yet why he ſhould be called the moſt ſubtile beaſt of the field, we cannot conceive; neither will the puniſhment inflicted on the ſerpent ſuffer us to doubt, but that a ſerpent's body, at leaſt, was employed in the tranſaction.

THE moſt common therefore, and indeed the only probable, opinion is, that it was the devil, ſome wicked and malicious ſpirit, (probably the chief of thoſe beings) who envied the happineſs of mankind, and was thereupon reſolved to bring them into the ſame miſerable condition with himſelf and his apoſtate companions; and that, to effect his purpoſe,

(F) Joſephus ſuppoſes, that all creatures at that time uſed the ſame language, and that the ſerpent, converſing familiarly with Adam and Eve, excited by envy of their happineſs, maliciouſly perſuaded the woman to taſte of the tree of knowledge; for which, among other puniſhments, he was deprived of the uſe of ſpeech, and of his feet, and obliged ever after to crawl upon the ground (1). Of the ſame opinion are Aben-Ezra, and others.

(1) Antiq. 1. c. 1. §. 4.

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purpose, he made use of a serpent's body (G), as the properest organ by which to carry on his fraud with success. And this seems reasonable, not only from the improbability of a brute beast's over-reaching mankind in their highest pitch of understanding, but from the attestation of other parts of scripture, where the devil is called the old serpent [t]; and is by our Saviour himself said to have been a murderer from the beginning, or the first creation, alluding to his mischievous destruction of mankind at that time: the author of the book of Wisdom, who was well acquainted with the doctrines of the Jewish church, also telling us, that by the envy of the devil death came into the world [u].

Why he made choice of that creature.

Why the devil should chuse the body of a serpent, rather than that of any other creature, was probably on account of that subtlety attributed to him by Moses; which may not, perhaps, so much denote the craft and insidiousness, as the familiar and insinuating nature of this creature (H). That the serpent before the fall was mild and gentle, and more familiar with man than any other creature; and that he did not then creep on the ground, but went erect (I), and had by his engaging behaviour gained, in some measure, the good will of our parents, is not only the sentiment of both Jews [x] and Christians [y], but seems likewise to have some foundation of scripture: for when God says, that he will put enmity between the serpent and the woman, and between his seed and her seed, it must be implied, that there was some kind of friendship between them before.

It

[t] Revel. xii. 9. Ibid. xx. 2. [u] Wisd. ii. 24. [x] Joseph. Antiq. ubi supra. [y] Basil. Homil. de Paradiso. Damascen. de Orthodox. Fid. lib. 2. c. 10.

(G) The Arabs, before Mohammed, believed, that the devils were tranformed into serpents (2).

(H) The Mohammedans have a tradition, that the devil, offering to go into paradise to tempt Adam, was not admitted by the guard. Whereupon he begged of the animals, one after another, to carry him in, that he might speak to Adam and his wife; but they all refused him except the serpent, who took him between two of his teeth, and so introduced him (3).

(I) The Mohammedans also say, that the serpent was then of a beautiful form, and not in the shape he now bears (4).

(2) Reland. de Rel. Moham. l. 2. p. 271. (3) See Marracc. in Alcoran. p. 22. (4) Vid. ibid.

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It is no way unreaſonable therefore to ſuppoſe, that this creature was beloved both by Adam and Eve: ſhe eſpecially might be delighted with it; ſhe laid it perhaps in her boſom, adorned her neck with its windings, or made it a bracelet for her arms. So that it being ſo intimate with the woman, made it the properer inſtrument for the devil's purpoſe, who ſliding into it, might wantonly play before her, until he inſenſibly brought her to the forbidden tree, and then, twiſting round its branches, might take of the fruit and eat, to ſhew her, by experience, that there was nothing of death contained in it, before he began to beſpeak her; and his ſpeech might be the leſs ſurprizing to her, becauſe ſhe might probably think, (as he might poſitively affirm) that this new acquired faculty proceeded from the virtue of the fruit.

Of what kind the ſerpent probably was.

But this conjecture is ſtill more probable, if we will but allow, that the ſerpent, whoſe body the devil poſſeſſed, was not of a common ordinary ſpecies, but ſomething like that flying fiery ſort, which, as we are told, are bred in Arabia and Egypt. They are of a ſhining yellowiſh colour like braſs, and by the motion of their wings, and vibration of their tails, reverberating the ſun-beams, make a glorious appearance. Now if the ſerpent, whoſe body the devil abuſed, was of this kind (though perhaps of a ſpecies far more glorious) it was a proper creature for his purpoſe: for theſe ſerpents are called in ſcripture Seraphs or Seraphim [z], and gave name to thoſe bright angelical beings, which we commonly underſtand by that appellation: it being very probable, from the repreſentations of them tolerated in the Jewiſh church, that the angels, when they adminiſtered to Adam and Eve, were wont to put on certain ſplendid forms; ſome of them the form of Cherubim, or beautiful flying oxen, and others the ſhape of Seraphim, winged and ſhining ſerpents. The devil therefore might uſurp the organs of one of theſe ſhining ſerpents, which, by his art and ſkill in natural cauſes, he might improve into ſuch a ſurpaſſing brightneſs, as to repreſent to Eve the angelical appearance, or Shechinah (K), to which ſhe was accuſtomed; and

[z] Numb. xxi. 6.

(K) This ſeems to be the opinion of Tertullian, when he tells us, that Eve gave attention to the ſerpent, as to the Son of God, &c. (1.)

(1) De Præſcript. Hæret. p. 220.

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and having done this, it was no wonder, that he ſo eaſily deceived her.

HOWEVER this be, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that it was ſome beautiful creature, whom Eve took to be an angel that wiſhed her well, while he diſcourſed with her. For it is impoſſible to conceive, that ſhe would be ſo ſimple and ignorant as to think that beaſts could ſpeak, much leſs that they knew more of God's mind than herſelf: nor ſeems it credible, that ſhe could be deceived but by a creature which appeared ſo glorioufly as to make her miſtake it for an heavenly miniſter, who might come to explain to her the divine command. And if we obſerve in what manner the tempter addreſſes himſelf to her (L), we ſhall find this ſuppoſition confirmed.

His accoſting Eve.

IT is not improbable [a], that the ſeducer, before he ſpoke to Eve, repreſented himſelf as one of the heavenly court, who came to congratulate the happineſs that God had beſtowed on them in paradiſe, which was ſo great, that he could not eaſily believe, he had denied them any of the fruit of the garden: he deſired therefore to be ſatisfied from her own mouth of the truth of what he pretended to have heard; and as the women acquainted him with the whole prohibition, he firſt ſuggeſts, that ſhe miſtook the meaning of it, that death could not be the puniſhment of ſo ſmall a fault; and, to flatter her ambition, deludes her with a falſe promiſe, that on eating the fruit, which he pretended had a ſovereign quality to illuminate the underſtanding, and advance the other faculties of the ſoul, ſhe and her huſband ſhould immediately become as angels, nay, as Gods, and their happineſs be inconceivably great, and independent on any but themſelves.

THIS

[a] See Biſhop Patrick's Commentary.

(L) The learned Abravanel ſuppoſes the whole to be only dumb ſhew, and that the ſerpent did not ſpeak at all, neither did Eve ſay any thing to it; but that being a very nimble and active creature, it got upon the tree of knowledge, took, and eat of the fruit; that Eve, having ſeen it ſeveral times do ſo, and not die, concluded with herſelf, that the ſaid fruit did not occaſion death, and that it might not only be grateful to the taſte, but procure them that knowledge, which God ſeemed to have grudged them (2).

(2) Stackhouſe's Body of Divinity, p. 287.

THIS ſeems to have been the purport of the ſerpent's words, by which he gained the ear of Eve; and ſhe, allured by the beauty of the fruit, and puſhed on by curioſity and vanity, could not reſiſt the temptation: and when ſhe had eat, was ſo far from being ſenſible of her condition, that fancying herſelf already in poſſeſſion of the chimerical happineſs which had been promiſed her, ſhe invited her huſband to partake with her. And he, it is probable, after ſome reluctance, was prevailed on, by her charms and endearments, to violate the command, contrary to his ſenſe of duty, and to ſhare the fate, which God's indignation for her tranſgreſſion ſhould bring upon her [b]. Year of the World, 1. Year before Chriſt, 4305

THE ſentence denounced on the ſerpent cannot ſeem ſtrange, if we conſider, how different his original form was from his preſent, and that God probably intended the debaſement of that once glorious creature, not ſo much to expreſs his indignation againſt the beaſt, as to make it a monument of man's unhappy fall, and a teſtimony of his diſpleaſure againſt ſin: nor could this be unjuſt; the meer inſtrument of an enormous crime being deteſtable, and often deſtroyed by human laws; and this great change in the ſerpent, perhaps, not felt, at leaſt, not diſtinguiſhed, or conceived by him as a misfortune [c]. The puniſhment of the ſerpent reaſonable.

IN reference to the two trees, which ſeem to be ſo very extraordinary, it is but reaſonable to imagine, there was a wide difference between the ſtate of innocence and our preſent condition; and conſequently, that there were ſome things conſonant to the firſt ſtate, which are very incongruous to our preſent. Now of thoſe Moſes has mentioned but a few, and among them the trees. As to the tree of life, nothing can be more agreeable to a ſtate of innocence, which ſeems to imply a ſtate of immortality; and ſomething was requiſite to make men immortal, when their bodies were not ſo; and what can be ſuppoſed more effectual than the fruit of ſuch a tree? When God had deſigned, that mens bodies ſhould never yield to death, it ſeems but reaſonable he ſhould direct them to the eating of ſuch a fruit, whoſe juice was of that ſpirituous nature, as to impregnate their blood with an indefatigable vigor, and to keep them up in conſtant youth, without pain, diſeaſe, or weakneſs, till ſuch time as he ſhould tranſlate them to a better The account of the two trees not incredible.

[b] See Stackhouſe's Body of Divinity, p. 284, &c. [c] Vid. Nicholl's Conf. Vol. I.

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better world (M). Whether this tree was the only one of the ſpecies is uncertain; but if it was, it is probable, that, had there been no lapſe, many of them would have been tranſplanted to other parts of the world, as the innocent off-ſpring had encreaſed; and when mankind had ſinned, it is likely, God deſtroyed this ſpecies out of the world, as now grown uſeleſs and inconſiſtent with the curſe and puniſhment of man. And of this tree the heathens ſeem to have had ſome traditional notion, when they ſpeak of the Nectar and Ambroſia which maintained the immortality of their gods, and Moly, which was the great Panacea, or univerſal medicine celebrated by the poets [d].

The tree of knowledge of good and evil is conceived to have been ſo called, either becauſe it had really a virtue to open man's underſtanding, and to make him diſtinguiſh between good and evil; or elſe becauſe the eating of it would eventually teach him the difference between the good of obedience and the evil of tranſgreſſion [e]: but others ſuppoſe it ſo called, meerly from the devil's pretending it had a virtue to confer knowledge, having received its name from the unfortunate deception; though it be in a preceding paſſage, called the tree of knowledge of good and evil, by way of anticipation: and as to God's ſaying, *Behold, the man is become one of us, to know good and evil*, that is taken to be a bitter irony, to upbraid man with his fooliſh diſobedience and diſappointment [f].

But what particular tree this tree of knowledge was, has been a matter of much conjecture; the vine, the apple,

[d] Idem, ibid. [e] Vid. Barcepham de Parad. part 1. c. 19. Edward's Survey, Vol. 1. [f] Vid. Nicholls, ubi ſupra.

(M) It is the joint opinion of the beſt antient writers, both Jewiſh and Chriſtian, that in caſe our firſt parents had continued in their obedience, they would, after ſuch a time of trial, as the divine wiſdom ſhould think convenient, have been tranſlated, or removed from earth, to heaven; and that their poſterity likewiſe would have been liable to no ſorrow or miſery of any kind, but poſſeſſed of conſtant happineſs, and, in their ſeveral courſes and ſucceſſions, taken up into a heavenly paradiſe (1).

(1) See Bull's ſtate of Man before the fall. Barcepha de parad. Part I. c. 22.

ple, the common, and Indian fig-tree [g] (N), and wheat, though no tree, have all put in their claims (O); and though the generality are for the common fig-tree, yet what

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[g] Vid. Barcepham, ubi sup. p. 48.

(N) Goropius Becanus is most confident, it was the Indian fig-tree; which notion, however, he did not borrow from Moses Barcephas, as Sir Walter Raleigh supposes (2). The chief reasons urged why it should be this tree, are 1. The goodness of the fruit, and fairness of the tree. 2. The breadth of its leaves, very commodious for hiding the nakedness of Adam and Eve, which, it is supposed, they would cover as soon as they perceived it; and therefore from the forbidden tree, that being the next at hand. 3. The largeness and thickness of the tree, very proper to conceal them, as they imagined, from the presence of God. But here Becanus, from the vulgate version, in medio ligni, imagined they hid themselves in the body of the tree itself, though the stem of the Indian fig-tree, notwithstanding the extravagant size given it by some authors, be not very large. As Sir Walter Raleigh, who had himself seen many of these trees in America, has given a description of them, we think it worth while to transcribe it. "They grow, says he, in moist grounds, and in this manner: "After they are first shot up, some twenty, or thirty foot in length "(some more, some less, according to the soil), they spread a "very large top, having no bough, nor twig in the trunk, "or stem; for from the utmost end of the head-branches, "there issueth out a gummy juice, which hangeth downward "like a cord, or sinew, and within a few months reaches the "ground; which it no sooner toucheth but it taketh root, and "then being filled both from the top boughs, and from his own "proper root, this cord maketh itself a tree exceeding hastily. "From the uttmost boughs of these young trees, there fall again "the like cords, which in one year, and less (in that world of "perpetual spring) become also trees of the bigness of the nether part of a lance, and as strait as nature and art can make "any thing, casting such a shade, and making such a grove, as "no other tree in the world can do. Now one of these trees, "considered with all his young ones, may, indeed, shroud four "hundred, or four thousand, horsemen, if they please; for they "cover whole vallies——But that they bear any such huge leaves, "or any such delicate fruit, I could never find (3)."

(O) The Mohammedans have the like different opinions among them relating to this tree; some affirm, it was an ear of wheat; others a fig-tree; and a third party a vine (4).

(2) Barcepha takes it, indeed, to have been the fig-tree, but does not join the word Indian to it, as we can find. (3) Hist. of the World, part I. c. 4. §. 2. (4) Vid. Marracc. in Alc. p. 22.

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what Moſes has ſo induſtriouſly concealed, is above the power of any to diſcover. Philo the Jew, according to his cuſtom, allegorizes what is ſaid of both theſe trees, ſuppoſeing, that no ſuch ever were, nor ever will, be in the world [m] (P).

The trial, by forbidding a fruit rational.

THAT the trial of man's obedience ſhould be ſuch a prohibition, as is mentioned by Moſes, ſeems perfectly rational, and adapted to the ſtate of innocence; no mortal precept could have been at all proper for that purpoſe, becauſe there was then ſcarce a poſſibility of their tranſgreſſing any ſuch: it muſt therefore have been ſome indifferent action, neither good nor evil in itſelf, but ſo far only, as it was commanded, or forbidden. And what ſo natural and agreeable to the ſtate of our firſt parents (conſidering they were to live all their lives in a garden) as the forbidding of them to eat of the fruit of a certain tree in that garden? a tree near at hand, and which might give them every moment an opportunity of ſhewing their obſervance of the divine command, by their abſtaining from it [n].

And the puniſhment conſequently juſt.

AND this takes off the objection againſt the puniſhment, inflicted on man for his diſobedience, as too ſevere, and no way proportionable to the offence; for we are deceived, if we ſuppoſe, that good and evil is only in the nature of the thing, and not in the commands and prohibitions of God. And, conſidering this crime to have been a downright rebellion againſt God, and committed againſt the cleareſt conviction of conſcience, with other aggravateing circumſtances, it will appear to have been a crime ſo heinous, that nothing now-a-days can be ſuppoſed to reſemble it.

No

[m] Philo Jud. de mundi opificio, p. 35. [n] See Stackhouſe's Body of Divinity, p. 281. Nicholls's Confer. ubi ſupra.

(P) Thoſe who admire allegorically interpretations, will have the forbidden fruit to have been no other than the ſenſual act of generation, for which the puniſhment inflicted on the woman was the pain of child-birth (1.). But this opinion has not the leaſt foundation in the words of Moſes; eſpecially if we conſider, that Adam knew not his wife till after their expulſion out of paradiſe.

(1) Vid. Barcepham de Parad. ubi ſup. Leon Hebreu, Philoſophie d'amour, Dial. 3. p. 620, &c.

No ſooner was the intoxicating juice of the forbidden tree gone off, and the criminals began to return to their ſenſes again, but the eyes (Q) of their underſtanding were opened, and they perceived their own nakedneſs (R), and the foul degradation of their nature; to conceal which, as far as they are able, they twiſted, or platted the flexible branches of the fig-tree round their waiſts, ſo that the broad leaves hanging down might ſerve them inſtead of aprons: for we muſt not imagine, that they ſewed the leaves together, as taylors do their cloth, which is more than the words of Moſes imply (S).

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The circumſtances of the aprons and coats explained.

JUDGMENT being paſſed on all that were concerned in this unhappy affair, it is ſaid, that God, before he drove

(Q) The expreſſion, that *the eyes of them were opened*, occaſioned a popular belief, that Adam and Eve were blind till they had tranſgreſſed; which imagination St. Auſtin has taken the pains to refute (2).

(R) By perceiving their nakedneſs, a late writer conceives no more is meant, than that they were ſenſible of their tranſgreſſion. Thus, after the golden calf was conſecrated, Moſes is ſaid to have ſeen the people naked; (Exod. xxxii. 25). And in the new teſtament γυμνὸς is ſometimes taken for a ſinner. Others indeed ſuppoſe, that the fruit of this forbidden tree provoked our firſt parents to luſt, and ſome indecent motions of the body; for, according to the modeſty of the Hebrew tongue, nakedneſs may well enough denote an irregular appetite to venereal pleaſures (and this is the opinion of St. Auſtin mentioned hereafter): But our author thinks this conjecture is without any manner of foundation, and that it is hard to conceive, how Adam and Eve ſhould not know themſelves to be naked before their fall; or why they ſhould be more aſhamed of their nakedneſs then, than they were before. When they were the only inhabitants of the world, their bed, under the canopy of heaven, was equally as chaſt as if it had been covered and encloſed; and therefore this nakedneſs of theirs muſt, in his opinion, be underſtood in a figurative ſenſe (3).

(S) The original word חָפַר, which is tranſlated Sewed ſignifies no more than to put together, to apply, or fit; in which ſenſe it is uſed Job xvi. 15. and Ezek. xiii. 18. And עָלֶה, which we render leaves, ſignifies alſo branches of trees, ſuch as were fit to make booths, or bowers; Nehem. vii. 15. (4).

(2) Auguſt. de civit. Dei. l. 14. c. 17. (3) Le Clerc's Diſſertat. (4) Dr. Nicholls's Conf. ubi ſupra.

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drove Adam and Eve out of paradise, cloathed them with skins, which it is conceived is not necessarily to be understood, as if God himself, or even an angel, made the coats; it being common for the Hebrew tongue verbally to attribute things to God, which are not done by his immediate act, but by his direction, or even by the permission of his ordinary providence. So that it is probable, Adam and Eve only received instructions how to make them [o].

The cherubim and flaming sword, what?

As to the cherubims and flaming sword, placed to guard the way of the tree of life, there are several opinions concerning them. They who place paradise in the southern hemisphere, conceive the sword to have been no more than the torrid zone, which, in the parallel situation the earth is then supposed to have had, must have been a region of flame intolerably hot like a furnace, and consequently impassable; its encompassing of the whole earth sufficiently answering the Mosaic description [p], that it turned every way. Others have thought it to have been a wall, or circle of fire, encompassing paradise [q] (T); and that this flame was an accension of some inflammable matter round about the garden, which excluded all comers to it, till the beauty of it was defaced: which opinion may be more probable to them who place paradise about Babylon, where there is such an abundance of naptha and bitumen, and where there fields, which even yet, at some time of the year, seem all on fire. And if it be objected, that the cherubims had nothing to do with such a wall; it is answered, that it is usual for the scriptures to express all extraordinary works of God by angels; as to call a plague, or famine, a destroying angel; and the like [r]. Some Rabbins [s] are of opinion, that this flaming sword was an angel; which they found on that passage, where it is said,

[o] Ibid. [p] Tertullian. Apolog. cap. 47. Vid. Burnet's Theory, Book II. c. 7. Theor. Sacr. Telluris, l. 2. c. 6. [q] Pseudo-Anselm. c. 15. [r] Nicholls, ubi sup. [s] Vid. Maimonid. More Nevoch. p. 1. cap. 49.

(T) The words commonly rendred flaming sword, are in the original the flame of cutting, or division, or a dividing flame; for the same word, which signifies a sword, signifies also division; and is in the new testament translated both ways (1).

(1) See Matth. x. 34. & Luke xii. 51. Nicholls, ubi supr.

said, that God maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flaming fire [t]. And hence it has been imagined, that this flaming sword, which was esteemed by the Jews a second angel, was of a different kind from the cherubim, viz. a Seraph, or flaming angel, in the form of a flying fiery serpent, whose body vibrated in the air with lustre, and may be fitly described by the image of such a sword [u]. Year of the World, 1. Year before Christ, 4305

HAVING thus examined the circumstances of the fall, it may be proper to consider the effects it had upon our first parents and their posterity, and also upon the ground, which was cursed for their sake. The effects of the fall, on man, and on the ground.

THE unhappy pair did not indeed die immediately, but they became subject to death, which continually hung over their heads; the time they had to live being but as the space between a criminal's condemnation and his execution. They had lost God's favour, and forfeited paradise: the necessaries of life were now to be gotten by hard labour of the man, and child-birth was to be attended with great pain in the woman: so that the remembrance of their past happiness, and the prospect of the innumerable miseries, to which they had made themselves and their off-spring obnoxious, must needs fill them with regret and despair. For since they could not by generation transmit any thing to their posterity, but what they had themselves; their descendants were destined in like manner to undergo the troubles of life, and the pains and agonies of death, the necessary consequences of Adam's transgression: nor is there in this any injustice, we being thereby deprived only of what he had no title to. But that we are thereby become the objects of God's wrath, and deserving eternal damnation, by the imputation of the guilt of Adam's sin (which is the doctrine of St. Austin and his disciples, thence named Supralapsarians) has seemed to many a very harsh opinion, and to reflect on the goodness and justice of God.

As this is a point greatly controverted among divines [x], and foreign to our present design, we shall only say; that the general manifest depravity and corruption of human nature, so very different from what we must suppose it to have been in its original state, would induce us to believe it the effect of our first parents transgression; whereupon unruly passions and appetites got that superiority over, and influence on,

[t] Psalm civ. 4. [u] Tennison of Idolatry. [x] See Stackhouse's body of Divinity, p. 295, &c.

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on, our wills, which reason alone ought to have; and this might be possibly occasioned, in some degree at least, by the infirmities which our bodies necessarily contracted, by proceeding from such a root, and by the great change brought on the earth, air, and other elements, by the curse. For whatever the antients have said of the plenty and happiness of the golden age, seems chiefly to have been some broken notions and traditions of man's first estate in paradise, and of that universal harmony wherein the world and all things would have continued, had not his fall introduced a change. The fruits of the earth were at first spontaneous, and the soil, without being torn and tormented, satisfied the wants and desires of man; but, upon his apostacy from God, as a punishment for his sin, God cursed the ground, which immediately brought forth thorns and thistles; for we must not suppose, with some, that the original fertility of the earth continued, till the destruction brought upon it by the universal deluge. The deluge was, indeed, the completion of the curse, but some considerable effects of it appeared before; otherwise how could Adam be said to eat bread in sorrow, and in the sweat of his face all the days of his life? As the earth was impoverished on man's transgression, so the air and other elements became disordered, in some measure unwholsome, and sometimes fatal. Hence proceeded famines, pestilences, earthquakes, storms, and all manner of natural calamities, which cause an innumerable variety of diseases and distempers [y].

But in order to give a more clear idea, in what degree and manner nature became impaired by the fall; it may be proper to consider the constitution of man's body, (for what concerns his soul is not properly within the compass of this design) and of the earth in that primitive state; and by what means they were reduced to their present condition.

The change in the constitution of man.

As to the constitution of man's body, it appears, that nakedness was then no inconvenience or shame, and consequently, there was no sense of any need to cover it. Those inclinations, which provide for the propagation of mankind, were, it seems, so regular, and so entirely under the command of reason, that not so much as an apron was esteemed necessary to hide those parts, which all the world have since thought proper to conceal [z]. But some have imagined, that in case man had persevered in his state of innocence, there

[y] Vid. Stackhouse, ubi sup. Book III. p. 238.

[z] Vid. Whiston's Theory,

there would have been no matrimonial commerce, but mankind would have been otherwise propagated (V); and this the antient fathers were inclined to believe, from their pre-possession in favour of the merits and excellency of celibacy [a]. This opinion St. Austin combated by very strong arguments [b], such as the benediction of God, and his command to encrease and multiply; the distinction of the sexes preceding the fall; and the absurdity of supposing sin to have been necessary for the propagation of mankind. Yet he agrees, that, in the state of innocence, the work of generation would have been carried on without any mixture of passion, or loss of virginity; and that man would then have proceeded to the propagation of his species, whenever he judged it requisite, without any incitement of lust. In the primitive state also, the temper of the human body seems to have been more soft, pliable, and alterable than now it is: some sorts of fruits and food were able to cause a mighty change therein, either to fix and adapt it to its present condition, or discompose and disorder it: thus the fruit of the tree of life had the virtue of rendering the body permanent and immortal, on the one hand; and that of the tree of knowledge, of bringing upon it diseases, corruption, and mortality, on the other; but the first effect of this latter fruit is supposed to have been the revolt of the parts subservient to generation, which, it is pretended, appears from the shame which immediately seized those who had tasted it (W). And, to say the truth, since man, in his fallen state, was unable to conform himself to the dictates of reason, love was necessarily to be introduced into the world; for otherwise it is not conceived how mankind could have subsisted: so that the passions were then raised, in order to produce men to do that to satisfy their appe-

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 tites,

[a] Vid. Salian. Annal. Tom. I. p. 174. Cornel. à Lapide, in Gen. ii. Barcepha de Parad. p. 1. c. 25. [b] August. de Civit. Dei, l. 14. c. 21, &c.

(V) Paracelsus was so firmly persuaded of this, that he maintained Adam and Eve to have been created without the parts of generation; which afterwards grew out of their bodies like excrescences (1).

(W) Some Rabbins also seem to have attributed this to the natural quality of the forbidden fruit (2).

(1) Apud Vossium de Philos. cap. 9. p. 71. (2) Vid. Bayle, Dict. Hist. Art. Eve. Rem. C.

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tites, which before they did merely from prudential considerations [c].

THERE was also a considerable difference between the condition of the woman before the fall, and that which she has since been in; particularly, she was then in a state of greater equality with the man, and little more subject to sorrow in the propagation of posterity than he [d]. Nay, the very animals seem to have been, at that time, in a state of greater capacities and operations; nearer approaching to reason and discourse, and partakers of higher degrees of perfection and happiness, than they have been ever since [e].

The change in the constitution of the earth, how effected, according to Dr. Burnet.

WHEREIN the fœcundity and amenity of the primitive earth consisted, and by what means it became so much altered for the worse, is difficult to be determined. It is indeed presently accounted for, if we have recourse to the divine interposition, and suppose, that the sterility of the earth, and malignity of the air, and the general depravation of nature was effected by God, or his subordinate agents. But to assign a probable natural cause of such effects is not so easy. Dr. Burnet's notion is, that the fertility and paradisiacal state of the first earth was entirely owing to a perpetual equinox, the consequence of the situation of its axis, which he supposed to have been then parallel to the axis of the ecliptic, in which it was carried about the sun with the other planets. And that it really had such a situation, he thinks needs no other proof than its own evidence; for it is the immediate result and common effect of gravity, or libration, that a body, left freely to itself in a fluid medium, should settle in such a posture as best answers to its gravitation; and the first earth being uniform, regular, and every way equally ballanced [f], there was no reason, why it should encline at one end, more than the other, toward the sun. And this position he supposes the earth kept till the deluge, when it was so broken and divided, according to his hypothesis, that it lost its equal poise; and the center of its gravity changing, one pole became more enclined to the sun, and the other more removed from it, and so the parallel situation, which it had before, was changed to an oblique one; whence proceeded the variety of seasons, and those irregularities in the temperature of the air,

[c] Vid. Bayle, Dict. Hist. Art. Eve. Rem. F. [d] Vid. Whiston's Theory, Book III. p. 239. [e] Ibid. p. 240. [f] See the Introduction, p. 151.

air, which have ſince obtained [g]. But this does not account for the immediate effect of God's curſe on the earth, which, as has been obſerved, muſt by no means be deferred ſo late as to the flood. Year of the World, 1. Year before Chriſt, 4305

To avoid this difficulty, Mr. Whiſton has ſuppoſed, that the earth in its primitive ſtate had no diurnal motion about its own axis, but only an annual motion about the ſun; ſo that the ſun and planets then roſe in the weſt, and ſet in the eaſt, contrary to what they have ever ſince done (X).

On this ſuppoſition, as well as the former, there would alſo be a perpetual equinox through the world, which characters the fathers uſually applied to the paradiſiacal ſtate, and the antient heathens to the golden age [h]. The great change therefore which was made in nature at the fall, he takes to be the commencing of a new motion, or rotation of the earth about its preſent axis: by this means the poles of the world, which to the firſt inhabitants of the earth (dwelling near the interſection of the antient ecliptic with the preſent northern tropic) were neither conſiderably elevated nor depreſſed, ſuddenly changed their ſituation; the northern pole appeared to be elevated above, and the ſouthern depreſſed below, the horizon: and the courſe of the heavens ſeemed bent, or inclined to the ——and Mr. Whiſton.

[g] Burnet's Theory of the Earth, Book II. c. 3. [h] Vid. Burnet's Theor. l. 2. c. 1. & 10. Archæol. l. 2. c. 5. & 6.

(X) This, he thinks, may have been the foundation of that ſtory in Herodotus (1), who tells us, that the ſun, in the ſpace of eleven thouſand three hundred and forty years, four times inverted his courſe and roſe in the weſt. But what he mainly depends on is, that diſcourſe in Plato (2), where relating ſome very antient traditions (as he expreſly ſays they are, and delivered by our firſt parents to their poſterity) about the primitive ſtate of things, he ſays, that there was a great change made in the heavenly motions, the ſun and other ſtars formerly ſetting in the ſame place where they now riſe, and riſing where they now ſet; which change he attributes to God, who ſometimes directs the motion of the univerſe himſelf, and at other times, after ſo many periodical revolutions as he ſees fitting, leaves it; whereupon it is, as it were, ſpontaneouſly carried about by a motion contrary to the former. And this change Plato reckons the greateſt, and moſt entire of any, the heavenly bodies undergo.

(1) Herodot. l. 2. c. 142. (2) Plato, in Politic. p. 174, 175.

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ſouthern parts of the world (Y). And the probable mechanical cauſe of this commencement of the earth's diurnal motion, after its annual had continued ſome time, aſſigned by him is, the impulſe of a comet with little, or no, atmoſphere, or of a central ſolid hitting obliquely upon the earth along ſome parts of its preſent equator: from which impulſe both the annual orbit of the earth would be altered, and a vertiginous motion about a new and real axis would certainly commence. And he obſerves, that in all probability this comet was of the bigneſs of one of the ſmall ſecondary, rather than of the large primary, planets; for otherwiſe by its cauſing vaſt tides in the abyſs, after it was paſſed by, it would have occaſioned many more alterations in the earth, than we have reaſon to believe happened at that time [i] (Z).

But

[i] Whiſton's Theory, Book II. p. 98, &c.

(Y) The inclination of the earth is much inſiſted upon by the antients. Plutarch tells us, that Leucippus was of opinion the earth fell towards the ſouth, becauſe of the rareneſs of thoſe parts; the northern regions being grown rigid and compact, while the ſouthern were ſcorched, or on fire (3). Democritus and Empedocles gave nearly the ſame reaſon for it; and Diogenes and Anaxagoras ſpecify the very time when this happened; viz. after the firſt coalition of the world, and the production of animals out of the earth: and they thought this inclination was probably the effect of providence, on purpoſe, that ſome parts of the world might become habitable, and others uninhabitable, by reaſon of the frigid, torrid, and temperate climates thereof (4).

(Z) That the diurnal motion did not begin till ſome time after the annual, Mr Whiſton imagines to be evinced from the late diſcovery (as it is called) of an internal magnet freely moving within the earth, and from which all the variations of the magnetic needle are ſuppoſed to ariſe. The poles of this interior magnet being, as they ſuppoſe, diſtant from the earth's axis, ſlowly change their places in reſpect of the external earth, by a motion weſtward: whence he concludes, that the encloſed magnet, or nucleus, has not attained the ſame velocity with the exterior parts in their diurnal revolution, becauſe the impulſe by which the diurnal motion was firſt impreſſed upon the external earth, has not yet been ſo perfectly communicated to the internal magnet, as to equal the firſt motion impreſſed and ſtill preſerved by the ſuperior parts of the globe (5).

(3) Plut. de placit. philoſ. l. 3. c. 12. (4) Idem, ibid. l. 2. c. 8. (5) Vid. Dr. Halley's Theory of the variation of the magnetic needle, Philoſ. Tranſ. N° 195.

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BUT beſides the impreſſion of this new motion, another effect of ſuch a colliſion of a comet would be the change of the earth's orbit from an ellipſis, as it was before the fall, to a perfect circle. For Mr. Whiſton ſuppoſes the reduction of the very oblong eccentrical orbit of the earth into a circular one, which he thinks it had before the deluge, was gradual, and not done all at once; the greateſt part at the commencing of the moſaic creation, and the reſt at the commencing of the diurnal motion. All this being ſuppoſed, and that providence adjuſted all circumſtances, ſo as ſhould be moſt for the advantage of the regions adjoining to paradiſe, where alone Adam and the other creatures dwelt in this ſtate; we ſhall have the earth revolving in a moderately eccentrical ellipſis, without any diurnal rotation, about the ſun in the ſpace of a year; we ſhall have ſome diameter of the earth, which paſſed near paradiſe, parallel to the longer axis of its ellipſis, and the place of paradiſe reſpecting nearly the ſame fixed ſtars with the perihelion of the ellipſis. Which being again ſuppoſed, we may obſerve, that as a circular orbit is much the beſt for a globe inhabited all round (as the earth was deſigned to be after the fall), that providing equally for the convenience of both hemiſpheres; ſo is this elliptic orbit the beſt for a globe inhabited but in one place, as the earth was in its primitive ſtate, this providing peculiarly for the happineſs of that particular ſpot, where alone the living part of the creation was to reſide. For the heat of the day-time would gradually encreaſe before, and decreaſe after noon, but yet would never be over violent; becauſe the increaſe of the heat, by the ſun's riſing higher and higher above the horizon in the forenoon, or ſpring, would be prevented, in a great meaſure, by the earth's real receding from him, and approaching nearer his Aphelion during the ſame time: and vice verſâ in the afternoon, or ſummer, which would render the ſtate of the air more equal and uniform. And thus alſo the too long duration of the night would be intirely avoided: for the whole night-time would then bear a ſmall proportion to the day, and amount perhaps to no more than two months; out of which muſt be deducted the two twilights, each of near a fortnight, which would reduce the darkneſs of the night itſelf to about a ſingle month; out of which another fortnight is to be ſtill deducted for the time of the moon's being above the horizon, and enlightning the earth:

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ſo that at laſt, if the moon's crepuſcula be allowed for, as they ought to be, we ſhall ſcarce have a week of pure darkneſs in the whole year, to the great comfort and advantage of this truly paradiſiacal ſtate [k]; wherein there would be a conſtant warmth without the frequent interpoſition of cold; an air perfectly clear and homogeneous, and ſuſceptible of the utmoſt power of the ſolar heat, and the ſeaſons equable, or gradually diſtinguiſhed from one another, with other natural conſequences. But ſo ſoon as man had rendered himſelf unworthy of that happy ſtate, and God had pronounced a curſe on the ground, preſently the earth began a new and ſtrange motion, and revolved from weſt to eaſt upon its own axis: the ſucceſſion of day and night returned frequently, while the annual motion, performed on a different axis, diſtinguiſhed the ſeaſons, and, in conjunction with the diurnal, deſcribed the equator and the tropics; by which and the polar circles, the face of the earth was diſtinguiſhed into zones, with reſpect whereto the particular regions of the earth changed their ſituation: ſo that paradiſe, which was before near the middle or eccliptic, was now beyond the nothern tropic. The figure of the earth, which was before truly ſpherical, degenerated into an oblate ſpheroid; the torrid zone riſing about fifteen or ſixteen miles upwards, and the frigid one ſubſiding as much downwards. The compages of the upper earth, and of its ſtrata, became thereby chapped and broken, and ſo carried up the warm ſteams from beneath, ariſing from the hot central ſolid, to particular receptacles and volcanos, which before ſerved, in a more equal and uniform manner, to heat and invigorate the intire earth and its productions [l]. In theſe and other circumſtances was the ſtate of nature altered for the worſe on the fall, according to this gentleman's theory.

[k] Ibid. p. 114, &c.

[l] Ibid. Book IV. p. 353, &c.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The Chronology from the Creation to the Deluge ſtated.

BEFORE we enter on the hiſtory of the antediluvian world, it will be neceſſary, that we ſhould ſettle the chronology of this period.

As Moſes has not ſet down the particular time of any tranſaction before the flood, except only the years of the fathers age, wherein the ſeveral deſcendants of Adam, in the line of Seth, were begotten, and the length of their ſeveral lives; all we can do in this period is, to endeavour to fix the years of the lives and deaths of thoſe patriarchs, and the diſtance of time from the creation to the deluge.

AND this might be eaſily done, if there were no varieties in the ſeveral copies we now have of Moſes's writings; which are the Hebrew, the Samaritan, and the Greek verſion of the Septuagint: but as theſe differ very conſiderably from one another, learned men are much divided in their opinions, concerning the chronology of the firſt ages of the world, ſome preferring one copy, and ſome another.

THAT the reader may the better judge of the variations in the three copies in this period, we ſhall in the following table ſubjoin the numbers of each; to which we take the liberty to add thoſe of Joſephus, as corrected by Dr. Wills and Mr. Whiſton, the numbers in the preſent copies of that hiſtorian being greatly corrupted.

A TABLE

A TABLE of the Years of the Antediluvian Patriarchs.

	Their Ages at their Sons Birth.				Years they lived after the Sons Birth.			Length of their Lives.		
	Heb.	Samar.	Sept.	Joſeph.	Heb.	Samar.	Sept.	Heb.	Samar.	Sept.
Adam,	130	130	230	130	800	800	700	930	930	930
Seth,	105	105	205	105	807	807	707	912	912	912
Enos,	90	90	190	90	815	815	715	905	905	905
Cainan,	70	70	170	70	840	840	740	910	910	910
Mahalaleel,	65	65	165	65	830	830	730	895	895	895
Jared,	162	62	162	62	800	785	800	962	847	962
Enoch,	65	65	165	65	300	300	200	365	365	365
Methuſelah,	187	67	187	187	782	653	802	969	720	696
Lamech,	182	53	188	182	595	600	565	777	653	753
Noah was aged at the Flood,	600	600	600	600						
To the Flood,	1656	1307	2262	1556						

To this Table it will be neceſſary, in order to explain the conſequences of theſe variations, to add ſeparate chronological tables, ſhewing in what year of his contemporaries the birth and death of each patriarch happened, according to the computation of each of the ſaid three copies.

A Chro-

A Chronological TABLE of the Years of the Patriarchs, according to the Computation of the Hebrew.

	Years of the world.	Years of Seth,	Years of Enos,	Years of Cainan,	Years of Mahalaleel,	Years of Jared,	Years of Enoch,	Years of Methuſelah,	Years of Lamech,	Years of Noah,
Adam created,	1									
Seth born,	130	105								
Enos born,	235	195	90							
Cainan born,	325	265	160	70						
Mahalaleel born,	395	330	225	135	65					
Jared born,	460	492	387	297	227	162				
Enoch born,	622	557	452	362	292	227	65			
Methuſelah born,	687	744	639	549	479	414	252	187		
Lamech born,	874	800	695	605	535	470	308	243	56	
Adam dies,	930	857	752	662	592	527	365	300	113	
Enoch tranſlated,	987	912	807	717	647	582		355	168	
Seth dies,	1042		821	731	661	596		369	182	
Noah born,	1056		905	817	745	680		453	266	84
Enos dies,	1140			910	840	775		548	361	179
Cainan dies,	1235				895	830		603	416	234
Mahalaleel dies,	1290					962		735	548	366
Jared dies,	1422							869	682	500
Japhet born,	1556							871	684	502
Shem born,	1558							964	777	595
Lamech dies,	1651						The Flood, ——	969		600
Methuſelah dies,	1656									

A Chronological

A Chronological Table of the Years of the Patriarchs, according to the Computation of the Septuagint.

	Years of the world.	Years of Seth,	Years of Enos,	Years of Cainan,	Years of Mahalaleel,	Years of Jared,	Years of Enoch,	Years of Methuselah,	Years of Lamech,	Years of Noah,
Adam created,	1									
Seth born,	230									
Enos born,	435	205								
Cainan born,	625	395	190							
Mahalaleel born,	795	565	360	170						
Adam dies,	930	700	495	305	135					
Jared born,	960	730	525	335	165					
Enoch born,	1122	892	687	497	327	162				
Seth dies,	1142	912	707	517	347	182				
Methuselah born,	1387		852	662	492	327	165			
Enos dies,	1340		905	715	545	380	218			
Lamech born,	1474			849	679	514	352	187		
Enoch translated,	1487			862	692	527	365	200		
Cainan dies,	1535			910	740	575		248	61	
Noah born,	1662				867	702		375	188	
Mahalaleel dies,	1690				895	730		403	216	28
Jared dies,	1922					962		635	448	260
Japhet born,	2162							875	688	500
Shem born,	2164							877	690	502
Lamech dies,	2227							940	753	565
Methuselah dies,	2256							969		594
The Flood,	2262									600

A Chrono-

A Chronological TABLE of the years of the Patriarchs, according to the Computation of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

	Years of the world.	Years of Seth,	Years of Enos,	Years of Cainan,	Years of Mahalaleel,	Years of Jared,	Years of Enoch,	Years of Methuſelah,	Years of Lamech,	Years of Noah,
Adam created,	1									
Seth born,	130									
Enos born,	235	105								
Cainan born,	325	195	90							
Mahalaleel born,	395	265	160	70						
Jared born,	460	330	225	135	65					
Enoch born,	522	392	287	197	127	62				
Methuſelah born,	587	457	352	262	192	127	65			
Lamech born,	654	524	419	329	259	194	132	67		
Noah born,	707	577	472	382	312	247	185	120	53	
Enoch tranſlated,	887	757	652	562	497	427	365	300	233	180
Adam dies,	930	800	695	605	535	470		343	276	223
Seth dies,	1042	912	807	717	647	582		462	388	335
Enos dies,	1140		905	815	745	680		553	486	433
Japhet born,	1207			882	812	747		620	553	500
Shem born,	1209			884	814	749		622	555	502
Cainan dies,	1235			910	840	775		648	581	528
Mahalaleel dies,	1290				895	830		703	636	583
Jared, Methuſelah, and Lamech die, —	1307		The Flood,			847		720	653	600

To the varieties exhibited in the two laſt tables, others might be added, by admitting the various readings of ſome numbers in the Samaritan and Septuagint: for as to the Hebrew copies, there is here a conſtant agreement among them (A).

THE manuſcript, from which the Samaritan pentateuch was publiſhed (B), agrees exactly with the Samaritan numbers

(A) It is obſervable that the Hebrew numbers were exactly the ſame when the two Talmuds were compoſed; and that the Chaldee paraphraſe of Onkelos, which is allowed to have been written about the time of our Saviour, does alſo agree with the Hebrew chronology.

(B) This MS. was written A. D. 1404. (1).

(1) Vid. John Morin. in Præf. Ed Septuag. Gr. Lat. Paris, 1628.

bers given by Euſebius [a]. But St. Jerom tells us [b], that in his time there were ſome Samaritan copies which make Methuſelah 187 years old at the birth of Lamech, and Lamech 182 at the birth of Noah, juſt as the Hebrew does. Now if theſe numbers be approved as the true original numbers, the interval from the creation to the flood will be 1556 years (C); differing from the Hebrew computation but 100 years, in the age of Jared at the birth of Enoch: and if this laſt be allowed to be a miſtake of the tranſcriber, by his dropping a number, and writing 62 inſtead of 162, as has been ſuſpected, the Samaritan will be perfectly reconciled with the Hebrew, and all difference between them vaniſh (D).

There are indeed ſome other variations in the Samaritan numbers, as given by Euſebius; but as they are plainly owing to the negligence of the copier, or the printer, we think it needleſs to trouble the reader with them.

Scaliger, on the authority of an old Samaritan chronicle, having at the end a table of the years of the patriarchs to the time of Moſes, would correct two of the Samaritan numbers in Euſebius: viz. inſtead of 65, the age of Mahalaleel when he begat Jared, he thinks it ſhould be 75; and inſtead of 67, the age of Methuſelah, when he begat Lamech, he would have it 77 [c]. By which alterations he reckons 20 years more to the flood than Euſebius and the manuſcript; that is, 1327 (E). But as he acknowledges the table, whereupon he grounds theſe corrections, contains ſome great abſurdities, it ſeems unreaſonable to oppoſe it to the joint authority of Euſebius and the Samaritan manuſcript.

As

[a] In Chronic. Græ. p, 3, 4. [b] In Quæſt. in Geneſ.
[c] Scaliger in Græc. Euſeb. p. 403.

(C) Mr. Whiſton, allowing of theſe two corrections, which are ſupported by the atteſtation of Joſephus, follows this computation in his chronological table (2).

(D) This is the hypotheſis of Father Tournemine, who in his Samaritan chronology, reckons 1656 years to the deluge.

(E) It is remarkable, that Scaliger, taking the Samaritan numbers to be brought down no lower than to the birth of Noah, computes 1947 years to the flood, according to that chronology; wherein he is again miſtaken 20 years, in the adding of the 600 years of Noah's life to the former number. And he at the ſame time quarrels with Syncellus, for not committing the ſame fault (3).

(2) See alſo his Eſſay towards reſtoring the true text of the old Teſt. &c. p. 23. (3) Scalig. in Græc. Euſeb. p. 403.

As to the Septuagint, in the common editions of that verſion, the age of Methuſelah, at the birth of Lamech, is 167, and conſequently, the ſum total of this period, according to them, is no more than 2242 [d]. But in this caſe Methuſelah will outlive the flood 14 years; and we may well wonder, with Euſebius [e], where he was preſerved. To obviate this objection, we are told, that in ſome copies Methuſelah is ſaid to have lived but 782 (not 802) years after the birth of Lamech, and no more than 949 in all [f]. But the Alexandrian manuſcript entirely takes away the difficulty, by giving the ſame number in this place with the Hebrew.

Pezron is of opinion, that the age of Lamech, at the birth of Noah, ſhould be but 182, as it is both in the Hebrew and in Joſephus, ſuppoſing with St. Auſtin, that the preſent number is the error of the ſcribe who firſt copied the original Septuagint manuſcript in Ptolemy's library [g]. So that he computes 2256 years to the flood. And if this correction be admitted, and one more mentioned alſo by St. Auſtin [h], viz. that Lamech lived 595 years after the birth of Noah, and not 565, as in the preſent copies, there will then remain no other difference betwen the Septuagint and the Hebrew than 600 years, added to the ages of ſix of the patriarchs when they begat their ſons [i], and Methuſelah will, conformably to the Hebrew and Samaritan, die in the year of the flood.

As we have choſen to follow the chronology of the preſent Samaritan copies, after the flood, for the reaſons which will be found in another place, we have done the ſame in our calculations in this period; which may, with very little trouble, be reduced to the chronology of the Hebrew, or Septuagint by thoſe who prefer the accounts of thoſe copies.

[d] Vid. Lud. Cappelli Chronol. Sacr. [e] Chron. Græc. p. 4. [f] Ibid. [g] Auguſtin. de civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 13. [h] Ibid. [i] Vid Pezron, l'Antiquité des temps retablie, p. 57. & Cappelli Chronolog. ſacr.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

The Hiſtory of the Antediluvian Patriarchs.

Year of the World, 1. Year before Chriſt, 4305

WHERE Adam dwelt after his expulſion from paradiſe, is uncertain; but it is likely he did not remove far off (F). He now conſummated his marriage with Eve, which, as the words of Moſes ſeem to imply, he had not done before the fall [k] (G): a ſtrong argument for the ſhort duration of the ſtate of innocence. The eldeſt ſon of Adam, named Cain, was born probably in the firſt year of

[k] Geneſ. iii. 24. iv. 1.

(F) The eaſtern tradition is, that Adam went into India (2), and did penance on the mountain thence named Pico de Adam, in the iſle of Ceylon, for ſeveral years. Some Rabbins pretend, that he was ſeparated from Eve for 130 years, and lived with another woman, named Lilith, formed out of the ground like himſelf; during which time he begat dæmons on her, as the devils did on Eve (3). Maimonides ſuppoſes, that by thoſe dæmons were meant only wicked and impious men, as the race of Adam were before Seth, whom he is therefore ſaid to have begotten in his own likeneſs, and after his own image (4). The Mohammedans ſay, that when they were caſt down from paradiſe, Adam fell on Ceylon, and Eve near Joddah in Arabia; and that, after a ſeparation of 200 years, Adam was on his repentance conducted by the angel Gabriel to a mountain near Mecca, where he found and knew his wife, the mountain being thence named Arafat; and that he afterwards retired with her to Ceylon, where they continued to propagate their ſpecies (5).

(G) Yet ſome Rabbins, as R. Solomon Yarhi and R. Moſes Haddarſhan (6), were of a contrary opinion. Others of them indeed went much farther, as father Bartolocci aſſures us, whoſe words we ſubjoin, (to ſhew what abominable imaginations ſome men are capable of) but deſire to be excuſed the tranſlating of them. De protoparente Adamo ita ſiniſtre ſentiunt, ut ipſum etiam nefariæ incontinentiæ, quod referre pudet, inſimulent; & ante Evæ formationem, omnia jumenta feraſque campi carnaliter cognoviſſe aiunt (7).

(2) Vid. Eutychii annal. p. 15. D'Herbelot, Bibl. orient. p. 55. (3) Vid. Heidegg. Hiſt. Patriarch. Tom. I. p. 112. & Bartolocc. Bibl. Rabbin. Tom. I. p. 291. (4) Maim. More Nevoch. p. 1. c. 7. (5) Vid. D'Herbel. ubi ſupra. (6) Vid. Heidegg. p. 111. (7) Bartolocc. ubi ſup. p. 75.

of the world; and his second, Abel (H), the year following*. When they were grown up, they betook themselves to

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(H) Some Rabbins imagined, that Cain and Abel were twins (which Calvin (8) also supposed), but that Cain was the offspring of the devil, or Sammael, who first lay with Eve; and that she afterwards, by superfetation, conceived Abel by Adam (9). Some heretics fancied both Cain and Abel to have been the issue of the devil (10).

* The name Cain signifies an acquisition, or possession, being derived (though not very regularly) from the verb קָנָה Kana, to acquire. Abel, or rather Hebel, signifies vanity, and not mourning, as Josephus (1) and Eusebius (2) suppose.

The Arab authors say, that before Cabîl (for so they call Cain) Adam had a son named عبد الحارث Abd'alhâreth, on the following occasion. When Eve was big with her first child, the devil came to her and asked her, if she knew what she carried within her, and which way she should be delivered of it. She being unable to give an answer to this question, went in a fright to Adam, and acquainted him with the matter, who, not knowing what to think of it, grew sad and pensive. Whereupon the devil appeared to him, and told him, that as he knew the mysterious name of God, he would in vertue thereof, by his prayers, obtain of God, that Eve might be safely delivered of a son in his (Adam's) own likeness, provided he would promise to call his name Abd'alhâreth, or the servant of al Hareth (which was the devil's name in heaven) instead of Abd'allah, or the servant of God, as Adam had designed. This Adam and his wife agreed to, and accordingly gave the child that name, upon which it immediately died (3). The parents are taxed with this in the Koran, as an act looking towards idolatry (4). But the whole story seems to have no other foundation, than Cain's being called by Moses Obed Adamah, i. e. a tiller of the ground, which might be translated by the Arabs Abd'alhâreth.

Abu'lfaragius (5) says, Cain was born in the thirtieth year of the world, with a twin sister, whom that author calls Kilmia, Eutychius (6) Azrûm, and others Kalmanna. And that thirty years

(8) Vid. Corn. a. Lapide, in Genes. iv. 2. (9) Bartolocc. ubi supra. (10) Vid. Epiphan. Hæres. 40. (1) Antiq. l. 11. cap. 6. (2) De Præp. Ev. l. 2. (3) Vid. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orien. p. 438, &c. Selden de jure nat. &c. l. 5. c. 8 Maracc. in Alcor. p. 291. (4) Al Koran, c. 7. ver. 189, &c. (5) p. 6. (6) p. 15.

to distinct employments; the former of them to husbandry, and the latter to the keeping of sheep [p]. And their inward dispositions were still more different, Cain being wicked and avaritious, but Abel just and virtuous [q].

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Cain and Abel, their offerings. Abel murthered.

In process of time, the two brothers brought their respective offerings to God †, Cain of the fruit of the ground, and Abel of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof **; but they met with very different success: for God had respect to, or accepted the offering of Abel, but Cain's

[p] Genes. iv. 2. [q] Joseph. Ant. I. c. 2.

years after, Abel was born with a twin sister also, named Lebûdha, or Lefûra, by Eutychius (who says Lefûra was her Greek name) Owain, and by others Delborah (7).

† It has been supposed by some (but without any ground) that they brought their offerings to Adam to offer for them (8).

The oriental tradition makes these sacrifices to have been offered, and Cain's malice excited against his brother on the following occasion. When they were grown up, in the one hundred and thirtieth year of the world, according to Abu'lfaragius, Adam proposed to Eve, that Cain should marry Abel's twin sister, and Abel Cain's. But this Cain refused to agree to, insisting to have his own sister, who was the handsomest of the two. Adam hereupon was greatly displeased, because it was against the divine command that he should marry his twin sister (for it being the common opinion, that marriages ought not to be had in the nearest degrees of consanguinity, since Cain and Abel must necessarily marry their sisters, it seemed reasonable to suppose they ought to take those of the remoter degree), and ordered his sons to make their offerings before they took their wives, referring the dispute, probably, to God's determination. But while they went up the mountain for that purpose, the devil put it into Cain's head to rid himself of his brother; for which wicked intent, his sacrifice was not accepted; and they were no sooner come down from the mountain, than he fell on Abel, and killed him with a stone (9). Thus was a woman, according to this story, the occasion of the first quarrel in the world; Nam fuit ante Helenam, &c.

** The opinion of those who think Abel did not kill, or offer the animals themselves, but only their milk and wool, will be considered hereafter, when we enquire into the origin of Sacrifices.

(7) Vid. Pererium in Genes. iv. 1. Heidegg Hist. Patr. t. 1. p. 112. (8) Vid. Heidegg. ubi supr. p. 117. (9) Abu'lfarag. p. 6, 7. Eutych. p. 15, 16.

Cain's he did not accept ‡. At this preference Cain was so enraged and transported with envy against his brother, that he could not help shewing it by his countenance. God, however, condescended to expostulate the matter with him, and asked him, what reason he had to be angry, since if he did well he should be accepted; and he could blame none but himself for what was the consequence of his own ill behaviour; and, in particular, he could not justly be angry with Abel, who had no design to supplant him, and should always pay him the respect due to an elder brother. But this admonition had so little effect on Cain, that, on a convenient opportunity, when they were together in the the field, he rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him [r] *, and buried his body, in hopes of concealing the murther [s].

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[r] Genes. iv. 3.—8. [s] Joseph. ubi sup.

‡ Though the difference put by God between the two offerings can be attributed to nothing, but the wickedness and ill disposition of Cain, and the righteousness and faith of Abel (10), yet it has been imagined, that Cain's ill success was owing to some defect in his offering, or his presenting the worst part of it to God, and reserving the best to himself. The reason given by Josephus (11) is very frivolous: he says, that God was more delighted with Abel's offering, as being the spontaneous production of nature; and displeased with Cain's, because it was forced by the art and industry of a covetous man (12).

In what visible manner God declared his acceptance of Abel's offering, is not expressed by Moses. The common opinion is, that fire from heaven descended on the sacrifice and consumed it, but did not touch Cain's. This is supposed by the version of Theodotion, who translated the word שעה, which we render had respect unto, ἐνεπύρισεν, he set on fire; the usual sign whereby God has been pleased to testify his approbation in other instances. The Mohammedans likewise affirm the same thing (13). And the heathens themselves boasted of the like extraordinary marks of the divine favour in some particular places (14).

* Before the commission of the fact, Moses tells us, according to the English translation, that Cain *talked with Abel his brother.*

(10) Vid. Heb. xi. 4. (11) Antiq. l. 1. c. 2. (12) Vid. Heidegg. Hist. Patr. t. 1. p. 120. (13) Vid. Maracc. in Alcoran. p. 229. (14) See Bayle Dict. Hist. Art. Egnatia.

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After the commiſſion of this horrid fact, Cain being queſtioned by God about his brother, returned an evaſive anſwer, that he knew not what was become of him, churliſhly aſking, *if he was his brother's keeper?* But God ſoon

brother. The words ſtrictly ſignify, *Cain ſaid unto Abel his brother:* after which there is a blank ſpace left in the Hebrew copies, as if ſomething was wanting. The Samaritan pentateuch and Septuagint verſion ſupply this, by adding the words, *Let us go into the field:* but the Jeruſalem Targum, and that of Jonathan ben Uzziel have obliged us with the whole converſation. Says Cain, *There is no future judgment, nor judge, nor life after this, nor reward for the juſt, nor puniſhment for the wicked: the world was neither created, nor is governed by the mercy of God, for as much as thy oblation was accepted, and mine rejected. To which Abel anſwers, There is a future judgment, and a judge, and a life to come: there is both a reward for the juſt, and a puniſhment for the unjuſt: the world was created, and is governed by the mercy of God. And becauſe my works are better than thine, therefore was my oblation accepted, and thine rejected.* Upon which enſued the quarrel, which ended in Abel's murther. An ill beginning of religious controverſy. Mohammed has alſo, in his Korân (1), inſerted the debate between the two brothers, ſomewhat to the ſame purpoſe.

The time, place, and manner of this murther are all uncertain. It happened, very probably, not long before the birth of Seth, who was appointed inſtead of Abel: but St. Auſtin (2) will not allow Seth to be the next ſon which Eve had after Abel's death; ſuppoſing that expreſſion to mean no more, than that Seth ſucceeded that righteous perſon in his virtue and piety. Some are of opinion, that Adam aſſigned his ſons their ſeveral employments in the fiftieth year of the world (as Euſebius ſays he did), that Cain and Abel made their offerings A. M 100, and that thirty years after Abel was killed. But neither reaſon, nor ſcripture lead us to believe, that Cain concealed his reſentment ſo many years (3). The place where Abel was ſlain, according to an antient tradition, is ſaid to be ſtill ſhewn at the foot of a hill near Damaſcus (4). As to the manner wherein Cain committed this murther, there is a great variety of opinions. Eutychius and the Arabs ſay, he ſtruck him on the head with a ſtone; ſome Jews tell us, that he tore him in pieces with his teeth; others, that

(1) Chap. 5. ver. 33, &c. (2) De civit Dei, l. 15. c. 15. (3) See Bayle Dict. Hiſt. Art. Abel, Rem. C. (4) Vid. Heidegg. Hiſt. Patr. t. 1. p. 126.

ſoon convinced him, that what he had done was not hid from him; and, as a puniſhment, condemned him to be a fugitive and a vagabond on the earth, and to till an ungrateful ſoil, which ſhould not reward his labour, with the plenty and encreaſe he had before experienced. This ſentence, though it fell ſhort of the heinouſneſs of his guilt, was yet thought too ſevere by Cain, who complained, that *his puniſhment was greater than he could bear*; ſince he was to be baniſhed from the preſence of God, and from his near relations, and, being a vagabond and friendleſs, would be in danger of being killed by the next that ſhould meet him †, But God told him that whoever

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Cain's puniſhment.

ſlew

that he killed him with the jaw-bone of an aſs, which is the weapon the painters generally put into Cain's hand: ſome arm him with a fork; St. Chryſoſtome with a ſword; St. Irenæus with a ſcythe, and Prudentius with a pruning hook (5).

Whether Abel was a married man or not, has been diſputed. Some of the antient fathers have maintained the affirmative (6), as did alſo ſome heretics called Abelians (7). But it is improbable, he ſhould continue ſingle if he lived to be near one hundred and thirty: the world wanted peopling too much to allow any room for ſuch continency. Nor do St. Jerom and St. Auſtin (8) ſeem to doubt of his being married, though Moſes makes no mention of his offspring.

The Rabbins and ſome Chriſtians (9) ſay, that Adam and Eve mourned for Abel one hundred years, during which time they lived ſeparate; Adam particularly in a valley near Hebron, thence named the valley of tears (10). The inhabitans of Ceylon pretend, that the ſalt lake on the mount of Colombo was formed by the tears, which Eve ſhed on this occaſion (11).

† Theſe words of Cain are variouſly interpreted. The firſt ſentence which our verſion renders, *My puniſhment is greater than I can bear*, ſome tranſlate, *My ſin is greater than can be forgiven* for עון ſignifies iniquity rather than puniſhment, and נשא to forgive, as well as to bear); and others interrogatively, *Is my ſin too great to be forgiven?* which laſt is the ſenſe followed by the

(5) Vid. Bayle ubi. ſup. Rem. G. (6) Baſil. & Ambroſ. apud Corn. à Lapide in Geneſ. iv, & v. (7) Vid. Bayle Dict. Hiſt. Art. Abeliens. (8) Vid. Salian. Annal. tom. 1. p. 184. (9) Eutych. p. 16. (10) Vid. Salian. ubi ſup. p. 190. (11) Vid. Chevreau, Hiſt. du. Monde, tom. 4. p. 255.

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ſlew Cain, vengeance ſhould be taken on him ſeven fold; and the more effectually to ſecure him from that apprehenſion, was pleaſed to give him a ſign * (probably by ſome ſenſible miracle), that none that met him ſhould take away his life [t].

He goes into baniſhment, and builds a city.

Cain, ſoon after this unfortunate affair, having wandered about ſome time, at length ſettled with his wife and family in

[t] Geneſ. iv. 9.—15.

the Hebrew expoſitors, and ſeems to be the beſt (12). The latter words, in the Engliſh tranſlation, *And it ſhall come to paſs that every one that findeth me ſhall ſlay me*, have alſo been rendered, *I wiſh that any perſon that finds me may kill me* (13).

That there were ſuch numbers of men in the world, at the time of Abel's murther, that Cain might juſtly apprehend ſome danger from them, will appear from the calculations hereafter made of the increaſe of mankind before the flood. Mr. Bayle (14) thinks, that Cain was not ſo much afraid of his kindred, the deſcendants of Adam, (though he might juſtly fear the reſentment of Abel's children, if he left any) but of ſome ſtrangers whom he apprehended he ſhould meet in his baniſhment, where he ſhould be friendleſs, and have none to ſupport him; and therefore ſuppoſes, that, in his fright, he either did not conſider, there were no men in the world but what were the offspring of his father, or elſe feigned an apprehenſion, to move God's compaſſion. But we conceive, there will be no occaſion for either of thoſe ſuppoſitions, if we conſider in how few deſcents the degrees of kindred, at leaſt of affection, decreaſe, and at length vaniſh; and that Cain might juſtly be looked on, even among his relations, as a common enemy. Not to mention the vaſt numbers of men, which he could not but think, would in a few years to come overſpread the earth, and have probably little knowledge of, or reſpect for, him.

* This is the true ſenſe of this paſſage, and not that God ſet a mark upon Cain (1), according to the common expoſition; in purſuance of which, many ridiculous conjectures have been made as to this imaginary mark. Some ſay, that God ſtigmatized Cain on the forehead with a letter, which was to ſerve him as a paſsport, being taken either from the name of Abel (2), or the ineffable name of God (3), or from the word repentance; that every one might perceive Cain had repented. Others ſay this mark conſiſted of three letters, which compoſed the

(12) See Shuckford's Connection, vol. 1. p. 6. (13) Lightfoot, vol. 1. p. 3. (14) Dict. Hiſt. Art. Cain, Rem. A. (1) Vid. Shuckford, p. 8. (2) Veteres Hebræi apud Genebrard. (3) R. Solom. Yarhi. Vid. Salden. Otia Theol. p. 345.

in the land of Nod, where he built a city, and called it, after the name of his ſon, Enoch [u]. Year of the World, 129. Year before Chriſt, 4177

WHERE the land of Nod (which word ſignifies wandering) was ſituate, is uncertain. Moſes places it, according to our tranſlation, *on the eaſt of Eden*; and it has been obſerved, that Ptolemy mentions a city called Anuchtha in Suſiana, or Khuzeſtân, a country lying eaſtward from Chaldea: which ſituation, and the near reſemblance of the name Anuchtha to the original Hanokh (for Tha is ſuppoſed to be only the Chaldee termination) induced the learned Huet to believe it to be the ſame with that built by Cain. But it ſeems very improbable, that the city of Enoch, built before the flood, ſhould either withſtand the deluge, or retain its antient name after ſo great an alteration of the face of things. Beſides, Suſiana being a very fertile and pleaſant country, it is not likely, Cain ſhould be baniſhed thither, but rather to ſome barren and deſolate land, remote from

[u] Ibid. ver. 16, 17.

the name of the Sabbath (4), or elſe that it was the ſign of the croſs (5). Others ſuppoſe, that Abel's dog was given him as a conſtant companion, either to warn people not to attack him (6), or to prevent his taking any dangerous road (7). Others ſay, that his face was covered with leproſy (8). Others, that the mark was nothing but a wild aſpect, with bloody eyes, which rolled in a horrid manner (9). Moſt of the fathers imagined, that his body continually trembled to that degree, that he could not get his victuals to his mouth (10). The Septuagint verſion favours this opinion; for, inſtead of a fugitive and a vagabond, they have tranſlated στένων καὶ τρέμων, lamenting and trembling; and the Hebrew words do indeed import a reſtleſsneſs and uneaſineſs of mind, with which Cain is ſuppoſed to have been afflicted all his life (11). Some ſay, that where-ever he ſtopped, the earth ſhook and trembled around him (12). Others pretend, that God inſpired him with extraordinary courage, and rendered him void of all fear. And another notion, as well founded as any of the former, is, that Cain had a horn grew on his forehead, to warn folks to avoid him (13).

(4) In Tanchuma, fol. 4. (5) Salden. ubi ſup. (6) Ibid. (7) Corn. à Lapide in Geneſ. iv. (8) Salden. ubi ſup. (9) Vid. Salian. annal. tom. 1. p. 192. (10) Procopius in Geneſ. iv. Vid. etiam Hieronym, Epiſt. cxxv. ad Damas. (11) Vid. Eutych. p. 16. (12) Apud Salden. ubi ſup. (13) Apud Salian. ubi ſup. Vid. Bayle, Dict. Hiſt. Art. Cain. Rem. B. & Heidegg. Hiſt. Patr. tom. 1. p. 129.

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the place of his nativity, and ſeparated by mountains, or other natural obſtructions, from the commerce of his relations. For which reaſon Grotius and Junius are of opinion, that the country into which Cain retired was the deſart Arabia; but that lying on the weſt, and not on the eaſt, of Eden, to remove ſo formidable an objection, it is ſaid, that the words which we tranſlate *on the eaſt of Eden*, ſignify no more than, before, or over-againſt, Eden, as the Septuagint have rendered it [w].

When Cain built this city cannot be conjectured by any circumſtance recorded by Moſes; but it is probable, he did not till many years after his baniſhment, and when his poſterity was greatly encreaſed. Philo ſuppoſes, he alſo built ſix other cities, named Maich, Jared, Tehe, Jeſca, Selet, and Gebat, but what foundation he had for it we cannot conceive [x].

Grows more wicked.

Josephus ſays, that the puniſhment inflicted on Cain was ſo far from effecting any amendment in him, that he grew worſe, and became a reprobate to all ſenſe of goodneſs, indulging himſelf in all manner of pleaſures, though he wronged his neighbours to procure them; that he got together abundance of wealth by rapine and violence, encouraging his followers in luxury and robbery, and becoming their inſtructor in evil courſes. That he firſt corrupted that ſimplicity wherein men till then lived, by the invention of meaſures and weights, changing their innocence of life, which was happily ignorant of ſuch things, and their greatneſs of mind, into fraud and cunning: and that he alſo firſt ſet bounds to fields and poſſeſſions, and walled the city which he had built, obliging his dependants to live in community [y], the better, it is probable, to ſecure their ill-gotten wealth.

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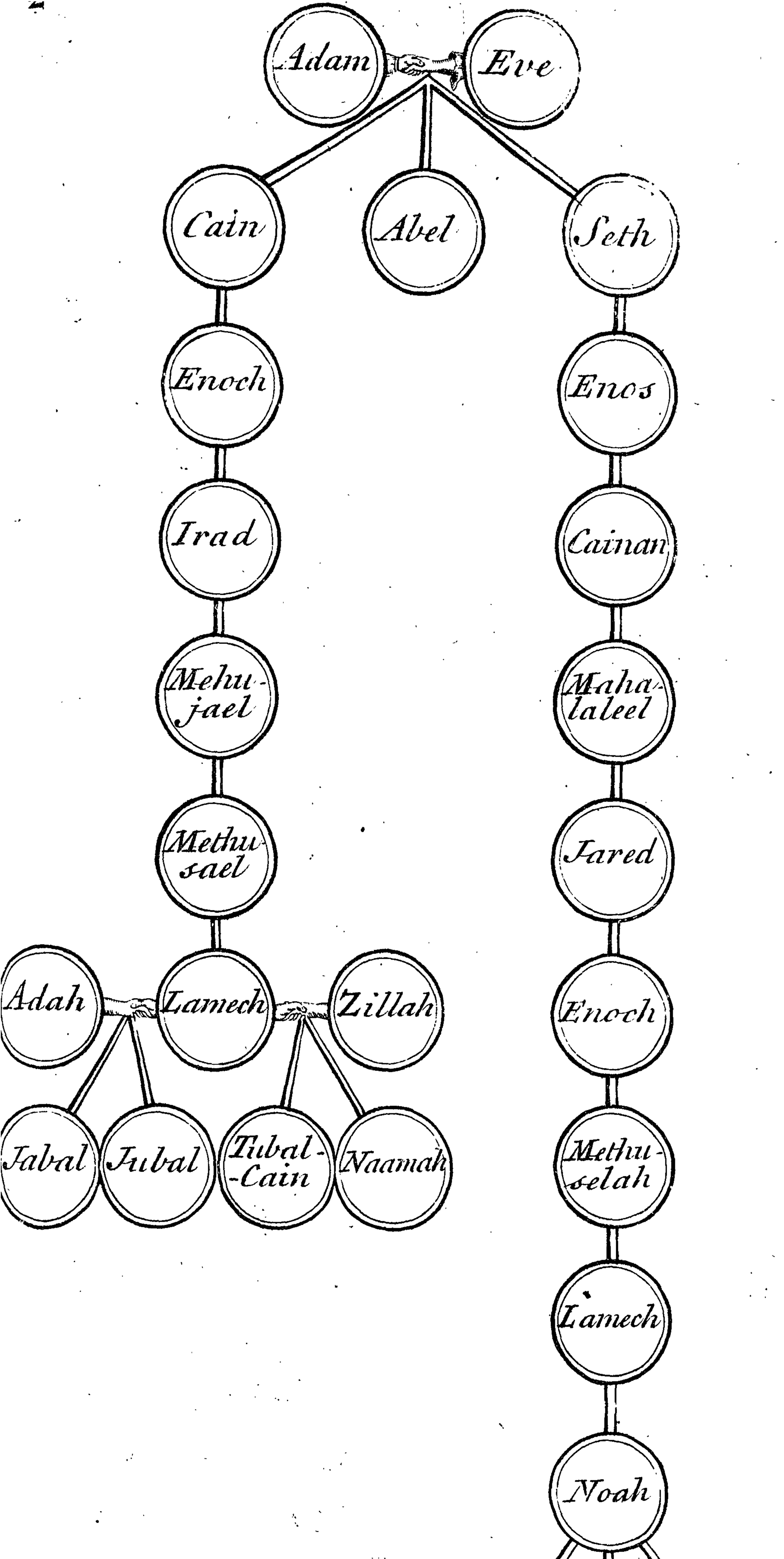
Seth born.

Soon after the murther of Abel, and probably the next year, his loſs was made up to his parents in another ſon they had, whom Eve named Seth, that is, appointed, becauſe he was appointed inſtead of Abel, whom Cain ſlew [z].

As the whole progeny of Adam, of whom we have any mention in ſcripture, were the deſcendants of Cain and Seth, it may be proper to give the following genealogical table of the antediluvians.

The

[w] See Well's Geogr. of the old Teſtament. [x] See Raleigh's Hiſt. of the World, book I. c. 6. § 4. [y] Joſeph. Ant. l. 1. c. 2. See Bayle Dict. Hiſt. Art. Cain, Rem. D. [z] Geneſ. iv. 25.


Adam
Eve
Cain
Abel
Seth
Enoch
Enos
Irad
Cainan
Mehu-
jael
Maha-
laleel
Methu-
sael
Jared
Adah
Lamech
Zillah
Enoch
Jabal
Jubal
Tubal-
-Cain
Naamah
Methu-
selah
Lamech
Noah
Japhet
Shem
Ham

THE ſacred hiſtorian, confining himſelf chiefly to the line of Seth, from whence Noah was deſcended, has acquainted us with very few particulars relating to that of Cain; nor can we thence form any conjectures how long he *, or any of his deſcendants, lived. All that we have recorded is, that Lamech, the fifth in deſcent from him, married two wives, Adah and Zillah [a], which is obſerved to be the firſt known inſtance of polygamy; that by the former he had two ſons, Jabal, who was the firſt that dwelt in

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Of the line

[a] Geneſ. iv. 19.

* There is an oriental tradition, which was believed by ſeveral chriſtians in St Jerom's time (1), that Cain was accidentally killed by Lamech, one of his own poſterity: for they ſay, that Cain, being old and dim-ſighted, and in continual terror on account of the murther he had committed, uſed to wander up and down in the woods, and one day ſat down in a thicket to reſt himſelf; and that Lamech, who was alſo blind, being a hunting, attended by a youth (whom ſome will have to be his ſon Tubalcain) either himſelf heard a ruſtling, or was informed by the lad, that there was ſomething in the buſhes which he took to be a wild beaſt, and thereupon letting fly an arrow, he ſtruck Cain (for it proved to be him) to the heart; when he came to know what he had done, he in a rage fell upon his conductor and killed him alſo (2). Others relate the latter circumſtances differently, and ſay, that he killed Cain with a ſtone which he flung at him, and the youth ignorantly, as he clapped his hands in ſorrow for what he had done (3). And this, they ſay, was the occaſion of thoſe words of Lamech to his wives, mentioned in a following note. This accident ſome place in the ſeven hundred and thirtieth year of Cain's age (4), others in the year of the world ſeven hundred and one, or eight hundred ſeventy five (5). According to Toſtatus, Cain lived near eight hundred years (6). There are ſome who fix his death in the year of the world nine hundred and thirty one, and pretend, that he was knocked on the head by the fall of a houſe (7). Paul de Burgos makes him periſh in the deluge (8); and there are others who ſay he killed himſelf (9).

(1) Vid. Hieronym, in Epiſt. ad Damas. (2) R. Gedaliah in Shalſheleth hakkab p. 92. Vid. Eutych. p. 22. (3) Elmacin. or rather Ebn al Amid. p, 7. (4) Eutych. ubi ſupr. (5) Apud Salian. annal. t. 1, p. 214. (6) Apud eund. ibid. (7) St. Romuald Abbrege Chronol. citing Cedrenus. Syncell, p. 11. (8) Apud Pererium in Geneſ. iv. v. 23, 24. (9) Armeni apud Guidon. Carmelitam citante Prateolo, in elencho hæres. p. 63.

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in tents, and fed cattle*; and Jubal, the inventor of muſick: and by the other, a ſon named Tubal-Cain, who found out the art of forging and working metals †; and a daughter Naamah [b], ſuppoſed by ſome [c] to have invented ſpinning and weaving ‡. And that, on ſome occaſion or other, Lamech made a ſpeech to his wives [d], the explication of which has greatly puzzled the interpreters **.

HOWEVER,

[b] Ibid. ver. 20. 21, 22. [c] R. Lipoman. in catena, & Genebrard in Chron. Vid. Voſſium de Idolol. l. 1. c. 17. [d] Geneſ. iv. 23, 24.

* This ſeems to be underſtood, as R. Solomon Yarhi explains the paſſage, of feeding cattle in the deſart, and removing with their tents and herds from place to place, as they found paſture, which is the way of life of the Arabs, thence called Scenitæ: for others, and in particular Abel, followed a paſtoral life before Jabal (8).

† Joſephus (9) commends Tubal-Cain (whom he calls Thobel) for his great ſtrength and ſkill in war; to the perfecting of which art, he probably contributed by the invention of arms.

‡ Some imagine Naamah to have been the wife of Noah (10), others of Ham (11); and that ſhe being ſaved from the deſtruction of the deluge, was therefore mentioned by Moſes. Her name ſignifies delightful or beautiful; and her perſon is ſaid to have been ſo charming, that Aza and Azael, two angels, fell in love with her, and begat on her Dæmons called Gedim (12).

Many authors, from ſome affinity in the names and inventions of theſe children of Lamech, have thought Jubal to have been the Apollo, Tubal-Cain the Vulcan, and Naamah the Venus, or Minerva, of the heathens. And not to omit Jabal, it has been imagined he was their Pales (13). But theſe are at beſt ſuppoſitions only, and very precarious ones too, as will be ſhewn in a more proper place.

Joſephus makes the whole number of Lamech's iſſue by his two wives, to be ſeventy ſeven (14).

** His words, according to our tranſlation, are; *Hear my voice ye wives of* Lamech, *hearken unto my ſpeech: for I have ſlain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt. If* Cain *ſhall be avenged ſevenfold, truly* Lamech *ſeventy and ſevenfold.* Almoſt

to

(8) Vid. Heidegg. Hiſt. Patr. t. 1. p. 141. (9) Antiq. l. 1, c. 2. (10) Bereſchit. Rabb. Sol. Yarhi. (11) Cumberland's Rem. on Sanchoniatho, p. 107. (12) In libro Zohar. (13) Vid. Heidegg. Hiſt, Patr. t. 1. p. 141. & ſeq. (14) Joſeph. antiq. l. 1. c. 2.

HOWEVER, we are aſſured by other hiſtorians [e], and it is highly probable, that the poſterity of Cain were enormouſly wicked, exceeding their father, if poſſible, in all manner of villanies; every ſucceeding generation growing worſe than the former, and becoming wholly addicted to rapine and brutiſh luſts. This reprobate race is generally ſuppoſed to be meant by Moſes under the deſignation of men, and the daughters of men, as the other family of Seth is by that of the ſons of GOD [f]. Year of the World, 130. Year before Chriſt, 4176

SETH had this year a ſon named Enos; about which time it is thought that his deſcendants, who were as eminent for piety and virtue, as thoſe of Cain were for the reverſe, had the appellation we have juſt mentioned given them. For it is conceived, that thoſe words [g], which in our tranſlation are rendered, then began men to call upon the name of the LORD, properly ſignify, then men began to be called by, Year of the World 235. Year before Chriſt, 4071. Enos born.

or

[e] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 2. Eutych. p. 25. Ebn al Amid, &c.
[f] Vid. Heidegg. ubi ſupr. p. 136. [g] Geneſ. iv. 26.

to the ſame purpoſe are the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Syriac verſions; and they are commonly explained by the above mentioned tradition of Lamech's unfortunately killing Cain, and the youth that attended him; which being an undeſigned act, he had reaſon to think, he deſerved a much leſs puniſhment than Cain (15).

Others take theſe words to be a thraſonical menace of Lamech, (whom they ſuppoſe to be a vindicative impious perſon) ſpoken on occaſion of ſome quarrel he had with his wives; and that the ſenſe is, *I will*, or *would, kill a man if he wounded me, and a young man if he hurt me*, &c. (16)

The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel, and the Arabic tranſlation read the paſſage interrogatively, or negatively, *Have I ſlain a man?* that is, *I have not ſlain a man, that I ſhould bear the guilt or be puniſhed for it; nor have I killed a young man, that my ſeed ſhould be deſtroyed for it.* And it is thought, Lamech ſpoke them, on occaſion of ſome terror, or apprehenſion his family were in, leſt Abel's murther ſhould be revenged on them; which fear he ſhews to be groundleſs, becauſe he had done nothing to deſerve any ill treatment (17). This interpretation ſeems the moſt reaſonable, but cannot be depended on; the ſpeech being introduced by Moſes very abruptly, and without any connection with what precedes, or follows, it.

(15) Vid. Perer. in locum. (16) Vid. Heidegg. ubi ſup. p. 140. Bayle Dict. Hiſt. Art Lamech, Rem. D. E.
(17) See Shuckford's Connection, Vol. I. p. 10, &c.

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or after, the name of the Lord, that is the ſons of God[h]. But ſome take the words, according to the former verſion, to mean, that then the public worſhip of God was firſt ſet up, and proper ceremonies and ſtated times appointed for that ſervice[i]: And others, particularly the Jews, ſuppoſe they intimate, that idolatry, or the deifying of men, had its riſe about this time, either adhering to the latter verſion, or tranſlating the paſſage thus; Then men profaned in calling upon the name of the Lord [k]*.

Of the three next deſcendants of Seth, Cainan, Mahalaleel, and Jared, and of Methuſelah and Lamech, the grand-father and father of Noah, Moſes has recorded no more than their ſeveral ages. The oriental authors commend them, as they do Seth and Enos, for their piety, and the ſalutary injunctions they left behind them, forbiding their children all intercourſe with the race of curſed Cain[l].

Year of the World, 887. Year before Chriſt, 3419. Enoch tranſlated.

Enoch, the ſon of Jared, and father of Methuſelah, was a perſon of moſt extraordinary piety, walking with God, as the ſcripture expreſſes it, for at leaſt the laſt three hundred years of his life: as a reward for which exemplary behaviour

[h] Vid. Heidegg. Hiſt. Patr. tom, 1. p. 148. Shuckford's Connect. Vol. I. p. 41. [i] Perer. Druſius, Mercerus, &c. Vid. Simſon Chron. col. 56. [k] Vid. Selden de diis Syris proleg. c. 3. [l] Vid. Eutych. p. 20, &c, Elmacin.

* The interpretation of Onkelos is, *Then men left off calling upon the name of the* Lord; as if the worſhip of God began then to be neglected.

Some of the Jews (particularly Maimonides) have gone ſo far as to charge Enos himſelf with being the author of idolatry, and inventing images, by whoſe mediation men might addreſs themſelves to God (1).

But the introduction of the idolatrous worſhip of the heavenly bodies and angels, is by the Sabians, the profeſſors of it, referred to Seth itſelf. They give him alſo a ſon called Sabi, from whom the ſect ſeems to have taken its name, unleſs it be rather derived from צבא Saba, or the hoſt of heaven, the objects of their worſhip: of this ſect we ſhall take occaſion to ſpeak more particularly hereafter, obſerving only in this place, that they call the book which contains the fundamentals of their religion and morality, the book of Seth, and reckon the patriarch Enoch alſo among the propagators of Sabiiſm (2).

(1) Vid. Hottinger. Smegma Orient. p. 230. Heidegg. ubi ſup. p. 148. (2) Vid. Pocock. Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p. 138.

haviour in ſo corrupt an age, he was taken up by God into heaven, without taſting death[m] †. Year of the World, 887. Year before Chriſt, 3419.

THAT Enoch was a prophet, and that ſome prophecy of his was preſerved either in writing, or (as is moſt probable) by tradition, even to our Saviour's time, appears from the paſſage

[m] Geneſ. v. 22, & 24.

† Moſes expreſſes it thus; *and* Enoch *walked with* GOD, *and he was not: for* GOD *took him.* Which paſſage the writer of the epiſtle to the Hebrews paraphraſes in this manner; *By faith* Enoch *was tranſlated, that he ſhould not ſee death; and was not found, becauſe* GOD *had tranſlated him: for before his tranſlation he had this teſtimony, that he pleaſed God* (3). By which words it ſeems plain, that Enoch did not die, but ſuffered only ſuch a change as was neceſſary to fit him for the place whither he was going (4). Yet ſeveral of the Jews believe he actually died (5).

The Jewiſh commentators ſuppoſe, Enoch was carried into the terreſtrial paradiſe (6). Of the ſame opinion were ſome of the chriſtian fathers (7). And it has been imagined, that both he and Elias will return from thence, at the coming of Antichriſt, with whom they are to wage war (8). But theſe notions are juſtly rejected by the moſt judicious interpreters. The vulgate tranſlation of an apocryphal book ſays, indeed, that Enoch was tranſlated into paradiſe, Henoch placuit Deo, & tranſlatus fuit in paradiſum, ut det gentibus pœnitentiam (9); but it has been obſerved, that the Greek ſays only, that he was tranſlated, without making any mention of paradiſe.

The Korân mentions the aſſumption of Enoch (10), who is there called ادريس Edris, which name is derived from דרש in Hebrew to enquire into, and in Arabic, to read or ſtudy with attention; and was given him for his ſuppoſed eminent learning and great knowledge. The Mohammedan commentators ſay, that Edris is now alive in one of the ſeven heavens, being carried thither after he had taſted death, but that GOD reſtored him to life (11).

The learning of Enoch, and particularly his ſkill in the mathematical ſciences, has been celebrated by Jews, Chriſtians, and Mohammedans.

The

(3) Heb. xi. 5. (4) Vid. 1 Corinth. xv. 50. (5) Aben Ezra, Hiſcuni, &c. apud Heidegg. ubi ſupr. p. 169. (6) Kimhi in lib. 2. Reg. ii. 1. (7) Irenæus, Procop. Gazæus, Juſtin Martyr. apud. Heidegg. p. 171. See alſo Abu'lfarag. p. 7. (8) Heidegg. ibid. (9) Eccles. xliv. 16. (10) Al Koran cap. xix. v. 54, 55. (11) Jallalo'ddin, &c.

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passage quoted thence by St. Jude[n]. However, the piece under

[n] Jude v. 14. 15.

The Jews say, he first invented letters, and became acquainted with the signs of heaven (12). They call him Metatron (13) (though some take this to be a name of the angel Gabriel) (14), which the Targum of Jonathan seems to interpret by the following words, the great scribe: but Buxtorf (15) is rather inclined to think it signifies the Ambassador, or messenger of God, and is the same with the latin word Metator (16).

The Greek christians supposed Enoch to be the same with the first Egyptian Hermes, who dwelt at Sais, that he first discoursed of superior substances, and foretold the deluge; and that he built the pyramids, engraving thereon the figures of artificial instruments, and the elements of the sciences, fearing, lest the memory of them should perish in that general destruction (17). Eupolemus (18) also attributes the invention of astronomy to Enoch, and says, he was the same with Atlas, to whom the Greeks ascribe the same thing. Origen (19) mentions a book attributed to Enoch, different from his prophecy, containing secrets concerning the names of the parts of heaven, and of all the stars and constellations, which is said to be extant among the Ethiopians in their tongue (20). The learned Mr. du Peiresc used his utmost endeavours to get it from thence, but to no purpose (21).

The Mohammedan authors say, that Edrîs received thirty books of revelations from God, wherein the secrets of the most occult sciences were written; and that he found out the use of the pen, the needle, (for they pretend he was a taylor, and the first of the trade) arithmetic, and astronomy. They also tell us, he was the first who took up arms for religion, or the cause of God; for being sent to preach to, and reclaim the posterity of Cain, who refused to give ear to him, he thereupon made war upon them, carrying their wives and children into slavery. The same authors say, that Enoch was the innocent cause of idolatry; for one of his friends missing him after his assumption, at the suggestion of the devil, made a statue of him, to which he paid peculiar honours, which in time degenerated into a superstitious adoration (1).

Father

(12) Vid. Hotting. Smegma Orient. p. 239. (13) Juchasin p. 5. Zohar ex Midrash Ruthfol. 81. (14) Vid. Hyde de Rel. vet. Persar. p. 263. (15) In Lexico Talmud. (16) Vid. Heidegg. Hist. Patr. tom. 1. p. 167. (17) Abu'lfarag. p. 9. (18) Apud Euseb. de præp. Ev. l. 9. c. 17. (19) Homil. 28. in lib. Numer & in Anaceph. l. de principe. (20) Genebrard. Chronol. p. 14. (21) D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 310. (1) Vid. Reland. de Relig. Moham. p. 22. D'Herbelot ubi sup. Abu'lfarag. p. 10.

under the title of the ſcripture, or prophecy of Enoch, of which we have ſome fragments extant*, is allowed to be a manifeſt forgery; though ſeveral of the fathers had a better opinion of it than it deſerves [o]. Many paſſages are quoted thence in that very antient writing, the Teſtament of the twelve patriarchs, and it is alſo cited by Clemens Alexandrinus [p]. St. Auſtin makes mention of the ſcripture of Enoch, but denies it to be genuine [q]. And when Celſus objected its authority to Origen, he replied, that the books attributed to Enoch were not looked upon by the Church as divine writings [r]. That there was a book, under the name of Enoch, in the hands of the Jews, appears from its being referred to in their antient book Zohar [s]. Year of the World, 887 Year before Chriſt, 3419

ADAM, having ſeen a numerous poſterity iſſued from his own loins †, after a life of nine hundred and thirty years ‡, paid that natural debt, to which he had by his diſobedience ſubjected himſelf and them [t]. That he repented of his ſin, and made his peace with God, is very reaſonable to believe Year of the World, 930. Year before Chriſt, 3376. Adam dies.

[o] Tertullian de habitu mulier. Irenæus, Cyprian, Lactantius, &c. [p] In Eclogis ex prophet. p, 801, 808. [q] De civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 23. & l. 18. c. 38. [r] Origen. contr. Celſ. l. 5. [s] Vid. Heidegg. Hiſt. Patr. tom. I. p. 176. [t] Geneſ. v. 5.

Father Bartolocci has endeavoured to ſhew from the teſtimony of the more antient Jews, that Enoch, ſurnamed Edrîs, was a different perſon from the antediluvian Enoch, and that he lived many ages after him (2).

* Theſe fragments were firſt publiſhed by Joſeph Scaliger, in his notes on the Greek Chronicon of Euſebius (3); and afterwards more correctly by J. Goar, in his edition of the Chronography of George Syncellus (4). We ſhall give the reader the ſubſtance of them by and by.

† Beſides Adam's three ſons named by Moſes, and the ſuppoſed twin ſiſters of Cain and Abel (5), we are told he had two daughters, one named Aſuam, or Saué, who married Cain, and the other Azûra, who was the wife of Seth (6).

‡ The oriental authors are ſo exact as to fix the very day and hour of the death of Adam, and alſo of ſeveral of the other patriarchs (7). But we preſume our omitting thoſe niceties will not be judged a fault.

(2) Bibl. Rabbin. t. 2. p. 845. (3) p. 404, &c. (4) p. 11, &c, and p. 24, &c. (5) See before, p. 225. in the Notes. (6) Syncellus ex parva Geneſ. p. 11. & Sethiani Hæretici, apud Epiphan. l. 1. p. 287. (7) Vid. Eutych. p. 19, &c. Elmacin, p. 6, &c.

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lieve**, notwithſtanding the uncharitable opinions of ſome to the contrary†*.

Conjectures concerning the place of his burial.

Where he was buried cannot be collected from ſcripture. St. Jerom[u] ſeems to approve of the opinion of thoſe who imagine he was buried at Hebron‡*, in the cave of Machpelah, or the double cave, which Abraham, many ages after, bought for a burying-place for himſelf and family[w]. The oriental chriſtians ſay, that when Adam ſaw death

[u] Hieron. in Matth. xxvii. [w] Geneſ. xxiii. 3, &c.

** The Jews ſay, both Adam and Eve were very penitent (8), and that he in particular was ſo exceedingly afflicted for his ſin, that he had died of grief had not God ſent the angel Raziel to comfort him (9). They even acknowledged him to have been favoured with the gift of prophecy, and that he foretold the flood (10). The Mohammedans alſo do not only reckon him among the prophets, but make him one of the ſix (the others being Noah, Abraham, Moſes, Jeſus, and Mohammed) who introduced a new diſpenſation; and ſay, that God gave him ten books of revelations, containing laws, promiſes, threatnings, and prophecies (11): which notion perhaps they borrowed of the Jewiſh authors, who pretend, that Adam wrote the book intitled Sepher Jeſira, or the book of the Creation (which others attribute to Abraham), and certain treatiſes of the Deity (12). Some Rabbins make him to have been the author of the ninety ſecond Pſalm; and in ſome manuſcripts the Chaldee title of that Pſalm imports it to be the Hymn, which the firſt man ſang on the Sabbath-day (13). Euſebius Nieremberg (14) has been credulous enough to give us two hymns, faithfully copied from the revelation of Amadeus in the library of the Eſcurial, as the genuine compoſitions of Adam; one being that which he repeated on his firſt interview with Eve, and the other the penitential Pſalm ſung by them after the fall.

†* A certain heretical ſect, named Tatianites, affirmed he was damned (15).

‡* This is offered to be proved by this paſſage of ſcripture, according to the vulgate tranſlation, Nomen Hebron ante vocabatur

(8) Vid. R. Eliezer Pirke, c. 20. R. Gedal. p. 92. (9) Lib. Jeſira. Vid. Reuchlin. de arte cabbalaſtica, p. 8. (10) Joſeph. antiq. l. 1. c. 2. (11) Vid. Hotting. Hiſt. Orient. p. 15. Reland de rel. Moham. p. 21. (12) Vid. Heidegg. Hiſt. Patr. tom. 1. p. 314. (13) Gaſpar Schottus Techn. curioſa, p. 556. (14) Apud Schottum ibid. (15) Vid. Epiphan. Hæreſ. 46. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 4. p. 27.

death approaching, he called Seth, Enos, Cainan, and Mahalaleel to him, and ordered them to embalm his body with myrrh, frankincenſe, and caſſia, and depoſite it in a certain cave on the top of a mountain, which he had choſen for the repoſitory of his remains, thence named the cave of al Konûz**. The primitive fathers generally believe that he died in the place where Jeruſalem was afterwards built, and that he was interred on mount Calvary[y], in the very ſpot whereon

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* Eutych. Annal. p. 19. Elmacian. p. 6. [y] Vid. Saliani Annal. tom. 1. p. 225.

batur Cariath-arbe: Adam maximus ibi inter Enacim ſitus eſt (16). But the name Adam is unwarrantably inſerted in the text, the Hebrew plainly ſignifying (as the other verſions render it), that Hebron was formerly called Kirjath Arba, or the city of Arba, who had been a great man among the Anakims. There is, however, another origin of that antient name of Hebron given by ſome writers, who taking the word Arba, which alſo ſignifies four, in that ſenſe, and not for a proper name, ſay, that city was ſo called, becauſe four couple were there buried, viz. Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Iſaac and Rebecca, and Jacob and Leah (1).

* From the Arabic كنز kanaza, to lay up privately, as treaſure, &c. Some Jews ſay, that this precaution was ordered by Adam to be taken, leſt his poſterity ſhould make his relics an object of idolatry (2).

The Eaſtern chriſtians add, that he farther directed his family, that when they were obliged to leave the neighbourhood of paradiſe, they ſhould take his body with them, and place it in the midſt of the earth, becauſe thence ſhould come his ſalvation, and that of all his poſterity (3). Which order, it is ſaid, was repeated by Lamech to his ſon Noah, with this addition, that he ſhould take with the body gold, frankincenſe, and myrrh, as offerings, and appoint one of his ſons to attend the corps to, and at, the new ſepulchre, who was to be a religious perſon, and unmarried; was to ſhed no blood, nor offer any ſacrifices but bread and wine only; was to be cloathed in ſkins, and ſhould neither cut his hair, nor pare his nails, and was to be called the prieſt of GOD; meaning thereby Melchizedek (4). And this Noah and Melchizedek are ſaid to have performed.

(16) Joh. xiv. 15. Heidegg. ubi. ſup. p. 106.

(1) R. Eliezer Pirke, c. 20. Vid. Juchaſin p. 5. (2) R. Eliezer ubi ſup. Juchaſin p. 5. (3) Eutych. p. 19. (4) Idem p. 32.

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whereon Christ was crucified †; which opinion opened a large field for rhetorical flourishes and allusions [z]. The Mohammedans will have Adam's sepulchre to have been on the mountain Abu-kabis, near Mecca; and the antient Persians in Serendib, or Ceylon, where it was for some time, as they pretend, guarded by lions [a].

The time of the death of Eve, the mother of all living ‡, is not intimated in scripture, but there are some who venture to tell us, that she out-lived her husband ten years [b].

After the death of Adam, the Eastern writers say, that Seth with his family separated themselves from the profligate race of Cain, and removed to the mountain where Adam was buried, which they chose for their habitation; Cain and

[z] See Bayle Dict. Hist. Art. Adam, Rem. L. [a] Vid D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. p. 56. [b] Apud Salian. t. 1. p. 231.

† This opinion may be reconciled with the preceding, if we suppose the body was removed to Golgotha after the flood, in pursuance of the abovementioned orders. Jacobus Edessenus says (5), that Noah carried the bones of Adam with him into the ark, and when he came out of it, he divided them among his sons, giving the scull to Sem, who coming into Judæa, reposited it in the sepulchre of Adam on mount Calvary.

A commentator has an odd story, which is absurdly enough fathered on some Jews; that Seth, at the command of an angel, put into Adam's mouth, when he was interred, a seed of the tree of knowledge, which afterwards grew to be a tree, and that Christ's cross was made of it (6).

To accompany this story, we shall add two more of the same stamp, though not so properly belonging to this place. One is, that Eve broke a branch from the tree of knowledge, of which she made a cudgel, and by that cogent argument prevailed on her husband to eat of the forbidden fruit (7). The other, that Seth planted a branch of the tree of life, which had been either brought to Adam by an angel, or begged by Seth at the gate of paradise; and that the same becoming a tree, Moses afterwards from that tree took his rod, with which he performed so many miracles, the bough, with which he made sweet the bitter waters of Marah, and the pole whereon he fixed the brazen serpent (8).

‡ From whence she had her name, which is properly written Hawwah, and derived from the root חיה Haya, to live (9).

(5) Apud Barcepham de Parad. part 1. c. 14. 6 Corn à Lapide in Genes. ii. 9, citing Pinedo. (7) Apud Salden. Otia Theol. p. 607. (8) Vid. eund. p. 608. & Moebium de æneo serpente (9) Genes. iii. 20.

and his family remaining below in the valley where Abel was ſlain [c]. But how this near neighbourhood is conſiſtent with ſcripture, which plainly intimates Cain's baniſhment into a country at ſome conſiderable diſtance from the reſidence of Adam and his poſterity by Seth, we cannot conceive: unleſs it ſhould be ſuppoſed, that Cain, or his deſcendants, left their own ſettlements to diſpoſſeſs Seth and his offspring; or elſe, that the poſterity of both were by this time ſo greatly encreaſed, that after gradually extending their borders on both ſides, they at length met, and ſtraitened each other. However this be, the Eaſtern tradition is, that the progeny of Seth lived in the ſaid mountain in great ſanctity and purity of manners **. Their conſtant employment was praiſing God, from which they had few or no avocations; for their only food was the fruits of the trees which grew on the mountain, ſo that they had no occaſion to undergo any ſervile labours, nor the trouble of ſowing or getting in harveſt; they were utter ſtrangers to envy, injuſtice, or deceit. Their only oath was by the blood of Abel; and they every day went up to the top of the mountain to worſhip God, and to viſit the body of Adam, as a means of procuring the divine bleſſing [d].

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HOWEVER, what time they had to ſpare in theſe happy circumſtances, they ſeem to have employed in cultivating their minds, and in ſublime ſpeculations; while the children of Cain, ſeeking no farther than preſent convenience and pleaſure, were taken up with improving agriculture, and inventing mechanical arts and muſical inſtruments. For it is ſaid, that the offspring of Seth, by contemplation of the heavenly bodies, laid the foundations of the ſcience of aſtronomy, and leſt their inventions ſhould be forgotten, or loſt before they were publickly known, underſtanding from a prediction of Adam's, that there would be a general deſtruction of all things, once by the rage of fire, and once by the violence and multitude of waters, they made two pillars, one of brick, and the other of ſtone, and engraved

[c] Eutych. p. 19. [d] Eutych. p. 20. Elmacin. p. 6.

** Our authors, if we may credit them, tell us, that paradiſe was ſo little higher than the mountain, that the children of Seth could hear the voices of the angels celebrating the praiſes of God, and even join them in that ſervice (10).

(10) Elmacin. p. 6, Eutych. p. 20.

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their inventions on each of them; that if the pillar of brick happened to be overthrown by the flood, that of stone might remain; which, Josephus [e] tells us, was to be seen in his time in the land of Siriad *.

The defection of the sons of Seth.

How long the descendants of Seth continued thus religious, and imitators of their father's virtue, is uncertain. Moses says, *That when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, the sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose* [f]. By which it appears, that the beginning of their corruption was their marrying into the wicked family of Cain, by which means their manners were soon debauched, and at length degenerated so far, that *the wickedness of man was very great in the earth, and every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually* [g]. Josephus writes, that the family of Seth persevered in the true worship of God, and in the pursuit of virtue for seven generations; after which, in process of time, they neglected both, shewing twice as much eagerness after wickedness, as they had formerly shewn zeal for virtue; by which means they drew down on themselves the indignation of God [h].

The

[e] Joseph. Ant. l. 1. c. 2. [f] Genes. vi. 1, 2. [g] Ibid. v. 5. [h] Joseph. Ant. l. 1. c. 3.

* Where this land of Siriad was, is a great dispute. The name is variously written in the manuscripts, κατὰ γῆν τὴν Σηιάδα, & Συριάδα; by others Σίριδα (1), and by Eustathius Σηιριὰδ, which last seems the more correct. Some place it in Syria; others (2), with a little more probability, have taken it to be the same with Seirath mentioned in scripture (3), and suppose the פסילים pesilim, which the English translation renders the quarries, near Gilgal, in the tribe of Ephraim, were the ruins of Seth's stone pillar. Yet others (4) understand those pesilim, or τὰ γλυπτὰ, the sculptures, as the Septuagint translate the word, to have been certain idols, lately set up there by Eglon.

But the more certain opinion (5) is, that the Syriadic land was in Egypt; for we are told, that Manetho extracted his history from

(1) Malela, Glycas, Cedrenus, & Vetus Interpr. (2) Vossius de LXX Interpr. p. 271. & de ætat. mundi, c. 10. Marsham Canon. Chron. p. 39. (3) Judg. iii. 19, 26. (4) Chytræus, &c. (5) Vid. Dodwell. Dissert. de Sanchon. p. 26, 36. Fabric Biblioth. Gr. l. 1. c. 11. Stillingfleet Orig. Sacr. l. 1. c. 2. & alios.

THE oriental writers place the beginning of this defection somewhat sooner, in the days of Jared [i], and in his fortieth year [k]; when they say one hundred of the sons of Seth, hearing the noise of the music, and riotous mirth of the Cainites, agreed to go down to them from the holy mountain. And on their arrival among them were so captivated with the beauty of the women, who were naked, that they immediately defiled themselves with them [l]. And so these sons of Seth perished by whoring with the daughters of Cain; for whom they offered to return again to their former abode, the stones of the mountain (it is said) became like fire, and permitted them to pass no farther [m]. The lubricity of the Cainites is described in very strong terms. The men neighed after the women like horses, and the women in the same manner after the men, committing whoredom and all manner of filthiness promiscuously with one another in public; the old women being, if possible, more brutish and lewd than the young. The fathers lay with their daughters, and the young men with their mothers, so that the children could not distinguish their parents, nor the parents their children. Year of the World, 930 / Year before Christ, 3376

[i] Elmacin. p. 9. Eutych. p. 27. [k] Abu'lfarag. p. 8. Vid. etiam. Epiphan. Heref. l. 1. [l] Idem. ibid. [m] Eutych. p. 27.

from certain pillars there, whereon inscriptions had been made by Thoth, or the first Mercury, in the sacred letters and dialect; but were, after the flood, translated from the sacred dialect into the Greek tongue, but written in the sacred letters, and laid up in books by the second Mercury in the sacred recesses of the Egyptian temples (6). These pillars were in subterraneous caverns near Thebes, and beyond the Nile, not far from the sounding statue of Memnon, in a place called Syringes (7), which are described to be certain winding apartments under ground, and which (as it is said) those who were skilled in antient rites, foreseeing the coming of the deluge, and fearing lest the memory of their ceremonies should be obliterated, built and contrived in vaults dug with vast labour in several places; cutting on the walls many sorts of birds, and beasts, and innumerable kinds of animals, which they called hieroglyphic letters (8). And that Seth was not a name unknown to the Egyptians, appears from Plutarch, who tells us, that they constantly called Typhon, which was a Greek name,

(6) Syncell. p. 40. (7) Pausan. l. 1. p. 78. (8) Ammian. Marcell. l. 22. p. 232.

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The opinion of those who suppose angels defiled themselves with women.

The appellation of the sons of God, given by Moses to the children of Seth, led Josephus [n], Philo Judæus [o], and several of the fathers [p] into a strange interpretation of this passage, as if the angels, who are also called in scripture the sons of God [q], were thereby asserted to have had to do with women, and to have begotten on them the insolent and impious race we shall mention immediately *. This supposition we think needs no refutation, being utterly repugnant to

[n] Jos. ubi sup. [o] Philo Jud. de gigant. p. 284. [p] Justin. M. Tertullian, Athenag. Clemens Alexandr. Euseb. Lactantius, Ambrosius, & alii apud Sixtum Senens. Bibl. S. l. 5. annot. 77. Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacr. l. 1. p. 8. [q] Job i. 6, ii. 1. xxxviii. 7.

name, Seth (9); and hence, it is probable, Josephus was led into the mistake of ascribing these pillars to the son of Adam.

* This opinion seems to have been originally occasioned by some copies of the Septuagint, which, in the days of St. Austin, had in this place *the angels of God* (1). Lactantius supposes the angels, who were guilty of this enormity, had been sent down by God to guard and take care of mankind, and, being endued with free will, were charged by him not to forfeit the dignity of their celestial nature, by defiling themselves with the corruptions of the earth; but that the devil at length enticed them to debauch themselves with women. He adds, that being not admitted into heaven, by reason of the wickedness into which they had plunged themselves, they fell down to the earth, and became the devil's ministers. But that those who were begotten by them, being neither angels nor men, but of a middle nature, were not received into hell, no more than their parents were into heaven. Hence arose two kinds of dæmons, celestial and terrestrial. These are unclean spirits, the authors of whatever evils are committed, and whose prince is the devil (2). From hence very probably proceeded the notions of Incubi, or dæmons, who are supposed to have carnal knowledge of women (3).

But the fancy of angels defiling themselves with women, has been greatly propagated by that forgery we have mentioned above, entitled the prophecy of Enoch. The fragments we have still extant of which give a more particular history of these imaginary transactions; wherefore we shall here insert an extract of those fragments, though some particulars might perhaps be more properly reserved for another place.

When

(9) Plut. de Isid. & Osyr. p. 351, & 357. (1) August. de civit. Dei. lib. 15. c. 23. (2) Lactantius de orig. err. l. 2. c. 15. (3) Vid. August. ubi sup. cap. 65.

to the notions we have of the nature of thoſe ſpiritual beings, who are neither married nor given in marriage [r]; though Year of the World 930. Year before Chriſt, 3376

Q 4

[r] Matth. xxii. 30. Luke xx. 34, 35.

When men were greatly encreaſed, they had daughters of ſuch excellent beauty, that the Egregori, or watching angels (4), fell in love with them, and propoſed to one another, that they ſhould go down, and chooſe themſelves wives of the daughters of men: to which Semiazas, their prince, replying, that he was apprehenſive they would not go through with the affair, but leave him to bear the guilt alone, they all ſwore and bound themſelves under imprecations, that they would not recede from their reſolution. The number of theſe Egregori was two hundred, who, in the days of Jared, deſcended on the top of mount Hermon, which was ſo called from the oath they had taken. Their princes were twenty, whoſe names (if the readers have any curioſity to know them) follow:

Semiazas, their chief,	Zaciel,	Samiel,
Atarcuph,	Balciel,	Sarinas,
Araciel,	Azalzel,	Eumiel,
Chobabiel,	Pharmarus,	Tyriel,
Orammame,	Amariel,	Jumiel,
Ramiel,	Anagemas,	Sariel.
Sampſich,	Thauſael,	

Theſe, and the reſt of them, in the year of the world one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy, took themſelves wives, and began to commit lewdneſs with them, which they continued to do until the flood; and the women bore to them three generations. The firſt generation were the giants, the giants begat the Nephilim, and the Nephilim thoſe named Eliud, and they were multiplied according to their ſtature, and taught themſelves and their wives magic and enchantments. The tenth of their princes, named Azalzel, taught them to make ſwords, breaſt-plates, and inſtruments of war; as alſo the working of metals, particularly gold and ſilver, and faſhioning various ornaments for the women; he alſo inſtructed them in the preparing of coſmetics, the poliſhing of precious ſtones, and the art of dying. Theſe things the ſons of men provided for themſelves and their daughters, and they tranſgreſſed; and alſo ſeduced thoſe that were virtuous among them, and wickedneſs prevailed greatly in the earth. Semiazas, the chief of theſe angels, taught the force of poiſonous roots and herbs; Pharmarus, the eleventh, charms and incantations; the ninth aſtroſcopy; the fourth aſtrology: the eighth aeroſcopy; the third the ſigns of the earth; the ſeventh thoſe of the ſun; the twentieth thoſe of the moon; and in like manner each of them revealed

(4) See p. 175. before, in the notes.

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though it be hard to accuſe, as ſome have done [s], thoſe who have fallen into this miſtake, of hereſy and blaſphemy. Others indeed, and particularly ſeveral of the Jewiſh writers, by

[s] Philaſtrius Brixienſis adv. Hær. cap. 108. Chryſoſt. Homil. 22 in Geneſ. c. v.

revealed certain ſecrets to their wives and children. Afterwards the giants began to devour human fleſh: by which means the number of men daily decreaſing, thoſe that remained cried to heaven againſt their cruelty, and beſought God to remember them. This the four arch-angels hearing, looked down upon the earth, and beholding a great deal of blood-ſhed thereon, and that all manner of impiety and diſorder was committed, made their report thereof to God, and at his command bound the princes of thoſe tranſgreſſors, and threw them into the abyſs, there to be kept to the day of judgment (5). Uriel in particular was ſent to Noah, the ſon of Lamech, to acquaint him, that the whole earth was to be deſtroyed by a deluge, and inſtruct him by what means to eſcape it. Raphael was ordered to bind Azael [Azalzel] hand and foot, and to throw him into darkneſs, in the deſart of Dudael, and to lay him upon ſharp ſtones, and cover him with darkneſs, that he might dwell therein for ever, being deſtined to the puniſhment of fire on the day of judgment. The words which follow, directing him to heal the earth of the wounds cauſed therein, by the ſecrets revealed by the Egregori, are ſomething dark, and deſerve not the trouble of an explication. Gabriel's charge was to deſtroy the giants, the ſons of the Egregori, by exciting them to mutual and inteſtine wars, that they might fall by each others hands; and Michael was commanded to bind Semiazas, and the reſt of his companions, and to lead them, after they they had ſeen the ſlaughter of their beloved ſons, to the utmoſt parts of the earth, where they were to be confined for ſeventy generations, till the conſummation of all things, and the day of judgment, when they were to be thrown into the gulph of fire. The giants, being begotten by a mixture of ſpirit and fleſh, were condemned to become evil ſpirits, doing miſchief upon the earth, appearing as ſpectres, and taking no food; but were to riſe with mankind at the general reſurrection. Therefore from the day of the ſlaughter of the giants, the Nephilim, the mighty men of the earth, and the great men of renown, the ſpirits which went forth from their ſouls, as from fleſh, were to continue their miſchievous employments till the laſt day. It was alſo decreed, that mount Hermon, where thoſe angels mutually bound themſelves by an oath, ſhould never be without ſnow and cold till

(5) Ex primo libro Enoch apud Syncellum, p. 11, 12, 13. Vid. 2 Pet. ii. 4.

by the ſons of God, underſtand the fallen angels *, who ſeeing the daughters of Cain walking in the nakedneſs of the fleſh, and painting their eyes like whores, wandered after them, and took wives from among them [t]. Year of the World, 930. Year before Chriſt, 3376

WHILE

[t] R. Eliezer, c. 23.

till the day of judgment, when it ſhould melt like wax. Mankind are alſo threatened with a general deſtruction, and that their life ſhould be but one hundred and twenty years (6).

This is the ſubſtance of thoſe fragments, many parts of which are ſo greatly corrupted, that it is difficult to make ſenſe of them; but the beſt is, the loſs is not great.

* Two of them were Aza and Azael, mentioned before (7). Shamhozai (whoſe name comes very near that of Semiazas) was another; he was the companion of Azael, and begat on ſome woman Hiyah and Hhiyah, who begat Sihon and Og. Shamhozai is ſaid to have repented of his crime, and in penance for the ſame to have hung himſelf up between heaven and earth, in which poſture he ſtill remains; but Azael continuing impenitent, preſides over the womens toilets (8), and in the ſame with the goat Azazel mentioned by Moſes (9). A fourth of theſe debauched angels, named Mahzael, is ſaid to have lain with Ham's wife about the time of the flood, and Sihon, it is pretended, was the iſſue of that adultery (10).

Theſe ancient traditions concerning angels were not unknown to Mohammed. The Korân (11) mentions two, named Harût and Marût, who taught magic at Babel. Theſe, the commentators ſay, were ſent down to be judges on earth, which office they executed with integrity for ſome time, till Zohara, or the ſtar Venus, deſcended, and appeared before them in the ſhape of a beautiful woman, bringing a complaint againſt her huſband (though others ſay ſhe was really a woman). As ſoon as they ſaw her, they fell in love with her, and endeavoured to prevail on her to ſatisfy their deſires; but ſhe flew up again to heaven, whither the two angels alſo returned, but were not admitted. On the interceſſion of a certain man, they were allowed to chooſe, whether they would be puniſhed in this life or in the other; whereupon they choſe the former, and now ſuffer puniſhment accordingly in Babel (12). This ſtory was taken directly from the Perſians, who make mention of two rebellious angels of the ſame names, now hung up by the feet, with their heads downward, in the territory of Babel (13).

(6) Ex eod. ibid. p. 24, 25, 26. (7) Pag. 77. in notis.
(8) Bereſhit Rabba in Geneſ. vi. 2. (9) Levitic. xvi. 8.
(10) Juchaſin. (11) Cap. ii. v. 102, &c. (12) Vid. Maracc. in Alcor. p. 44. (13) Vid. Hyde de rel. vet. Perſar. cap. 12.

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WHILE we are on this head, it may not be amiſs to mention another opinion, more reaſonable than the laſt, which is embraced by the Jewiſh interpreters; [u] they ſuppoſe, that by the ſons of God in this place, are meant the princes, great men, and magiſtrates of thoſe times, who, inſtead of uſing their authority to puniſh and diſcountenance vice, were themſelves the greateſt examples and promoters of lewdneſs and debauchery, taking the daughters of men, or the inferior and meaner ſort of people, and debauching them by force †.

The iſſue of the Sethites and the daughters of Cain, and their impiety.

THE example of theſe ſons of Seth, who, tempted by the allurements of the daughters of Cain, firſt left their ſeat of innocence, was afterwards followed by others, who from time to time deſcended in great numbers from the holy mountain, and took them wives in like manner of that profligate and abandoned race [w]. From theſe unhappy marriages iſſued a generation, which ſeem to have been no leſs extraordinary for their great ſtature and ſtrength, than for their monſtrous impiety and injuſtice. There were in thoſe days giants ** in the earth [x], who being moſt probably of Cain's race,

[u] Targumim Onkelos & Ben Uzziel. R. Sol. Yarhi, Aben Ezra, &c. [w] Eutych. p. 27. [x] Geneſ. vi. 4.

† To ſupport this interpretation, they tell us that the verb לקח, which is generally rendered to take, ſignifies alſo to raviſh, or take by violence.

** The Hebrew word is נפילים Nephilim, from נפל Naphal, to fall: which derivation is urged in defence of that opinion, which makes them incarnate ſpirits, or the fallen angels, under the ſhape of men (14). The targum of Ben Uzziel agrees with this interpretation, and names two of thoſe angels then converſant on earth, viz. Shamhazai and Uziel. But the root ſignifies alſo to fall upon, to ruſh with violence, &c. According to which ſenſe Symmachus tranſlates Nephilim βιαίους, & Aquila ἐπιπίπτοντας. The other tranſlations generally rendering it Giants.

Some take theſe Nephilim to have been men of ordinary ſtature, and ſo called on account only of their enormous impiety, rapaciouſneſs, and inſolence (15), which, as it ſeems, was the opinion of Joſephus (16). But others, with greater reaſon, believe they

(14) Vid. Paul. Burgens. in loc. (15) Philo Jud. de Gigant. Gorop. Becanus in Gigantomach. Temporarius.
(16) Antiq. l. 1. c. 3.

race, both by father and mother, and born before the conjunction Year of the World, 930. Year before Christ, 3376

they were also of extraordinary stature and strength (1); the word Nephilim being manifestly used elsewhere in scripture (2) to denote men above the common size. Not, but that it may also signify those that fall away, apostates (3).

That there were in these ancient times men of a gigantic size and strength, is a thing very credible, both from later instances in historians, both sacred and prophane, and modern instances in our own times (4). But we must not hence conclude, as some have done, that mankind in general were in the first ages of a much larger stature than they are at present (5); giants being manifestly spoken of as rarities, and the wonders of their time, though their number seems to have been much greater before the flood.

The opinion of J. Bolduc (6), the Capuchine, is too singular to be omitted. He supposes, that the different words by which giants seem to be intended in scripture, as Nephilim, Raphaim, Zuzim, Gibborim, Enakim, Zamzummim, Elim, &c. do not, for the most part, denote the uncommon size, but the strength and excellence of the piety and truth of the holy patriarchs, the first propagators of mankind and divine worship. The Nephilim, in particular, he imagines to be those who were distinguished from others, in that they worshipped God by falling down, or prostration; in the same manner as the fathers of the order of St. Francis of Assise are remarkable for adoring in the same posture, and kissing the earth, before the host.

Some authors have enquired into the original cause of this monstrous stature of the giants; St. Cyril thinks it a judgment of God on the lust of their parents (7). They who suppose them to be the issue of the fallen spirits, say, it was by their artful promoting and raising the leachery and pleasure of the women with whom they had to do (8); some attribute it to the vigor of the sons of Seth (9); while others make Seth's descendants in general to have been of a very large size, and those of Cain on the contrary of a less (10).

(1) Vid. August. de civit. Dei. l. 15. c. 4. Chrys. in loc. Theodoret. quæst. 48. in Genes. R. Sol. Yarhi, Aben Ezra. (2) Numb. xiii. 33, 34. (3) See 2 Kings xxv. 11. Jerem. xxxvii. 13. and xxxviii. 19. (4) Vid. Derham's Physico-Theol. b. v. c. 4. Grew's Cosmol. Sacr. b. 1. c. 5. § 25. (5) Vid. Homer. Virgil. (6) In tract. de ecclesia ante legem. (7) Lib. 3. in Genes. (8) Vid. Fr. Vales. de Sacra Philos. c. 8. (9) Vid. Heid. Hist. Patr. t. 1. p. 202. (10) Chrysost. in loc. Eutych.

Year of the World 930. Year before Christ, 3376

junction of the two families *, made use of their superior power to spoil and tyrannize over the weaker. And the same course of life was followed by the new mongrel offspring, who signalized themselves also by robberies and oppressions, and became mighty men, which were, of old, men of renown [y].

Year of the World, 1287 Year before Christ, 2019

The 120 years of God's forbearance.

Mankind running thus headlong into all manner of vice, and the posterity of Seth, who had for some ages retained their integrity, becoming at length, by their imprudent alliance with the race of Cain, infected with the same contagion of profaneness and immorality, so that all sorts of wickedness began to overspread the earth; and this, notwithstanding the frequent admonitions they probably received by persons from time to time sent by God; the divine vengeance might with justice have been immediately executed on so perverse a generation: but God, out of his great mercy, was pleased to grant them a convenient time for repentance, no less than one hundred and twenty years; during which space, but no longer, his spirit should strive with man [z], or endeavour to awaken and reclaim them from their wicked course of life †.

[y] Genes. vi. iv. [z] Ibid. v. 3.

* This the words of Moses seem to imply; *There were giants* (says he) *in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of Men, and they bare children to them*, &c. So that there appear to have been two distinct races of Nephilim; one of which arose pretty early in the world, being of the posterity of Cain; and another, which began some ages after; being the issue of the sons of Seth, by the daughters of Cain (11); and both of them probably continued to the flood.

† This passage of scripture is variously interpreted; the English translation seems to give the true sense of the Hebrew; but the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Syriac versions render the word דין (which we translate strive with) continue, or dwell in; supposing the meaning to be, either that God's spirit of admonition, or forbearance, would not always wait on man; or else that the spirit or breath of life, should not always continue in him; that is, no longer than the space of one hundred and twenty years, after which, if he continued impenitent, he should be destroyed. And this is the sense of Onkelos. The Jews have much useless learning in their comments on this text (12). But they who infer from

(11) Vid. Heid. ubi supr. p. 185. (12) Vid. eundem ibidem, 343, &c.

Year of the World, 1287
Year before Chriſt, 3019

Noah preaches.

AMIDST this general corruption, one man, however, was found to be juſt and perfect in his generation ‡, walking with God [a]. This extraordinary perſon was Noah *, the ſon of Lamech, who, not thinking it ſufficient to be righteous himſelf, unleſs he did his utmoſt to turn others likewiſe to righteouſneſs, by admonition as well as example, became a preacher [b] to the abandoned race among which he lived, employing both his counſel and authority to bring them to a reformation of their manners, and to reſtore the true religion among them †. But all he could do was to no purpoſe, for they continued incorrigibly obſtinate;

[a] Ibid. v. 9. [b] 2 Peter. ii. 5.

from hence, that the ſtandard of man's life was now reduced and limited to one hundred and twenty years (13), are manifeſtly miſtaken; for that reduction was not made immediately after the flood; nor till the days of Moſes; and St. Peter plainly approves the other ſenſe, when he obſerves, that *the long ſuffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was preparing* (14): yet this notion ſpread even among the heathen writers (15).

‡ From this expreſſion ſome Jews would infer, that Noah was a good man comparatively ſpeaking only, in reſpect of the great wickedneſs of the reſt of the world: but that had he lived in Abraham's time, he would have had but a ſmall ſhare of reputation for virtue (16). But this unjuſt ſurmiſe, had it any foundation in the words of Moſes, is refuted by the teſtimony of Ezekiel (17), who names him as one of the three that had been moſt eminent for righteouſneſs, and ſhould ſave their lives by their own merits in the moſt univerſal calamities. It is true, they give another reaſon for their opinion, viz. becauſe Noah did not intercede for the old world, as Abraham did for Sodom.

* Lamech gave his ſon this name, which ſignifies comfort; for this ſame, ſays he, *ſhall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, becauſe of the ground which the Lord hath curſed.* Which words, not expreſſing the means by which Noah was thus to comfort his friends, ſome writers have thence inferred, that he invented the tools and inſtruments of huſbandry (1).

† The eaſtern chriſtians ſay, that when God ordered Noah to build the ark, he alſo directed him to make an inſtrument of wood,

(13) Joſeph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 3. Philo de gigant. Procop. in locum. (14) 1 Pet. iii. 20. Vid. Auguſtin. de civit. Dei. l. 15. c. 24. (15) Vid. Treb Pollion. in Claud. (16) Philo Jud. de Abraham, p. 354. R. Sol. Yarhi in locum. (17) Ch. xiv. 14, 18. (1) Yarhi in locum. Zohar, paraſh. 1.

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ſtinate; ſo that at length (as Joſephus [c] tells us) finding himſelf and family in imminent danger of ſome violence, in return for his good will, he departed from among them with his wife and children.

Mankind incorrigible.

On his departure, it is probable, they fell into greater diſorders than before, having now none to controul, or even to trouble them with unwelcome advice. Moſes aſſures us, that *the wickedneſs of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was continually evil* [d], and that *the earth was corrupt and filled with violence, all fleſh* ‡ *having corrupted his way upon the earth* [e]. Which words leave no room to enquire into the particular crimes of the antediluvian world, which ſeems to have been over-run with a complication of all manner of debauchery and wickedneſs, and above all with violence and injuſtice towards one another. Whether idolatry was practiſed before the flood, is a queſtion we ſhall diſcuſs elſewhere; but the eaſtern authors are for the affirmative, and

[c] Antiq, l. 1. c. 3. [d] Geneſ. vi. 5. [e] Ib. v. 11, 12.

wood, ſuch as they make uſe of in the Eaſt, at this day, inſtead of bells, to call the people to church, and named in Arabic ناقوس Nâkûs, which he was to ſtrike three times every day, not only to call together the workmen that were building the ark, but to give him an opportunity of daily admoniſhing his people of the impending danger of the deluge (2).

The Mohammedans likewiſe agree to make Noah a prophet, and, as has been obſerved, one of the ſix principal ones (3), though he had no written revelations delivered to him (4). The Korân mentions his preaching to thoſe of his time in ſeveral places (5). Some of their writers pretend he was ſent to convert Zohâk, one of the Perſian kings of the firſt race, who refuſed to hearken to him. He then went to preach God's unity publickly, but could make no more proſelytes than eighty, who went with him into the ark (6).

‡ The oriental writers agree in making this defection ſo univerſal, that at laſt, they ſay, there was none left in the holy mountain of all Seth's race, except only Noah and his wife, and his three ſons and their wives (7).

(2) Eutych. Annal p. 37. (3) See before p. 240. in the notes. (4) Vid. Reland de rel. Moham. p. 34. (5) Cap. 11. v. 26. cap. 26. v. 105, &c. (6) Vid. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 675. (7) Eutych. Annal. p. 35.

and ſays the children of Seth were ſeduced to it by the Cainites [f].

THINGS being in this ſtate, God, as the ſacred hiſtorian pathetically expreſſes it, *repented, that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart* [g]. And the time of forbearance being elapſed, he paſſed the ſentence of their utter deſtruction by a flood of waters, and not only of them, but of the beaſts of the earth, and every creeping thing, and of the fowls of the air [h], which became involved in the calamity of their maſters. But *Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord* [i], who had before, probably at the beginning of the one hundred and twenty years, acquainted him with his deſign of bringing a deluge on the earth; and as a means to preſerve him and his from that calamity, directed him to make an ark, or veſſel of a certain form and ſize, capable of containing not only himſelf and family (for he had three ſons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, who were all married before the flood), but ſuch numbers of animals of all ſorts, which were liable to periſh in the flood, as would be ſufficient to preſerve the ſeveral ſpecies and again repleniſh the earth, together with all neceſſary proviſions for them [k]. All which Noah performed, and ſo, by God's peculiar favour and providence, he and thoſe that were with him eſcaped this tremendous and, otherwiſe, general deſtruction; which event, the moſt extraordinary that is recorded in hiſtory, and deſerving our greateſt attention, muſt be the ſubject of a future diſcourſe, after we ſhall have taken a view of what the prophane writers offer us towards the hiſtory of this period.

Year of the World, 1307
Year before Chriſt, 2999

The whole world deſtroyed by a flood, except Noah and his family.

SECT. V.

The prophane hiſtory before the flood.

BESIDES the particulars in the preceding ſection, taken from the writings of Moſes, the only records to be depended on in theſe early times, we have ſome farther accounts relating to this period, tranſmitted to us by antient writers; particularly thoſe of the Phœnician, Babylonian, and Ægyptian antiquities, which we muſt not omit;

Accounts of antediluvian affairs beſides that of Moſes.

[f] Eutych. Annal. p. 31. [g] Geneſ. vi. 6. [h] Ib. v. 7. [i] Ib. v. 8. [k] Ib. v. 14, &c.

omit; leaving, however, the reader to judge of their credibility,

Sanchoniatho's Phœnician history.

Sanchoniatho, who wrote the Phœnician antiquities *, began his history from the origin of the world and of mankind; but his work being apparently written with a design to apologize for idolatry [l], instead of deducing the history (as Moses has done) from Adam in the line of Seth, the worshippers of the true God, he has according to the most probable hypothesis †, given us that of the idolatrous line of Cain; that the religion which this author, or those he transcribed, patronized, might appear to be introduced by the elder branch, a circumstance which, they might think, gave it no small lustre and reputation.

In the following extract from the remaining fragments of this author, we might justly be surprized to find not so much as the least mention of the deluge, did we not consider, that destruction was a judgment on the idolatrous world, with which the professors of the true religion probably reproached the heathens, and which the latter were therefore desirous to conceal, to bury, if possible, the very memory of so extraordinary a monument of divine vengeance and their own shame.

Generation I.

Sanchoniatho having delivered his cosmogony, or generation of the other parts of the world [m], begins his history of mankind with the production of the first pair of mortals [n], whom Philo, his translator, calls Protogonus and Æon ‡, the latter of whom found out the food which is gathered from trees.

Their

[l] See the introd. p. 95.
[m] Vid. ibid. p. 96
[n] Vid. ibid. p. 170.

* The credit of the fragments we have remaining of this work and the age of its author, are enquired into in the preface.

† Viz. That of bishop Cumberland, the substance of whose remarks the reader will find in the following notes.

‡ That these two were Adam and Eve, appears not only from their being the first of human kind, but also from their names, Πρωτόγονος the first produced, and Αἰών life (which is the signification of that word in the feminine gender, the masculine article τον, prefixed to it in the original, being a mistake of the transcriber;) the latter of them bearing a near resemblance to Eve both in sense and sound. What our author immediately mentions

THEIR issue were called Genus and Genea *†, and dwelt in Phœnicia: but when great droughts came, they stretched forth their hands to heaven towards the sun **; for him they thought the only God and Lord of heaven, calling Generation II.

mentions of the woman's first gathering food from trees, seems to allude to Eve's first eating the forbidden fruit (1).

*† Genus, abating the termination, makes a fair approach in sound to the name of Cain; and by its signification seems very proper to denote the man who was the first-begotten in the ordinary course of nature. The Greek word γενάω, whence the Latin geno comes, being also probably derived from קָנָה Kana (K and G being letters of the same organ, and consequently easily changed into each other), the root from which the name of Cain was formed. Genea may signify only the wife of Genus, as Caia does the wife of Caius in the civil law (2).

As to what follows, that Cain and his wife dwelt in Phœnicia, this seems repugnant to the Mosaic history, where Nod is said to be on the east of Eden. But it may not be impertinent to add, what has been observed, that there was a city in Canaan called Cain, within the bounds assigned to the tribe of Judah (3). In the best maps it is situated not far from the sea, on a promontory lying within the country, which the Philistines kept long in their possession; and it is not likely, that any who owned themselves derived from Seth, should build a city, and then brand it with the odious name of Cain; but it is possible it might be either built by some of his family before the flood, and its ruins be repaired afterwards, still keeping his name; Joppa, another city in that neighbourhood, being also said to be more antient than the deluge (4). Or it might be built by the old Philistines before Joshua's time; and they, being descended from Mizraim, might, though falsely, believe, as Sanchoniatho reports that he was of Cain's line, and thence might call the city by his name (5).

** This seems to have been the first introduction of idolatry, which began with the worship of the sun; several of Cain's descendants added other methods of idolatrous worship, distinctly set down by this author; they proceeded to deify the several parts

(1) Vid Grot. de veritate Rel. Christ. in notis ad lib. 1. § 16 Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 215, &c. (2) Cumberl. ibid. p. 219, &c. (3) Josh. xv. 57. (4) Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 5. c. 13. (5) Cumberl. ubi supr. p. 229, &c.

calling him Beelſamen which in Phœnician is Lord of heaven, and in Greek Zeus. For we, ſays our author, not vainly, have frequently diſtinguiſhed thoſe names, but with reſpect to the later ſignification of names accruing to them from later things; which the Greeks, not knowing, have conſtrued otherwiſe, being deceived with the ambiguity of their ſignifications.

Generation III. AFTERWARDS from Genus, the ſon of Protogonus and Eon, other mortal iſſue was begotten, whoſe names were Phos, Pur, and Phlox, that is, Light, Fire, and Flame *.

Generation IV. Theſe found out the way of generating fire, by the rubbing of pieces of wood againſt each other, and taught men the uſe thereof. Theſe begat ſons of vaſt bulk and height, whoſe names were given to the mountains on which they ſeized: ſo from them were named mount Caſſius, and Libanus, Antilibanus, and Brathys †.

Generation. V. OF theſe laſt were begotten Memrumus and Hypſuranius ‡, but they were ſo named by their mothers, the women

parts of nature and men after their death, and even to conſecrate plants ſhooting out of the earth, which the firſt men, or thoſe in the elder ages, judged to be gods, and worſhipped, as thoſe that ſuſtained the lives of themſelves and their poſterity, as well as of their anceſtors: to theſe they made their meat and drink, offerings; which, Sanchoniatho ſays, were the devices of worſhip agreeing with the weakneſs and want of boldneſs in their minds (6).

* Hebrew names like theſe, though unuſual among us, are mentioned in after times in ſcripture; as, Ur, Uri, Beor, and Lehabim, which ſignify Fire and Flames, and anſwer Philo's well enough. It is ſuppoſed, they were ſo called from their inventing the method of kindling and uſing fire (1).

† This generation were inhabitants and lords in the great mountains which took their names from them. So Seir, a name of Eſau, is ſuppoſed to have been given to the mountain which he poſſeſſed, though it be proleptically given to that country before his birth (2).

‡ Bochart makes theſe two but one perſon, reading Memrumus, who is alſo called Hypſuranius, the latter name ſeeming to be a tranſlation of the firſt, which Bochart thinks has loſt a Syllable, Mem being left inſtead of Samen, or שמים Shamaim, ſignifying heaven, to anſwer Ὑψιστος in Philo's tranſlation, as Rum does Ὕψος, or high. Scaliger thinks it only put inſtead of מרום Minrum, from on high. Biſhop Cumberland derives it with leſs change

(6) Sanchon. apud. Euſeb. ubi infra. (1) Cumberl. ubi ſup. p. 237. (2) Vid. eund ibid.

men of thoſe times, who without ſhame lay with any man they could light upon **. Hypſuranius inhabited Tyre, and he invented the making of huts of reeds, and ruſhes, and the papyrus. He alſo fell into enmity with his brother Uſous *†, who firſt invented a covering for his body out of the ſkins of the wild beaſts which he could catch. And when violent tempeſts of wind and rains came, the boughs in Tyre being rubbed againſt each other, took fire, and burnt the wood there. And Uſous, having taken a tree and broke off its boughs, firſt was ſo bold as to venture upon it into the ſea. He alſo conſecrated two rude ſtones, or pillars, to fire and wind, and he worſhipped them, and poured out to them the blood of ſuch wild beaſts as had been caught in hunting *†*. But when theſe were dead, thoſe

change from רוּם Rum, and מַיִם Maïm, ſignifying waters from on high, or iſſue from above (3).

** The immorality of the womens proſtituting their bodies, ſo plainly confeſſed by our author, agrees with the intimation which Moſes gives concerning the debauchery of theſe ages, and the general corruption of the world which inſued upon it.

*† Uſous is thought to be the ſame with עוּץ Ous, i. e. ſtrong, a name long after given to the ſon of Aram, whom Joſephus calls Ouſes, and we write Uz; the termination in Joſephus only differs from Philo's Ouſous (4).

† The wind and fire, to which theſe two pillars were conſecrated, ſeem to have been thoſe violent ones that had burnt the wood. This is the oldeſt inſtance of worſhipping theſe lower ſort of naturally immortal gods; which it is probable were worſhipped becauſe the fire and winds are of kindred to celeſtial or æthereal matter. The Greek does not expreſly ſay, that the blood of the wild beaſts was poured out, but it is conceived neceſſary ſo to underſtand the words σπένδειν ἐκ θηρίων, becauſe there is nothing elſe in them, beſides their blood, which can be poured out as a libation. This is therefore to be obſerved to be the firſt offering of blood to inferior deities. And becauſe this was that of hunted wild beaſts, of whoſe blood no great quantity could be gotten to be poured out of veſſels; we may infer, that Uſous offered ſome part of their fleſh, with their blood dropping out of their limbs. And ſince there is no reaſon to doubt, but he eat part of what he had taken in hunting, as he offered part; this is the firſt example of eating fleſh before the flood; and the reſtriction under which it was afterwards granted to Noah, ſeems to intimate, that the wild antediluvian ſons of Cain had fallen into the barbarity of eating raw and bloody fleſh, forbidden therefore to Noah and his poſterity, both

(3) Idem ibid. p. 231. (4) Idem ibid. p. 238.

thoſe that remained conſecrated to them ſtumps of wood and pillars, worſhipping them, and kept anniverſary feaſts unto them *_*.

Generation VI. Many years after this generation, came Agreus and Halieus †*†, the inventors of the arts of hunting and fiſhing, from whom huntſmen and fiſhermen are named.

Generation VII. Of theſe were begotten two brothers, the inventors of iron and of the forging thereof: one of theſe, called Chryſor †, the ſame with Hephæſtus, or Vulcan, exerciſed in the caſe of ſacrifice and of ordinary diet, to prevent all correſpondence with their ſavage practices (5).

_ Here is the connection of the worſhip of men after death, with that of the parts of nature. But it does not appear, any ſacrifice or prayer was as yet made to them as gods, as is expreſly ſaid hereafter of Vulcan.

†*† Theſe names are Greek, and therefore Philo's tranſlation of ſome eaſtern names of like import. All that can be underſtood of this age is, that the arts, or employments here mentioned, were then much improved, for Uſous was a huntſman before.

Though the connection of this generation with the preceding, be expreſſed more ambiguouſly than any other in the whole pedigree, by the words, after much time; which may occaſion a doubt, whether this generation was the immediate off-ſpring of the laſt or not; yet if we conſider, how far ſome of the antediluvians were advanced in years before their children were born, we muſt allow, that no argument can be built thereon for the negative. And an interpolation of other generations cannot be admitted, without owning ſo many more generations in Cain's line before the flood, which would maké his line to have more links in it than Seth's, a circumſtance we have no reaſon to believe (6).

† Bochart's origination of this name from חרש-אור Chores-ur, which he renders Πυριτεχνίτης, an Artificer by fire, is not improbable. Yet biſhop Cumberland rather derives it from a ſimple root, חרץ Charas, to beſtir one's ſelf vigorouſly, to cut, &c. from whence χρῦσος, beaten, or cut gold, is allowed to come, and why not Chryſor? ſince it differs only in termination, and compoſitions muſt not be admitted in eaſtern words without neceſſity.

This Chryſor is the firſt man our author informs us of, who was worſhipped as a god after his death, a plain confeſſion that ſuch worſhip was not from the beginning. It is remarkable, that as this ſort of idolatry began in the eighth generation, and the flood was drawing near in the next generation but one, ſo it is more than probable,

(5) Idem ibid. p. 239, 240.

(6) Idem ibid. p. 242, &c.

ciſed himſelf in words, and charms, and divinations; and he found out the hook, bait, and fiſhing line, and boats ſlightly built, and he was the firſt of all men that ſailed. Wherefore he was alſo worſhipped after his death for a god, and they called him Zeus Michius, or Jupiter the engineer ‡; and ſome ſay, his brothers invented the way of making walls of brick.

AFTERWARDS from this generation came two brothers, one of which was called Technites, or the Artiſt, the other Geïnus Autochthon **, the home-born man of the earth. Theſe found out to mingle ſtubble, or ſmall twigs, with the bricky earth, and to dry them in the ſun, and ſo made tiling. Generation VIII.

BY theſe were begotten others, of which one was called Agrus [field] and the other Agrouerus, or Agrotes *†, [huſbandman] Generation IX.

bable, that all, or moſt, of thoſe who were concerned in this firſt deifying of men, if they lived to be any thing near the age of their contemporaries of Seth's line, were drowned therein (1).

‡ The original is Diamichius. But our learned biſhop chooſes to divide the word, and derives Michius from מחי Machi, a machine (2).

** Technites ſeems to be a tranſlation of the eaſtern name Malachi, from מלאכה Malâca, workmanſhip, art. The other Geïnus, ſignifying earthy has ſome affinity with Epher, and Ephron, Canaanitiſh names, and probably uſed by Sanchoniatho (3).

*† This generation is remarkable, becauſe to the men thereof, the firſt ſtatue, or idol to be worſhipped, and the firſt temple we read of, was erected in Phœnicia; a ſmall temple, or rather tabernacle, it was, like that of Moloch and his ſtar Chiun, or Remphan (4), and drawn by oxen, in the ſame manner as the ark, or epitome of God's tabernacle, was ſent home by the Philiſtines, ſucceſſors to the old Phœnicians in their religion and abode, upon a new cart, drawn by milch kine (5).

The names of theſe men import gods of huſbandry, as Pan, Pales, and Sylvanus among the Greeks and Romans. Biſhop Cumberland gueſſes that in Sanchoniatho, the perſon whom Philo expreſſes by Agrus, might be called Siddim, or Sadid, a name whereby one of Cronus's ſons is afterwards called; either of which will anſwer the Greek (6).

The Egyptians, whoſe religion and deſcent was the ſame with that of the old Phœnicians, beſides Pan, had an antient deity, named Aroueris, mentioned by Plutarch, and by ſome taken to be

(1) Idem ibid. p. 244, &c. (2) Idem ibid. p. 232. (3) Ibid. p. 246. (4) Amos v. 26. Acts vii. 43. (5) 1 Sam. vi. (6) Cumberl. ubi ſupr. p. 247, &c.

[huſbandman] who had a ſtatue much worſhipped, and a temple carried about by one, or more yoke of oxen in Phœnicia: and among thoſe of Byblus he is eminently called the greateſt of the gods. Theſe found out how to make courts about mens houſes, and fences, and caves, or cellars. Huſbandmen, and ſuch as uſe dogs in hunting, derive frome theſe; and they are alſo called Aletæ, and Titans.

Generation X.

Of theſe were begotten Amynus and Magus *†*, who ſhewed men to conſtitute villages and flocks.

In theſe mens age there was one Eliun ***, which imports in Greek Hypſiſtus [the moſt high], and his wife was named Beruth, who dwelt about Byblus; and by him was

Apollo, by others Orus Senior, and by Scaliger (7) Anubis. But biſhop Cumberland thinks, he was the ſame that is here called Agrouerus; and if the g is allowed to melt away, as it often does, or if we take Ἀγρὸς and Ἄρουρα as Synonyma, the name is the ſame, for the termination is arbitrary (8).

† Amynus ſeems to import in this place a defender from enchantment, and Magus a ſorcerer; though both words are more capable of a more favourable interpretation. Yet in the loweſt dregs of Cain's race, we may believe the worſt the words will bear (9).

This generation being the tenth from Adam incluſive, was that generation which, excepting Noah and his Family, was entirely deſtroyed by the flood, together with their children. But thoſe idolaters, from whom Sanchoniatho took his genealogies, ſuppreſſed all mention of the flood, as he does; and pretended, that the line, in which their idolatry began, was continued on to ſucceeding ages. And this being impoſſible to be done, in inſtances of men that ever had any being in the earth, any other way than by taking men out of Noah's line, and annexing them as ſons to the laſt men of that family, which in truth was wholly extinguiſhed in the flood, they proceed to carry on the genealogy with Miſor and Sydyc, two perſons who in reality, as it will be attempted to ſhew, were deſcendants of Noah (10). Wherefore we reſerve the hiſtory of them and their poſterity until after the deluge.

*** In Hebrew עליון Elion. This perſon, as will appear when we conſider his deſcendants, muſt be Lamech, the father of Noah, of the line of Seth, which is here introduced abruptly and imperfectly, as being that of the profeſſed enemies of the falſe religion which our author patronizes (11).

(7) De emend. temp. (8) Cumberl. ubi ſup. p. 249. (9) Idem ibid p. 250. (10) Idem ibid. p. 177. (11) Idem ibid. p. 152.

was begotten one Epigeus, or Autochthon ††, whom they afterwards called Uranus * [Heaven], ſo that from him that element which is over us, by reaſon of its excellent beauty, is called heaven; and he had a ſiſter of the ſame parents called Ge † [the Earth], and by reaſon of her beauty the earth had her name given to it.

Hypsistus, the father of theſe, dying in fight with wild beaſts, was conſecrated, and his children offered ſacrifices and libations to him. But Uranus taking the kingdom of his father, married his ſiſter Ge, and had by her four ſons, Ilus, who is called Cronus [or Saturn] Betylus, Dagon, who is Siton, or the god of corn, and Atlas ‡; but by other wives Uranus had much iſſue.

†† Theſe two Greek names having ſome relation to the earth, it is likely they tranſlate the title which Moſes gives Noah, who is here meant, viz. *a man of the earth* (1), which we render an huſbandman; and that may alſo be the reaſon why his wife's name is ſaid to be Ge, the earth (2).

* This name, and that of Elium, are ſuppoſed to have been given to Noah and his father, by Thoth and other idolaters by way of ſneer, becauſe they worſhipped the only ſupreme God in heaven, in oppoſition to their earthly gods, which had been men (3). But a better reaſon is, that it was the conſtant cuſtom to give new and magnificent names to perſons deified (4), as Elium and Uranus both were; though they had no conſiderable part of the idolatrous worſhip, which was chiefly employed in ſerving Cronus, and his wives, and children (5).

† The Atlantian theology, which ſeems to agree with Sanchoniatho, in ſaying, that Uranus gave his name to the heavens, to imprint a greater idea of himſelf in the minds of the people, tells us, however, that his wife's firſt name was Titæa (perhaps from טיט Tit, mud) and that ſhe being, after her death, conſecrated into a goddeſs, was called Ge (6).

‡ The firſt of theſe four ſons was Ham, the arguments to prove which will be produced hereafter in a more proper place; who the other three ſons here named were, will alſo be conſidered elſewhere: we ſhall only obſerve here, that none of them are either Shem, or Japhet, who, according to the biſhop's hypotheſis, are found under other names, viz. thoſe of Sydyc, and Nereus.

(1) Geneſ. ix. 20. (2) Cumberl. ubi ſup. p. 151.
(3) Idem ibid. p. 182, &c. (4) Ibid. p. 231, &c.
(5) Ibid. p. 152. (6) Diodor. Sicul. l. 3. p. 189, &c.

Thus far Sanchoniatho; the thread of whoſe hiſtory we break off here, and ſhall reſume in the next period. But before we diſmiſs this author, we ſhall in the following table compare the pedigree of Cain's line given by him, with that given by Moſes; firſt obſerving, that though Moſes hath not recorded ten generations in this line, as Sanchoniatho has, yet it does not thence follow, that there were not ten generations in this line before the flood; for Moſes does not tell us that thoſe he has named were all the deſcents before the flood, nor that the laſt generation which he mentions was drowned, though probably it was ſo. However, it is very improbable, that eight generations in Cain's line ſhould live as long as the ten in Seth's, eſpecially conſidering that Cain in all likelihood had children before Seth was born: wherefore it is more reaſonable to believe, that Moſes has paſſed over two generations of Cain, as not worthy of mention; and the rather, becauſe he does not ſay, that Enoch begat Irad, but only, *unto Enoch was born Irad* **; which will be true if he was not his ſon, but his grandſon, or great grandſon; ſkipping over two generations, which added to the eight mentioned will make ten, as in Seth's line before the flood °, thus:

° Vid. Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 303, &c.

** The like expreſſion to the ſame ſenſe is found in another paſſage (7), where it is foretold, that *Joſiah ſhould be born to the houſe of David*, or be of the poſterity of Rehoboam then reigning, though he was many generations after him.

(7) 1 Kings xiii. 2.

A Table

A TABLE of the Deſcendants of CAIN.

According to MOSES.	According to SANCHONIATHO.
1. Adam, Eve,	1. Protogonus, Æon,
2. Cain,	2. Genus, Genea,
3. Enoch,	3. Phos, Pur, Phlox,
4. ———	4. Caſſius, Libanus, &c.
5. ———	5. Memrumus, Uſoüs,
6. Irad,	6. Agreus, Halieus,
7. Mehujael,	7. Chryſor, or Hephæſtus *†,
8. Methuſael,	8. Technites, Geïnus,
9. Lamech,	9. Agrus, Agrouerus,
10. Jabal, Jubal, Tubal-Cain.	10. Amynus, Magus.

THE Babylonian antiquities were collected by Beroſus *, a Chaldean by birth, who lived in the time of Alexander the Great [P]. But of that work we have now remaining only ſome few fragments, the ſubſtance of which, ſo far as comes within the preſent period, we here ſubjoin. Beroſus's Babylonian antiquities.

AFTER

[P] Alex. Polyhiſt. apud Syncell. p. 28.

*† Sanchoniatho here places his chief artiſts in the ſeventh and eight generation, whereas Moſes, according to this table, places them in the tenth. If we ſuppoſe the two laſt generations, and not the fourth and fifth, to be thoſe omitted by Moſes, they will come much nearer. Dr. Cumberland, to obtain a fuller agreement, conjectures, that theſe two links in Sanchoniatho, have been tranſpoſed, and that Chryſor ſhould be in the eighth place, and Technites in the ſeventh; or elſe, that the father in the ſeventh generation might invent thoſe arts, and on that account be celebrated by Thoth, or his ſcribes; and the ſons might bring them to greater perfection in the eighth generation, and for that reaſon be rather taken notice of by Moſes (1).

* Of this author, the reader will find a more particular account in the preface.

(1) Cumberl. ubi ſup. p. 232, &c.

The manner of mens acquiring the knowledge of arts and ſciences.

AFTER a deſcription of Babylonia, he writes, that in the firſt year there appeared out of the red Sea, at a place near the confines of that country, a certain irrational animal †, whoſe name was Oannes. He had his whole body like that of a fiſh, but beneath his fiſh's head he had another head grew; he had alſo feet like a man, which proceeded from the fiſh's tail, and a human voice, the picture of him being preſerved to that very day. This animal converſed with men in the day-time without eating any thing; he delivered to men the knowledge of letters and ſciences, and ſkill in various arts; he taught them to dwell together in cities, to erect temples, to introduce laws, and inſtructed them in geometry; he likewiſe ſhewed them how to gather ſeeds and fruits; and, in ſhort, imparted to mankind whatever was neceſſary and convenient for a civilized life. But after this time there was nothing excellent invented. When the ſun ſet, this animal retired into the ſea again, and ſtayed there in the night-time, being of the amphibious kind. After him there appeared ſeveral other animals of the ſame form, mentioned in the enſuing hiſtory. This Oannes did not deliver his inſtructions by word of mouth only, but, as our author aſſures us, wrote of the origin of things [q], and of political œconomy [r].

OTHER authors have alſo made mention of this Oannes, Helladius calls him Oes (if it be not rather the ſcribes way of abbreviating Oannes,) and agrees in general with the foregoing account; but adds, that he had the hands, as well as the head and feet of a man; that it was reported, he was produced from the primigenial egg (as his name teſtified ‡), and

[q] See before, p. 101. [r] Alex. Polyhiſt. ex Beroſo apud Syncell. p. 28.

† The Greek is ζῶον ἄφρενον; but the ſequel plainly ſhews him to have been nothing leſs than irrational: ſome corruption may therefore very juſtly be ſuppoſed.

As to the names of Oannes and Annedotus given to this perſon, and thoſe of the ſame appearance who are mentioned below, it may ſeem a folly to offer at any explanation of them. By their coming up out of the ſea, it is moſt probable, they were ſtrangers, and arrived in Chaldea by ſhipping (2). The Syriac word ܐܘܕܐ Onûdo, ſignifies a traveller, or foreigner, and might without much violence be converted into either of the ſaid names.

‡ An egg in Greek is called Oon.

(2) Vid. Newton's Chronol. p. 210, 211.

and that he was in reality no more than a man, though he ſeemed to be a fiſh, becauſe he was compleatly dreſſed in a fiſh's ſkin [s]. Hyginus likewiſe writes, that Euhanes, a name not very diſtant from Oannes, came out of the ſea in Chaldea, and explained aſtrology [t].

BEROSUS proceeds to give us a ſeries of ten kings who reigned in Chaldea before the flood; but as there are ſome ſmall variations in the authors who have tranſcribed that hiſtorian, we ſhall here exhibit them to the readers view. The antediluvian kings of Chaldea.

[s] Hellad. apud Photium, Bibl. Cod. cclxxix. col. 1594.
[t] Hygin. fab. 274. The printed editions of Hyginus have Euhadnes.

A TABLE

A Table of the Chaldean Kings before the Flood, from Berosus.

According to Africanus [u].

		Sari.	Years.
1.	Alorus reigned	10	
2.	Alaſparus	3	
3.	Amelon	13	
4.	Amenon	12	
5.	Metalarus	18	
6.	Daonus		99
7.	Euedorachus	18	
8.	Amphis	10	
9.	Otiartes	8	
10.	Xixuthrus	18	
		110	99

According to Abydenus [w].

		Sari.
1.	Alorus reigned	10
2.	Alaparus	3
3.	Amillarus	13
4.	Ammenon	12
5.	Megalarus	18
6.	Daos	10
7.	Euedoreſchus	
8.	Anodaphus	
9.		
10.	Siſithrus	
		120

According to Apollodorus [x].

		Sari.
1.	Alorus reigned	10
2.	Alaparus	
3.	Amelon	
4.	Ammenon	
5.	Megalarus	18
6.	Daonus	10
7.	Euedoreſchus	18
8.	Amempſinus	10
9.	Otiartes	8
11.	Xiſuthrus	18
		120

The

[u] Apud Syncell. p. 18. Euſeb. p. 5.

[w] Apud eund. p. 38. C.

[x] Apud eund. p. 39. B. Vid. Chron. Græc.

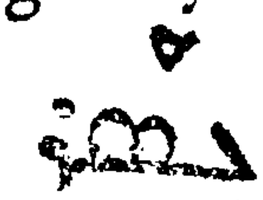
The length of their reigns.

THE reigns of theſe kings Beroſus computes by Sari, or decads of years **, which ſeems to be a very convenient method in thoſe times, when the lives of men were at leaſt ten times as long as they have been in later ages. According to which way of reckoning, the ſum of all their reigns amounts to twelve hundred, or more nicely eleven hundred and ninety nine years; which offers no violence to the Moſaic chronology.

Remarkable events under them.

As theſe ten ſucceſſors exactly anſwer the ten generations from the creation to the flood, the firſt king Alorus has been ſuppoſed to be the ſame with Adam [y], as Xiſuthrus plainly

[y] Perizon. Orig. Ægypt c. 2.

** Beroſus wrote his chronology by the computation of Sari, Neri, and Soſi; which being antient meaſures of time, and well known when the original records were written, could not, it is conceived, have wanted explanation in thoſe records. But Beroſus, or ſome later writers, have, either out of ignorance, or deſign, magnified theſe meaſures of time beyond all imagination, and tell us, that the Sarus contained the interval of three thouſand ſix hundred years, the Nerus of ſix hundred years, and the Soſus of ſixty (1). However, other authors have taken thoſe years for days only, and blame Euſebius for not perceiving them to be days (2); and, as it ſeems, with great reaſon: for not to inſiſt on the incredible length of the regions of thoſe princes, on the firſt hypotheſis, which no writer of common ſenſe or modeſty could offer to impoſe on the world, it plainly appears, they were no more than days, from the reign of the ſixth king, which is more exactly expreſſed in the firſt table to be ninety nine years, but in the others, by the round number of ten Sari, or 100 years; and the word Sarus, throwing away the termination is no other than the Chaldee, or Syriac  Sar, ten. The Sarus therefore contained three thouſand ſix hundred days, or juſt ten old Chaldean years of three hundred and ſixty days each: and that before the deluge, not only the civil year but alſo the tropical ſolar and lunar year conſiſted of juſt twelve months of thirty days a-piece, or three hundred and ſixty days in the whole, has been fully proved by a very learned gentleman (3).

(1) Vid. Syncell. p. 17. & Abyden. apud eundem, p. 38, C. (2) Annianus & Panodorus apud Syncell. p. 35. Vid. eund. p. 17. (3) Mr. Allin's Diſc of the antient year, in Mr. Whiſton's Theory, Book II. p. 144. Vid. etiam Scaliger. in Græc. Euſeb. p. 406.

plainly appears to be Noah. Alorus gave out, 'that God himſelf had declared him the paſtor of the people [z]; and, indeed, if any man could pretend to dominion by divine right, it muſt have been Adam.

Of Alaſparus, the ſecond king, nothing remarkable is related. His ſucceſſor Amelon, or Amillarus, was of the city of Pantibibla *†: in his reign, according to Abydenus, a ſecond Annedotus, or animal reſembling the demigod Oannes, aroſe out of the ſea, twenty ſix Sari, or two hundred and ſixty years after the beginning of this monarchy [a]; but Apollodorus writes, that he appeared under the next prince Amenon, after forty Sari, or four hundred years: which if they be computed from the creation (according to the Samaritan chronology) will end in that king's reign; but if from the firſt year of Alorus, will reach twenty years within that of Metalarus. Others, ſuppoſing this Annedotus was the hateful Oannes himſelf, blame Polyhiſtor for anticipating the time of his coming, by placeing him in the firſt year [b].

After Amenon and Metalarus, who were both of Pantibibla, ſucceeded Daonus, who was of the ſame city, and a ſhepherd. In his time four animals ††† of a double form, half man and half fiſh, came out of the ſea to land, whoſe names were Euedocus, Eneugamus, Eneubulus, and Anementus [c].

Under

[z] Abyden. ex Beroſo apud Syncell. p. 38. [a] Idem ib. & p. 39, C. [b] Vid. Syncell. p. 39, C. [c] Abyden. ib.

*† Of this city of Pantibibla, as Scaliger obſerves (4), the antients have taken no notice. It ſeems to be the ſame with Sippara; hereafter mentioned (probably the Sipphara of Ptolemy), where Xiſuthrus depoſited the records he wrote before the flood. This later name may be derived from the Chaldee ספר Sephar, or Sphar, a book, or record; and Pantibibla is the tranſlation of that name into Greek (5). Sir Iſaac Newton (6) takes it to be the Sepharvaim of the ſcripture (7).

††† Apollodorus ſays only that the fourth Annedotus appeared at this time (8); but the reading of Abydenus ſeems the more correct.

(4) Ubi ſupra, p. 407. (5) See Cumberland on Sanchon. p. 255. (6) Chronol. p. 275. (7) 2 Kings xix. 13. 8) Apud Syncell. p. 39.

UNDER the next prince, Euedoreſchus, who was likewiſe of Pantibibla, there appeared another animal, like the former, named Odacon. All theſe explained more particularly what Oannes had ſummarily and conciſely delivered [d].

THE eighth and ninth kings were both of another city, called Laranchi [e]. When the later of them Otiartes, or, as Polyhiſtor calls him, Ardates, was dead, he was ſucceeded by his ſon Xiſuthrus.

IN his reign happened the great deluge, of which our author gives the following account: Cronus, or Saturn, appeared to Xiſuthrus in a dream, and warned him, that on the fifteenth of the month Dæſius mankind would be deſtroyed by a flood; and therefore commanded him to write down the original, intermediate ſtate, and end of all things, and bury the writings under ground in Sippara, the city of the ſun; that he ſhould alſo build a ſhip, and go into it with his relations and deareſt friends, having firſt furniſhed it with proviſions, and taken into it fowls and four-footed beaſts; and that when he had provided every thing, and was aſked whither he was ſailing? he ſhould anſwer, *To the gods, to pray for happineſs to mankind.* Xiſuthrus did not diſobey, but built a veſſel, whoſe length was five furlongs, and breadth two furlongs. He put on board all that he was directed, and went into it with his wife, children, and friends. The flood being come and ſoon ceaſing, Xiſuthrus let out certain birds, which finding no food, nor place to reſt upon, returned again to the ſhip. Xiſuthrus, after ſome days, let out the birds again; but they came back again to the ſhip, having their feet daubed with mud: but when they were let go the third time, they came no more to the ſhip, whereby Xiſuthrus underſtood, that the earth appeared again; and thereupon he made an opening between the planks of the ſhip, and ſeeing that it reſted on a certain mountain, he came out with his wife, and his daughter, and his pilot; and having worſhipped the earth, and raiſed an altar, and ſacrificed to the gods, he and thoſe who went out with him diſappeared. They who were left behind in the ſhip, finding Xiſuthrus, and the perſons that accompanied him, did not return, went out themſelves to ſeek

The Chaldean account of the flood.

[d] Apollodor. ex Beroſ. ib. [e] Idem ib.

ſeek for him, calling him aloud by his name: but Xiſuthrus was no more ſeen by them; only a voice came out of the air, which enjoyned them, as their duty was, to be religious; and informed them, that, on account of his own piety, he was gone to dwell with the gods: and that his wife, and daughter, and pilot, were partakers of the ſame honour. It alſo directed them to return to Babylon, and that, as the fates had ordained, they ſhould take the writeings from Sippara, and communicate them to mankind; and told them, that the place where they were was the country of Armenia. When they had heard this, they offered ſacrifice to the gods, and unanimouſly went to Babylon; and when they came thither, they dug up the writeings at Sippara, built many cities, raiſed temples, and rebuilt Babylon again [f].

The antediluvian kings of Egypt.

The Egyptians, who would give place to no nation in point of antiquity, have alſo a ſeries of kings, who, as is pretended, reigned in Egypt before the flood; and, to be even with the Chaldeans, began their account the very ſame year that theirs does, according to Beroſus [g].

There was an antient chronicle extant among the Egyptians, not many centuries ago [h], which contained 30 dynaſties of princes who ruled in that country, by a ſeries of 113 generations, through an immenſe ſpace of 36,525 years *: during which Egypt was ſucceſſively governed

[f] Alexand. Polyhiſtor. ex Beroſo, apud Syncell. p. 30, 31. & apud Cyril. contra Julian. l. 1. Abydenus, ex eodem, apud Syncell. p. 38, 39. & apud Euſeb. de Præp. Ev. l. 9. c. 12.
[g] Syncell. p. 17. [h] Vid. eund. p. 51. & Euſeb. Chron. Græc. p. 6.

* This number appears manifeſtly to have been not a real chronological, but a fictitious aſtronomical, calculation, being produced by multiplying 1461 by 25; and is the period of the grand revolution of the zodiac, ſo famous in the Egyptian and Greek fables; at the end of which it will return to the point whence it began to move, viz. the firſt minute of the firſt degree of Aries (1).

From

(1) Vid. Syncell. p. 52.

governed by three different races; of whom the firſt were the Auritæ, the ſecond the Meſtræi, and the third the Egyptians †.

But this extravagant number of years Manetho ‡ (to whoſe remains we muſt chiefly have recourſe for the antient Egyptian hiſtory) has not adopted, however, in other reſpects he is ſuppoſed to have been led into errors in chronology by this old chronicle [i], which yet ſeems to have been a compoſition ſince Manetho's time. That writer [k] began his hiſtory with the following 16 dynaſties, or reigns of princes; the firſt of whom were called gods, and the other nine demi-gods. Theſe, he ſays, reigned one thouſand

[i] Syncell. ibid. [k] Manetho apud Syncell. p. 18. & Euſeb. Chron. Græc. p. 7.

From ſome ſuch computation, it is probable, Diodorus took the numbers he mentions of 18,000 years, the ſpace which the gods and heroes reigned, and 15,000 from Orus, the ſon of Iſis, the laſt of them, to the 180th olympiad, during which time Egypt was governed by men (2); or thoſe, which he elſewhere tells us were the number of years from Iſis and Oſiris to Alexander the Great, viz. above 10,000, or ſomewhat leſs than 23,000 (3). Other extravagant numbers were alſo by the Egyptian prieſts impoſed on Herodotus and Plato, as we may obſerve elſewhere.

† Theſe three races, if there be any ſhadow of truth in this account, ſeem moſt probably to have been the gods, demigods, and mortal men, which are by other authors ſaid to have reigned ſucceſſively in Egypt: the Auritæ (which name Goar (4) derives from Abaris, or Avaris, though that city was built long after the flood by the Paſtors, and Perizonius, more probably, from אור Our, light) being the gods, or antediluvian princes; the Meſtræi, the demigods, or poſtdiluvians of the race of Mizraim; and the Egyptians, the mortal kings, the firſt of whom was Menes (5): and this hypotheſis, as will be obſerved by and by, accounts tolerably well for the chronology.

‡ This writer was ſomewhat later than Beroſus. See the preface.

(2) Diod Sic. l. 1. p. 41. (3) Idem ib. p. 20. (4) In notis ad Syncell. Vid. Marſham. Canon. Chron. p. 107. (5) Vid. Perizon. Antiq. Ægypt. p. 23, &c.

thousand nine hundred and eighty five years *; and the first of them, Vulcan, nine thousand †.

A Table of the Gods and Demigods, who are supposed to have reigned in Egypt before the flood.

GODS.

	Yrs.	Mon.	Days.
1. Hephæstus, or Vulcan, reigned—	724	6	4
2. Helios, or the Sun, the son of Vulcan, ——— ——— ———	86		
3. Agathodæmon, ——— ———	56	6	10
4. Cronus, or Saturn, ———	40	6	
5. Osiris and Isis, ——— ———	35		
6. ——— ———			
7. Typhon, ———	29		

DEMIGODS.

8. Orus, ———	25
9. Ares, or Mars, ———	23
10. Anubis, ———	17
11. Hercules, ——— ———	15
12. Apollo, ———	25
13. Ammon, ——— ———	30
14. Tithoes, ——— ———	27
15. Sosus, ———	32
16. Zeus, or Jupiter, ———	20

As

* This number of years in Manetho (which the modern chronologers unjustly correct to eleven thousand nine hundred and eighty five, or eleven thousand nine hundred and eighty eight, to make them agree with the larger numbers in the old chronicle, or in some other interpolators of Manetho) plainly shews the nine thousand years, if it be not a corrupted number, [or if those years were not lunar years] allowed here to the reign of vulcan alone, did not belong to those dynasties themselves, but rather to that immense interval of time before the reigns of the antediluvian gods, or kings were reckoned, or before the present settlement of the world began. Accordingly the old chronicle, as will be seen by and by, ascribes no number of years to this Vulcan, but thirty thousand to the Sun. Diodorus also assures us, that some reckoned Vulcan as the first of those gods, and others the sun (1); which agrees well with the inscription on the Egyptian obelisk, to be produced hereafter, which calls Vulcan not an ordinary god himself, but the father of the gods (2).

† This exorbitant number of years has been taken by several of the later Greek historians not for solar, but lunar years or months;

(1) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 13. (2) Whiston's Appendix to his Essay to restore the true text, &c. p. cxc.

As to this table it muſt be obſerved, that the numbers were nc part of the original record, but added by ſome moderns, who have mangled the chronology according to their own fancies [l], and therefore deſerve no regard; though we have tranſcribed them as we found them in Syncellus.

THOUGH the tranſcribers of Manetho [m] have generally taken it for granted, that this ſucceſſion of princes were ſuppoſed by Manetho himſelf to have reigned before the flood; yet we very much doubt, whether that hiſtorian really made the nine laſt, called demigods, to be antediluvians. For it appears from the ſum of the years, which theſe gods and demigods are ſaid to have reigned, that all of them could not poſſibly have reigned before the flood, even according to the Hebrew account; and if the epoch of the Egyptian kingdom began the ſame year with that of the Babylonians, as is expreſly ſaid, the total of the reigns of their antediluvian princes could not exceed twelve hundred years. Beſides,

The firſt ſeven of them only reigned before the flood.

[l] See the note †: Syncellus.

[m] Africanus, Euſebius, Panodorus, &

months; and accordingly dividing the number of days of ſo many lunar revolutions by three hundred and ſixty five, the number of days in a year, they reduce the nine thouſand to ſeven hundred twenty four years and a half and four days; which way of reckoning though Syncellus ridicules (3), yet it ſhould ſeem from the teſtimony of antient writers, to omit thoſe of Africanus and Euſebius (4), to be the original computation; excepting only a ſmall miſtake which we ſhall mention preſently. For Diodorus ſays, ſome of the moſt antient kings of the ſucceſſion of the gods reigned above twelve hundred years apiece; and that this appearing incredible, ſome ſuppoſed, that the motion of the ſun being not known in the firſt times, the year was deſcribed by the revolution of the moon (5); and with this do other authors of good credit (6) agree, who aſſure us, that the old Egyptian year was lunar. It muſt only be obſerved, that the antediluvian year containing but three hundred and ſixty days (7), the abovementioned calculation muſt be rectified in that reſpect; and then the nine thouſand years of Vulcan's reign will make juſt ſeventy five ſari, or ſeven hundred and fifty years; which ſeems indeed a little diſ-

(3) Syncell. p. 18. (4) Apud eund. p. 17, & 40. (5) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 22. (6) Plutarch. in Numa. p. 72. Plin. Hiſt. nat. l. 7. c. 48. Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 14. Lactant. Inſtit. 2. 12. Eudoxus apud Proclum, in Tim. l. 1. p. 31. (7) See before, p. 269. in the notes.

sides, the number of sixteen kings seems too large in proportion to that of the Babylonian kings, and of the generations of Moses in the same period. It is therefore more conformable to Manetho's chronology, to suppose the first seven only, whom he calls Gods, and the old chronicle Auritæ [n], were antediluvians; and that they reigned twelve hundred years, part of the nineteen hundred and eighty five *, the remainder of which will be accounted for hereafter. And this hypothesis seems to be confirmed from the consideration of the last of these gods Typhon, who probably reigned immediately before the flood, and perished therein. For several circumstances of the deluge are mentioned in the history of Osiris and Typhon; particularly the very day when it began, or when Osiris (who is taken for Noah) was shut up in the ark [o]: the name of Typhon, according to some learned men, signifies also a deluge, or inundation

[n] See the note † in p. 273. [o] Plutarch. de Isid. & Osir. p. 356.

proportionate to the reigns of his six successors, which together can amount to no more than four hundred and fifty years. However, this way of computation will reduce this and the other extravagant numbers we meet with in the Egyptian history within some bounds of credibility.

* Mr. Whiston (1) says that this very number nineteen hundred and eighty five, for the antediluvian gods and semigods of Egypt, will not be at all too large for the present chronology, if we suppose it to extend from the beginning of the world to the death of the last of these semigods, Jupiter Hammon, or Ham; it only implying that he then outlived the deluge either three hundred and twenty nine, or four hundred and twenty nine years, [that is, according to the Hebrew chronology, or the Samaritan of Mr. Whiston] which exactly agrees with the length of mens lives at that time. But this cannot be allowed by us, who follow the chronology of the present Samaritan copy; for then Ham would live six hundred and seventy eight years after the flood, which would be above one hundred and fifty more than Shem. Besides, it is unreasonable to suppose the first of these reigns commenced at the creation, and directly contrary to the original author, who makes the Babylonian and Egyptian kingdoms coeval, and to Mr. Whiston's own way of reckoning elsewhere (2): nor is it reasonable to continue Ham's reign (if he was Jupiter) immediately from the flood.

(1) Appendix, ubi supra, p. cxci. (2) In his Chronological Table.

on †; whence the Egyptian priests called the sea Typhon [p]: and Typhon, or, as the Latin poets call him, Typhœus, is represented as a monstrous giant, warring against heaven, and at last overcome by Jupiter, and submersed in water [q]. From all which it appears probable, that he was one of those mighty men which were of old, whose wickedness was so exceeding great, that it drew down that judgment upon them [r].

The first of these gods, Vulcan, from his inventing the working of metals, and instructing mankind therein, which is on all hands attributed to him, has been thought to be the same with the Tubal-cain of Moses, and to have been contemporary with Noah [s]. But it seems a little inconsistent, that a person in the eighth generation from Adam, and the last recorded by Moses in the line of Cain, should have no less than six successors, whose reigns, together with his own, amounted to no less than twelve hundred years; when it cannot be supposed that Tubal-cain could be born at the soonest before the year of the world four hundred, according to the Samaritan, or five hundred, according to the Hebrew chronology.

By these gods Manetho, as he elsewhere explains himself, meant no more than mortal men, who for their wisdom and goodness were severally promoted to the regal dignity, and afterwards made immortal [t]. Their particular inventions, and prudent institutions, which gained them this honour from the people, we may more conveniently consider, when we enter on the history of the Egyptian nation: since, besides the interruptions which must be occasioned by attempting it in this place, there are so great disagreements throughout concerning these gods [u], that it would be in vain to endeavour to reconcile the foregoing table with the accounts of the Greek authors, which seem rather to relate to the times after the flood. For the Greeks were very liberal

[p] Idem. ibid. p. 363. [q] Apollon. Argon. l. 2. ver. 1215, &c. [r] Vid Mr. Allin's Disc. of the ancient year, in Mr. Whiston's Theory, p. 169, &c, [s] Tzetzes, Chiliad, 10. ver. 492, &c. [t] Manetho, apud Euseb. de præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 1. p. 45. Vid. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 8. [u] Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 21.

† The Arabs at this day express the general deluge by the word الطوفان al tûfân.

in bestowing the names of their gods, with, or without, foundation; and frequently gave the same name to several persons; which has introduced a confusion that might have been avoided, had they given us the true Egyptian names, instead of undertaking to interpret them. Nor is this the only instance in which those writers, especially the later Greek chronographers, have corrupted and confounded Manetho's history, as will be observed hereafter.

Having mentioned the old Egyptian chronicle, it may be proper to acquaint the reader, that, according to that record, Vulcan has no time assigned him, as appearing both night and day: the Sun, who was the son of Vulcan, reigned thirty thousand years: after him Saturn and the other twelve gods reigned three thousand nine hundred and eighty four years: then the eight demigods two hundred and seventeen years; after whom began the thirty dynasties [w].

Thus have we put together the most material pieces of history to be found in prophane authors, relating to the times preceding the flood; among which, though there be some which bear apparent marks of truth, yet we believe the greater part will be judged to deserve little credit: however, as every thing which has the least pretence to so great antiquity, cannot but be entertaining and curious, we hope our labour in collecting them will not be condemned as useless.

SECT VI.

Of the Deluge.

Year of the World, 1307
Year before Christ, 2999

A short history of the flood.

THIRTEEN hundred and odd years after the earth was made and inhabited, it was overflowed and destroyed in a deluge of water. Not a deluge that was national only, or over-run some particular region, but overspread the face of the whole earth, from pole to pole, and from east to west, and that in such excess, that the floods over-reached the tops of the highest mountains; the rains descending after an unusual manner, and the fountains of the great deep being broke open; so as a general destruction and devastation was brought upon the earth and all things in it

[w] Chron. Vetus apud Syncell. p. 51. & Eusb Chron. Gr. p. 6.

it, mankind and other living creatures; excepting only Noah and his family, who, by a special providence of God, was preserved in a certain ark, or vessel, with such kinds of living creatures as he took in to him. After these waters had raged for some time on the earth, they began to lessen and shrink, and the great waves and fluctuations of this deep, or abyss, being quieted by degrees, the waters retired into their channels and caverns within the earth; and the mountains and fields began to appear, and the whole habitable earth in that form and shape wherein we now see it. Then the world began again, and from that little remnant preserved in the ark, the present race of mankind, and of animals, in the known parts of the earth, were propagated. Thus perished the old world, and the present arose from the ruins and remains of it [a].

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THIS is a short story of the greatest event that ever yet happened in the world; the greatest revolution, and the greatest change in nature; which therefore justly deserves to be more particularly considered in all its circumstances.

THAT there was such an universal destruction by water, as is related by Moses, is confirmed by the concurrent testimonies of several of the most antient writers and nations in the world. What account the Chaldean records give of it, we have already seen [b]. The Indian and Persian traditions we may mention hereafter. That the Egyptians were no strangers to this event appears, not only from those circumstances in the story of Osiris and Typhon mentioned above [c], but from the testimony of Plato; who says, that a certain Egyptian priest recounted to Solon, out of their sacred books, the history of the universal flood, which happened long before the particular inundations known to the Græcians [d]. The inhabitants of Heliopolis in Syria shewed a chasm, or clift, in the earth in the temple of Juno, which, as they say, swallowed up the waters of the flood [e] *. Nay,

Prophane testimonies of this catastrophe.

[a] Vid Burnet's Theory, Book 1. c. 2. [b] Pag. 269, 270. [c] Pag. 276. [d] Plato, in Timæo. [e] Lucian. de Dea Syria. t. 2. p. 882.

* The author, who mentions this, says, the Greeks gave an account of the universal deluge, [which they and others (1) have confounded with that of Deucalion] too curious to be omitted. The

(1) Vid. Ovid Metam. l. 1. v. 260, &c.

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the very Americans are said to acknowledge, and speak of it in their continent[f]: and we are told, that there is a tradition among the Chinese, that Puoncu, with his family, escaped out of the general deluge[g]; though another expressly asserts, the Chinese annals make no mention at all of the flood, and that it is a mistake in those who imagine they do[h]: however, it seems their historians do speak of a flood, which some

[f] J. de Laet, de orig. gent. Americ. p. 115. Vid. etiam Acostam, Herreram, &c. [g] Vossius, Ep. ad Andr. Colvium, p. 409. [h] Couplet, Præf. ad Tab. Chronol. p. 3, 8.

The tradition goes, proceeds he, that the present race of men was not the first, for they totally perished, but is of a second generation, which, being descended from Deucalion, encreased to a great multitude. Now of these former men they relate this story: They were very insolent, and addicted to unjust actions; for they neither kept their oaths, nor were hospitable to strangers, nor gave ear to suppliants; for which reason this great calamity befel them. On a sudden the earth poured forth a vast quantity of water, great showers fell, the rivers overflowed, and the sea arose to a prodigious height; so that all things became water, and all men were destroyed: only Deucalion was left unto a second generation, on account of his prudence and piety. He was saved in this manner; he went into a large ark, or chest [λάρναλα], which he had, together with his sons and their wives; and when he was in, there entered swine, and horses, and lions, and serpents, and all other creatures which live on the earth, by pairs He received them all, and they did him no hurt, but the gods created a great friendship among them; so they sailed all in one chest while the water prevailed. These things the Greeks relate of Deucalion. But as to what happened after this, there is an antient tradition among those of Hierapolis which deserves admiration, viz. that in their country a great chasm opened, and received all the water: whereupon Deucalion erected altars, and built the temple of Juno over the chasm. This same chasm, says our author, I have seen, and it is a very small one, under the temple; whether it was formerly bigger, and since lessened, I cannot tell, but that which I have seen is little. In commemoration of this history they do thus: twice in every year water is brought from the sea to the temple, and not by the priests only, but all Syria and Arabia; many come from beyond Euphrates to the sea, and all carry water, which they first pour out in the temple, and afterwards it sinks into the chasm, which, though it be small, receives abundance of water. And when they do this, they say, Deucalion,

ſome ſuppoſe to be that of Noah [i], but they do not make it univerſal *. Moſt nations have ſome tradition of a deluge, which happened in their reſpective countries: but it muſt be owned at the ſame time, that ſeveral of them were particular inundations only, and therefore carefully to be diſtinguiſhed from that of Noah; though antient and modern writers frequently confound them together †, and relate circumſtances of the one, which belong only to the other. Year of the World, 1307. Year before Chriſt, 2999.

SOME difficulties, which ſeem to attend the Moſaic account of the deluge, ſuch as the finding out waters ſufficient to drown the world, and the improbability of all ſorts of animals being preſerved in the ark, have induced ſome, even men of learning, to ſuppoſe, that Noah's flood was not univerſal, but national only, and confined to Judæa and the regions Whether topical.

[i] Vid. Martinii Hiſt. Sinic, l. 1. p. 12, & 39.

Deucalion, inſtituted the ceremony in that temple as a memorial of the calamity, and of his deliverance from it (1).

* An Arab, who travelled into China about the beginning of the ninth century, giving an account of a converſation he had with the emperor, among other things, ſays; that mentioning the flood to that prince, on occaſion of a picture of Noah which he ſhewed him, and telling him, that the prophet, and thoſe who were ſaved with him in the ark, peopled the whole earth; the emperor laughed, and ſaid, "Thou art not deceived as to the "name of Noah; but as to the univerſal deluge we know no-"thing of it. It is true, that the deluge did drown a part of the "earth, but it did not reach ſo far as our country, nor yet to "the Indies (2). Ebn Shoknah ranks the Chineſe among thoſe who deny the flood.

† Not only Deucalion's flood in Theſſaly, but thoſe of Ogyges in Attica, and Prometheus in Egypt, have been thought the ſame with that of Noah (3). Thoſe ſpoken of by the Americans ſeem to have been national; as was that of Aſia minor, mentioned by Diodorus (4), from the Samothracian tradition; which yet they pretend was the moſt antient of all: to omit ſeveral others enumerated by Sir W. Raleigh (5), ſome of which he has taken from the ſpurious Xenophon of Annius.

(1) Lucian. de Dea Syria. tom. 2. p. 822. Ed. Benedicti.
(2) Anciennes relations des Indes & de la Chine, p. 67.
(3) Vid. Heidegger. Hiſt. Patr. tom. 1. Exerc. 18. §. 52.
(4) Lib. 5. p. 322.
(5) Hiſtory of the world, part 1. b. 1. c. 7. §. 6.

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regions thereabouts ‡, or perhaps to that tract of land which lies between the four seas, the Persian, Caspian, Euxine, and Mediterranean [k], or at most reached no farther than the continent of Asia [l]. And to support this presumption they alledge, that since the primary design of the flood was to destroy mankind only, who could hardly be thought in so short a time to have overspread the face of the whole earth, there was no necessity to carry the waters beyond the bounds of what was inhabited: and though in this case all the animals in the world (which were probably farther propagated than man, being created in greater numbers, and perhaps in divers parts) might not have been destroyed, yet it is conceived, that it was necessary to save some in the ark for future propagation, and that men might have them ready for their use presently after the flood, which could not otherwise have been [m]. One author indeed has gone so far as to suppose, that all mankind did not perish in the deluge, and has endeavoured to prove, from a peculiar exposition of the curses of Cain and Lamech, that the Africans and Indians are of their posterity [n]. But as he has elsewhere himself confuted this opinion by the strongest arguments [o], we shall say no more of it. And it is easy to shew, against those who hold the former opinion, that they deny a matter of fact to get over a difficulty, and that the deluge was universal in its extent as well as effect.

For, 1. The scriptures put this matter out of doubt, expresly telling us, that all the high hills under the whole heaven were covered by the waters, and that all flesh died that moved upon the earth, except only Noah, and those

[k] See Le Clerc's dissertations. [l] Stillingfleet, Orig. Sacr. Book 3. c. 4. p. 540. Vid. Vossium, de æt. mundi. p. 283. [m] Stillingfleet, ibid. [n] See Bedford's Scripture chronol. p. 39. [o] See Whiston's Theory, &c. p. 258, 388, &c.

‡ Melo, who wrote a book against the Jews, speaking of the deluge, seems to make it topical, and not to have reached Armenia. His words are these: "At the time of the deluge, a man, "who had escaped with his sons, went from Armenia, being dri- "ven out of his possessions by those of the country; and passing "over the intermediate region, came into the mountainous part "of Syria, which was then desolate (6).

(6) Melo apud Euseb. de præp. Ev. l. 9. c. 19.

thoſe that were with him in the ark *. Nor will the terms of Moſes allow the word Earth in this place to be reſtrained, as it may in ſome others, to Judæa †, or any other particular tract of land: for, unleſs the laws of nature were miraculouſly ſuſpended, before the waters in one region, much leſs a whole continent, could exceed the tops of the higheſt mountains, they would certainly diffuſe themſelves, and overflow the reſt of the earth. 2. If the deluge was topical, there was no need of the ark; Noah and his family needed only to have retired to another country, which he might do with more eaſe and in leſs time than build ſo vaſt a veſſel; the beaſts might have ſaved themſelves by flight, or their loſs, eſpecially thoſe of the unclean kinds, have been repleniſhed from other places; and the birds might, without much difficulty, have flown to another continent. 3. The number of mankind before the flood was vaſtly ſuperior

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* The words of Moſes, one would think are too plain to admit any ſubterfuge. God *looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt; for all fleſh had corrupted his way upon the earth. And God ſaid unto Noah, the end of all fleſh is come before me——and I will deſtroy them with the earth* (1). *Behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to deſtroy all fleſh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven: and every thing that is in the earth ſhall die* (2).——*Every living ſubſtance that I have made, will I deſtroy from off the face of the earth* (3).—*And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high hills, that were under the whole heaven were covered. Fifteen cubits upwards did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered. And all fleſh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beaſts and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man. All in whoſe noſtrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died. And every living ſubſtance was deſtroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man and cattle, and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven; and they were deſtroyed from the earth; and Noah only remained alive, and they that were with him in the ark* (4).

† Peyrerius, one part of whoſe præ-adamite ſyſtem is, that the flood extended no farther than Judea, which he ſuppoſes to be all that Moſes meant by the earth, would alſo perſuade us, that writer by mankind, which were to be deſtroyed, intended the poſterity, of Adam; by the living creatures, the Gentiles or præ-adamites, mixed with the race of Adam; and by the great deep, the ſea of Paleſtine (5).

(1) Geneſ. vi. 12, 13. (2) Ibid. v. 17: (3) Geneſ. vii. 4.
(4) Ibid. v. 19,-20, 21, 22, 23. (5) Peyrer. præ-adamit.

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rior to what the present earth is, perhaps, capable of sustaining, as will appear hereafter; and the waters must therefore have overspread, in all probability, a larger part of the earth than is now known to be inhabited; and consequently the whole globe, that none might escape the divine vengeance, must have been overflowed. 4. The earth itself seems to offer us a demonstrative argument of the universality of the deluge, from the vast numbers of the shells, and teeth of fish, bones of animals, entire, or partial vegetables, and other strange things, which are to be found on the tops of the highest mountains, and in the bowels of the earth, at a great distance from the sea, and were probably left by the flood [P] ‡.

It

[P] Le Clerc's Dissert. Burnet's Theory, Book 1. c. 3. and Whiston's Theory ubi supra, & p. 275, &c.

‡ This argument is offered with some diffidence: for though the most experienced philosophers now agree, that these shells, &c. are not mock-productions of nature, or originally formed in the places where they are found by some plastic power of salts, or other minerals, (which was the conjecture of Dr. Plot (6), and other naturalists) inasmuch as they are not to be distinguished from real shells, teeth, &c. by the nicest examination of the eye, and even the microscope, and burn not immediately into a calx or lime, as all tophaceous, or stony substances do, but first into a coal, and then into a calx, which is the known quality of things of a bony, or fleshy nature; yet they do not agree, that these things were brought in by the universal deluge, for this reason, among several others, that living animals, or fish, have been found in some of those fossil shells (7), and that such marine substances are sometimes formed and generated in human bodies (8); and therefore it is supposed, they were formed by a spermatic principle, as fish spawn received into the chinks, and other meatuses of the earth, and falling down in rains, &c. (9); which may be allowed, indeed, of the several kinds of shell-fish, whose shells might preserve them in the earth, but can hardly be admitted as to others of those fossils, such as the Glossopetræ, or teeth of the shark, and the other bones of larger creatures. As to the subterraneous woods, and fossil trees, there seems to be no great reason to believe, they were thrown down by the deluge, and have lain buried in the earth ever since; it being much more probable, that they either were occasioned by inundations of the sea, or were felled by men in the places where they now lie; as is undeniable of many of them, which still shew the marks of the ax (10).

(6) Nat. Hist. of Oxfordshire. (7) See Mr. Llwyds letter in Mr. Ray's Physiol. Dif. p. 181. (8) Ibid. p. 185. (9) Ibid. p. 190. &c. (10) Vid. Ray's Physiol. Disc. p. 228.

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IT is now time to consider, by what means this terrible devastation was brought on the earth, and in what manner those that escaped it were preserved.

Conjectures as to the manner wherein the deluge was effected.

IF the deluge were universal, the quantity of water required to effect it is so immense, that it has been generally thought extreamly difficult, if not impossible, to say, whence it came, or whither it went. The proportion of water sufficient to cause such an inundation, has been computed at eight oceans [q]; but a person well able to make the calculation, says, there must have been, at the lowest computation, twenty two oceans [r]. And where to find this is the question. There are the clouds above, and the deeps below, and in the bowels of the earth; and these are all the stores we have for water *: and Moses directs us to no other for the causes of the deluge; *The fountains of the great deep*, says he, *were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened; and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights* [s]. By the great deep some understand the ocean [t], but others, with more reason, the subterraneous abyss, or vast collection of waters in the bowels of the earth †. But it is thought, the waters, which either

[q] Burnet's Theory, book 1. c. 2. [r] Dr. Keill, in his Remarks on Whiston's Theory. Vid. Ray's Disc. p. 118. [s] Genes. vii. 11, 12. [t] Vid. Cleric. Comment. in loc.

* Moses, in his account of the creation, speaking of waters above the firmament (1), though it be generally understood of the clouds and aqueous vapours sustained in the middle region of the air (2), yet some have fancied them to be waters placed above the heavens, and have been willing to make use of them for a supply, when they could not find enough under the heavens to make up the mass of the deluge; though if these imaginary waters were there, how to get them down, or to lift them up again, is not easy to tell. But since the system of the world has been better known and the nature of the heavens, it is presumed, there are none that would assert the super-celestial waters, much less make that extravagant use of them, as to bring them down hither for a cause of the deluge (3).

† Notwithstanding the word תְּהוֹם Tehom, depth, in some passages (4) is supposed to signify the sea, yet it may be there much better interpreted of subterraneous waters, as it manifestly must in other

(1) Genes. i. 6. 7. (2) See the introd. p. 161. (3) Burnet's Theory, Book 1. c. 2. (4) Psal. xxxiii. 7. Prov. viii. 27, 28.

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either the abyſs or the rain could afford, will fall prodigiouſly ſhort of the proportion required. According to the obſervations made of the quantity of water that falls in rain, the rains could not afford one ocean, nor half an ocean, and would be a very inconſiderable part of what was neceſſary for a deluge [u]. If it rained forty days and forty nights throughout the whole earth at once, it might be ſufficient to lay all the lower grounds under water, but it would ſignify very little as to the overflowing of the mountains; ſo that it has been ſaid, that if the deluge had been made by rains only, there would have needed not forty days, but forty years to have brought it to paſs [w]. And if we ſuppoſe the whole atmoſphere condenſed into water, it would not all have been ſufficient for this effect; for it is certain, that it could not have riſen above thirty two foot, which is well known to be the uſual height to which water can be raiſed by the preſſure of the atmoſphere [x]; for the weight of the whole air, when condenſed into water, can be no more than equal to its weight in its natural ſtate, and muſt become no leſs than eight hundred times denſer, for that it is the difference between the weight of the heavieſt air and that of water [y]. And as to the abyſs, if by it we intend the ſea, that is not higher than the land, as ſome have formerly imagined, and therefore could contribute nothing to the deluge; it would keep its bed as it does now, and take up the ſame place: and if we underſtand the ſubterraneous waters, they would be quiet in their cells, and not aſcend otherwiſe than by force; and if force were uſed to draw them out on the ſurface of the earth, their places muſt be filled again with other waters, ſo as this turns to no account upon the whole [z].

This

[u] Vid. Merſenn. Cogit. Phyſico-mech. p. 221. [w] Auct. catenæ in Geneſ. vii. 4. [x] Voſſius in epiſt. ad And. Colvium, p. 385. [y] See Dr. Haliey's Diſſert. in the Philoſ. Tranſ. Vol. XVI. p. 104. [z] Burnet ubi ſup.

otherplaces(5). And being here joined with the epithet רבה rabbah, great, it ſeems Moſes intended, that vaſt collection of waters, which the moſt ſagacious naturaliſts place in the womb of the earth, the receptacle of the greateſt part of that deep, which covered the earth at the beginning of the creation (6).

(5) Deut. viii. 7. Ezek. xxxi. 4. (6) Geneſ. i. 2. V. Burnet, ubi ſup. c. 7.

THIS being the case, some cut the knot which they cannot loose, and shew us the naked arm of omnipotence; saying, that God created waters on purpose to make the deluge, and then annihilated them again when the deluge was to cease. But our business is not here to enquire what God could work by his almighty power, but to account for this event, in the best manner we can, from natural causes; nor are we rashly to fly to the divine omnipotence, especially for the creation of new matter. Moses plainly assigns natural causes of the deluge, forty days rain, and the disruption of the abyss; and St. Peter has assigned a cause also, the natural constitution of the world [a]; and neither of them mention a word of a new creation of waters. Others therefore, instead of a creation, suppose a transelementation, and say the air was changed into water, and that was the great instrumental cause of the deluge [b]. But this opinion agrees as little with the philosophy of Moses, or St. Peter, as the last, and renders the opening of the abyss perfectly needless [c]: besides, such a transmutation would in effect be no more than a condensation, the insufficiency of which has been already shewn. According to a third expedient, the rain and sea-waters were rarefied so as to reach the determined height: but if the waters were fifteen times rarer than they naturally are (as in that case they must have been) it is hard to say how they could either drown man or beast, keep alive the fish, or support the Ark [d]. A fourth opinion is, that the antediluvian earth, with all its stones, metals, mineral concretions, and all fossils whatsover that had obtained any solidity, was totally dissolved in the deluge, the cohæsion of its parts perfectly ceasing: that the corpuscles of these solid fossils, together with the corpuscles of those which were not before solid, such as earth, sand, and the like; as also animal bodies and parts of animals, bones, teeth, shells, vegetables, and parts of vegetables, trees, shrubs, herbs; in short, all bodies whatsoever which were either in the earth, or that constituted the mass of it, if not quite down to the abyss, yet at least to the greatest depth we ever dig, all these were promiscuously taken up into the waters, and made one common mass: that at length they subsided downwards together, generally, and as near as might

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[a] 2 Pet. ii. 6. [b] Kircher. de Arca Noe. l. 2. [c] Vid. Burnet ubi sup. & c. 3. [d] Vid. Voss. ubi supra.

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might be expected in such a confusion, according to the laws of gravity; and thus formed the strata of stone, marble, coal, and the rest, of which the earth manifestly consists: and there being bodies of different kinds and constitutions, which are nearly of the same specific gravity, it thence happened that bodies of quite different kinds subsided at the same instant, and fell together with the same stratum; for which reason the shells of cockles, escallops, and the rest, which have a greater degree of gravity, were enclosed and lodged in the strata of stone and marble, and the heavier kinds of terrestrial matter, the lighter shells not sinking down till afterwards, and so falling among the lighter matter, as chalk and the like [d]. But this strange and bold hypothesis, to which the author was driven to solve these phænomena of the interior parts of the earth, (which yet might possibly be otherwise accounted for [e]) is so little consistent with the Mosaic history of the deluge, takes so little notice of the opening the windows of heaven, and is so contrary to the universal law of mutual attraction, and the specific gravities of bodies, accounts for so few of the phænomena of the deluge, implies such a new sort of formation, or creation of the earth at the deluge, without warrant for the same, and is so much more than his observations require, or will support, that it cannot engage the assent of any considering person [f]. A fifth opinion is, that though the rains might afford a vast quantity of water towards a deluge, yet the chief cause was the changing the center of the earth, and setting it nearer to the center, or middle of our continent; whereupon the Atlantic and Pacific oceans must needs press upon the subterraneous abyss, and so by mediation thereof force the water upwards, and compel it to run out at those wide mouths and apertures, made by the divine power breaking up the fountains of the great deep. These waters thus poured out from the orifices of the fountains upon the earth, the declivity being changed by the removal of the center, could not flow down to the sea again, but must needs stagnate upon the earth, and overflow it, and afterwards, the earth returning to its old center, return also to their former receptacles. This hypothesis gives a fair and easy solution of all the phænomena of the deluge, save only the generality of it, making it

[d] Woodward's Nat. Hist. of the earth. [e] See before, p. 283. and after § 7. [f] See Whiston's Theory, p. 276, &c. and Ray's Disc. p. 165, &c.

it topical, and confining it to our continent: for which reaſon a very ſagacious naturaliſt, who otherwiſe approves it, propoſes a ſixth way of ſolving them; and that is, by ſuppoſing, that the divine power might at that time, by the inſtrumentality of ſome natural agent, to us at preſent unknown, ſo depreſs the ſurface of the ocean, as to force the waters of the abyſs through the before-mentioned channels and apertures, and ſo make them a partial and concurrent cauſe of the deluge. And it appears from inſtances, that there are, at ſome times, in the courſe of nature, extraordinary preſſures on the ſurface of the ſea *, which force the waters outwards upon the ſhores to a great height [g]. But this we fear is too occult a cauſe to give much ſatisfaction to a philoſophic enquirer. Year of the World, 1307 Year before Chriſt, 2999

We have ſtill to conſider the hypotheſes of two perſons well known in the republic of letters, whoſe theories we have conſulted on other occaſions; Dr. Burnet and Mr. Whiſton.

To have a complete idea of that of the former, we muſt remember, that he conceives the firſt earth, from the manner of its formation, to have been externally regular and uniform, of a ſmooth and even ſurface, without mountains, and without a ſea; and that the waters belonging to it were wholly encloſed within, or under, its upper cruſt, which formed a ſtupendous vault around them [h]. This vaſt collection of waters he takes to have been the great deep, or abyſs of Moſes [i], and that the diſruption of it was the chief cauſe of the deluge. For he ſuppoſes, that the earth being for ſome hundreds of years expoſed to the continual heat of the ſun, which, by reaſon of the perpendicular poſition he imagines the earth's axis then had to the plane of the ecliptic, Dr. Burnet's Theory.

[g] Ray, ibid. p. 117, &c.
[h] See the Introduction, p. 150.
[i] Burnet's Theory, b. 1. c. 7.

* We had upon our coaſts, not many years ago, an extraordinary tide, wherein the water roſe ſo high as to overflow all the ſea-banks, drown multitudes of cattle, and fill the lower rooms of the houſes of many villages that ſtood near the ſea, ſo that the inhabitants, to ſave themſelves, were forced to get into their upper rooms and garrets. And how this could be affected, but by an unuſual preſſure on the ſuperficies of the ocean, our author cannot well conceive (1).

(1) Ray, Diſc. c. 2. p. 119.

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ecliptic, was very intenſe, and not allayed by that diverſity of ſeaſons, which now keeps our earth in an equality of temper [k], its exterior cruſt was at length very much dried; and when the heat had pierced the ſhell, and reached the waters beneath it, they began to be rarefied and raiſed into vapours, which rarefaction made them require more ſpace than they needed before, and finding themſelves pent in by the exterior earth, they preſſed with violence againſt that arch to make it yield to their dilatation. And as the repeated action of the ſun gave force to thoſe encloſed vapours more and more, and made them more ſtrong and violent, ſo on the other hand it weakened more and more the arch of the earth that was to reſiſt them, ſucking out the moiſture that was the cement of its parts, and parching and chapping it in ſundry places; and there being no winter to cloſe up its parts, it grew more and more diſpoſed to a diſſolution, and at length, when God's appointed time was come, the whole fabric broke, and the frame of the earth was torn in pieces as by an earthquake; and thoſe great portions, or fragments, into which it was divided, fell down into the abyſs, ſome in one poſture, and ſome in another [l].

This hypotheſis, the author thinks, not only agrees with the narration of Moſes, and anſwers the aſſertion of St. Peter, that the firſt earth was obnoxious to a deluge from its conſtitution [m], but ſupplies all the defects of other explications. The fall of thoſe prodigious fragments would raiſe a vaſt commotion in the abyſs, and throw its waves to a great height, which would overwhelm the mountains, now firſt formed, for ſome time: for after the firſt violent ſhock, he imagines there were ever and anon ſome ſecondary ruins which broke, and made new commotions, till at length, when all the ruins were ſettled and fixed, the waters began to ſettle too, and the dry land to appear. Thus the earth put on a new form, and became divided into ſea and land; the greateſt part of the abyſs conſtituting our preſent ocean, and the reſt filling up the lower cavities of the earth, mountains and hills appeared on the land, iſlands in the ſea, and rocks upon the ſhore. And ſo providence at one ſtroke diſſolved the old world, and made a new one out of its ruins, which we now inhabit [n].

But

[k] See before, p. 212.
[m] 2 Pet. iii. 5, 6, 7.
[l] Burnet ubi ſup. c. 6. p. 95, &c.
[n] Burnet ubi ſup. p. 101, &c.

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But though it be reasonable to believe, the first earth had its axis inclined to the plane of the ecliptic as well as the present, and had the same vicissitudes of seasons; yet allowing the theorist's supposition of its parallel position to be true, it is not conceivable, the heat of the sun would even then have had the power he imagines, or affect the earth in such a degree as to cause great cracks or fissures in it, or to raise the water under it into vapours, since we find no such effects in the hottest country or season; nor is it probable, such rarefaction, were it possible, should be so extreme as to break through an arch of some hundred miles thick. Besides, it is to be feared, that if the action of the sun was so strong, the abyss, the only store-house of waters in the first earth, would have been near exhausted * before the time of the deluge. This account also seems not very consonant to the Mosaic history, which describes a gradual rise and abatement, and long continuance of the flood, not a violent transient shock, which would not have lasted many days, if hours [o]: not to mention the little use our author makes of the rains, which he supposes indeed to have fallen throughout the earth (though he does not know how that could proceed from natural causes), and to have contributed to the disruption of the abyss, by weakening the arch of the earth, and stopping its pores, which would make the vapours struggle the more violently; and that nothing but a miracle could save the ark in so prodigious a storm and convulsion of nature [p].

The

[o] Vid. Keill's Examination of Burnet's Theory. [p] Burnet ubi sup. p. 133, 136, &c.

* Dr. Keill has made a plain calculation of this matter, and concludes, that, since none of the antediluvian rivers, according to the theorist, returned into the abyss again, it must needs follow, that in eight hundred and twelve years it would be quite empty, upon supposition that there were as many rivers in the primitive earth, as are in ours: but as there was then twice the land, if there were no seas, so there must be allowed twice as many rivers, to water it; and by such a double quantity the abyss would be emptied in half that time (1).

(1) Keill's Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory, p. 164.

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THE expedient of the other learned theoriſt is the traject̃ion of a comet *, which he ſuppoſes paſſed ſo cloſe by the body of the earth, at the time of the deluge, as to involve it in its atmoſphere and tail. On which hypotheſis, he proceeds to account for the deluge in this manner:

Mr. Whiſton's Theory.

HE ſays, that when the earth had paſſed through the tail and atmoſphere of the comet, which he ſuppoſes to conſiſt of vapours rarefied and expanded in different degrees, and in which it would remain, on calculation, for about two hours, it muſt have acquired a large cylindrical column of vapours, whoſe baſis were ſomewhat larger than one of the earth's greateſt circles, and whoſe altitude were equal to the diameter of the comets atmoſphere: that theſe vapours would be impeded from deſcending towards the ſun by the earth's interpoſition and attractive power, and ſo would fall down with great violence on its ſurface; a great part of which being in a very rare and expanded condition, after their primary fall, would immediately be mounted into the air, and afterwards, on their condenſation, deſcend in violent and outragious rains on the face of the earth, and very naturally occaſion the forty days and forty nights rain mentioned by Moſes.

THAT the preſence of this comet, as it approached and came below the moon, would cauſe a double tide, as well in the ſeas above, as in the abyſs below; that in the ſeas would be leſs conſiderable, but the other would be vaſtly great, and produce mighty effects. For on the neareſt approach of the comet, the ſurface of the abyſs would put on an elliptic, or oval, inſtead of its former ſpherical figure, and the orb of earth which reſted on it would be obliged to accommodate itſelf to that larger oval ſurface; which being impoſſible for it to do while it remained ſolid, it muſt of

* That a comet actually appeared at the deluge, is atteſted by ſeveral authors (1); Pliny (2) mentions one which appeared in the reign of Typhon, that is, at the flood, or immediately before it; and ſpeaks of the direful effects of it. And our author has endeavoured to prove, that the laſt moſt remarkable comet, which was ſeen in theſe parts in the year 1680, (whoſe revolution he computes to be in about 575 years, and whoſe trajectory Sir Iſaac Newton has delineated) was that very comet which came by the earth at the beginning of Noah's deluge, and which was the cauſe of the ſame (3).

(1) Vid. Hevelii cometograph l. 12. p. 794. (2) Hiſt. nat. l. ii. 25. (3) Whiſton's Theory, p. 187.

of neceſſity enlarge itſelf, and by the violent force of the increaſing ſurface of the abyſs be ſtretched, cracked, and have innumerable fiſſures, made quite through it; or rather the tide muſt open and enlarge thoſe fiſſures, which were produced at the commencement of the diurnal rotation. Thus would the fountains of the deep be broken up, and ſufficient gaps made for a communication between the abyſs below and the ſurface of the earth above; which was no ſooner done, than the fall of the cometic waters began, and quickly covered the earth, and crouded the air with vaſt quantities thereof; which waters, being adventitious and of a prodigious weight, muſt preſs downwards with a mighty force, and endeavour to ſink the orb of earth deeper into the abyſs, according as the entire weight of each column of earth and its incumbent water together did now require, agreeably to the laws of hydroſtatics; which laws he ſuppoſes not to have been exactly complyed with at the earth's firſt ſubſiding into the abyſs, otherwiſe he could ſcarce have expected any elevation of the ſubterraneous waters. But ſince the lower ſtrata of the earth were, according to him, in a good meaſure ſettled, and conſolidated together before the upper were all formed, the whole compages would archwiſe ſuſtain itſelf much higher than the law of ſpecific gravity would otherwiſe require; and ſo, upon the diſruption of the upper earth, its ſeveral columns, as there was room, would ſettle themſelves lower than they were at firſt, and their weight, augmented by the additional waters of the comet, would ſqueeze and preſs on the ſurface of the abyſs; which being a fluid maſs, and incapable of ſuſtaining a preſſure on one part without equally communicating it to all the reſt, muſt burſt out where-ever ſuch preſſure was wanting, and throw itſelf up the fiſſures, through which it would aſcend with a mighty force, and carry up with it whatever was in its way, whether earth or water, and thereby add to the quantity of water already on the face of the earth, and become a freſh augmentation of that deluge, which began already to overwhelm and deſtroy the inhabitants thereof [q].

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THE abatement and decreaſe of the waters of the deluge, our author ſuppoſes, was firſt by a wind, which dried up ſome; and ſecondly, by their deſcent through thoſe breaches and fiſſures, (at which part of them had aſcended) into the bowels of the earth, which received the reſt. To which

[q] Whiſton's Theory, p. 376, &c. 380, &c.

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latter also the wind, by hurrying the waters up and down, and so promoting their lighting into the beforementioned fissures, was very subservient. The air he grants could sustain a very inconsiderable quantity in comparison of the entire mass; but as he supposes the antediluvian earth, though it was not destitute of lesser seas and lakes, yet to have had no great ocean, separating one continent from another, and covering so large a portion of it, as the present earth has[r]; he conceives, the upper region of the earth, being generally dry and porous, and of a great thickness, was capable of receiving a much greater quantity of water, than was on the earth at the time of the deluge[s].

To this theory objections have been made, as well as to the former; for, though there are some surprizing coincidents, which make it indeed probable, that a comet did really come very near, and passed by the earth when the deluge began, and might cause a prodigious tide in the sea, and in the abyss; yet it has been thought somewhat strange, that the swelling of the abyss should have such an effect as to make convenient fissures in the solid crust of earth which enclosed it, without shattering its whole frame. Nor has the theorist's account of draining off the waters from the surface of the earth been judged satisfactory; it being difficult to conceive, that those subterraneous cavities, which he supposes could contain but a small proportion of the waters requisite to make the deluge, should yet be capable of receiving the greatest part of them when it was over. These difficulties however might possibly receive a solution: but the greatest objection of all is, that it is far from being clear, whether the atmosphere of a comet be a watery substance or no; or if it were, that it should afford such a vast quantity of water as the theory has occasion for, on the earth's bare passing through it. For it is said the observations of the most curious enquirers make it not improbable, that the circle about the body of the comet is nothing but the curling and winding round of the smoak, rising at first to a determinate height from all parts of the comet, and then making off to that part of it which is opposite to the sun. And if this opinion be true, the earth, by passing through the atmosphere of the comet, ran a greater risque of a conflagration than a deluge[t].

It

[r] Whiston's theory, p. 374. See also p. 61. [s] Ibid. p. 401, &c. [t] Vid. Keill's Remarks on Whiston's Theory, and Nicholl's Conference, Vol. I.

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It seems therefore, after all, that the divine assistance must be called in on this occasion. For though the waters, which covered the earth at the creation, might be sufficient to cover it again, yet how this should be effected by meer natural means, cannot be conceived. The waters which were suspended in the clouds, might indeed descend upon the earth, and that in cataracts, or spouts of water (as the Septuagint interpret the windows of heaven) like those in the Indies, where the clouds frequently, instead of dropping, fall with a terrible violence in a kind of torrent [u]; and this alone might cause a great inundation on the lower grounds: but as the clouds could pour down no more water that they had, which would soon be exhausted at this rate, it seems from the length of the rains continuance, that the showers were rather moderate and gradual. The subterraneous stores would afford a much more plentiful supply to complete the deluge, and probably contain more water than enough to drown the world to a greater height than Moses relates *: the only difficulty is, to draw it out of the abyss on the surface of the earth. And here, since we can assign no natural cause, we apprehend, we may, not unphilosophically, resolve it into the divine power, which might on this occasion so far controul (no greater a miracle than that of continuing) the usual course of nature, as to

The most rational account of the deluge.

[u] Vid. Patrick's Comment. and Ray ubi sup. 116.

* Though Sir W. Raleigh (1) allows thirty miles for the height of the mountains, yet the highest in the world will not be found to be above five direct miles in height. Olympus, whose height is so extolled by the poets, does not exceed a mile and a half perpendicular, and about seventy paces. Mount Athos, which is said to cast its shade into the isle of Lemnos (according to Pliny eighty seven miles), is not above two miles in height; nor Caucasus much more (2); nay, the pike of Teneriff, reputed the highest mountain in the world, may be ascended in three days, (according to the proportion of eight furlongs to a days journey) which makes it about the height of a German mile perpendicular (3). And the Spaniards affirm, that the Andes, those lofty mountains of Peru, in comparison of which, they say, the Alps are but cottages, may be ascended in four days compass (4).

(1) Hist. of the World, Book I. c. 7. §. 6. (2) Vid. Voss. in Melam. l. 2. c. 2. (3) Vid. Varen. Geogr. l. 1. c. 10. prop. 3. (4) Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacr. p. 544, &c.

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effect its purpose. And indeed the event was so extraordinary, and the consequences thereof so considerable, that it is very reasonable to believe, God did in an especial manner interpose therein. The Stoics, who supposed alternate destructions of the earth by fire and water, made no doubt of the possibility of a general deluge. "There are "vast lakes, says Seneca, which we do not see, great part "of the sea lies hidden and concealed, and many rivers "glide in secret; so that there may be causes of a deluge "on all sides, when some waters flow in under the earth, "others flow round about it, and being long pent up, "overwhelm it; and as our bodies sometimes dissolve into "sweat, so the earth shall melt, and, without the help of "other causes, shall find in itself what shall drown it, "there being in all places, both openly and secretly, both "from above and from beneath, an eruption of waters, "ready to overflowand destroy it [w].

Of the ark.] HAVING thus considered efficient causes of the deluge, we must next take a view of the ark, whereby Noah and his family were delivered from this destruction.

Its size and figure.

WE might presume, if Moses had not told us so, that a vessel, proportionable and adapted to the use designed, must have been of more than human contrivance, and built by the direction of God himself. The length of it 300 cubits, the breadth 50, and the height 30; but what was the exact measure of the cubit here mentioned is disputed. Some, fearing the capacity of the ark would be otherwise too small for the intended purpose, having enlarged the dimensions even to extravagance *: but the general

[w] Senec. Nat. quæst. l. 3. c. 27.

* When Celsus objected, that the ark was a monster with all things in its belly (1), Origen answered, that the ark was like a great city, whose base was 90-000 cubits long, and 25,000 broad (2); but in another place he is more moderate, and without encreasing the number of the Mosaic cubits, supposes they were geometrical cubits, each containing six ordinary cubits (3); which last opinion is approved by St. Austin (4). Some, who cannot digest these geometrical cubits, suppose, the

(1) Αλλόκοτον ἅπαντα ἔνδον ἔχουσαν. (2) Origen. cont Cels. l. 4. Vid Kircher. de arca Noe, c. 8. (3) Idem. Homil. 2. in Genes. (4) De Civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 27.

neral opinion of learned men is, that they were but common cubits [x], one of which, though formerly ſuppoſed equal to eighteen of our inches [y], is now allowed to contain almoſt 22, or more exactly 21.888 [z]. According to which meaſure the ark muſt have been 547.2 Engliſh feet long, 91.2 broad, and 54.72 high, and the ſolid contents 2,730,781.9008 feet, almoſt double to what they would be by the former computation. The form of it was an oblong ſquare, or parallelopiped, with a flat bottom, and a floped roof raiſed a cubit in the middle [a]: it had neither ſails nor rudder, nor was it made ſharp ſo as to cut the water; which form, as it was admirably contrived for lying ſteadily on the water without rolling, which might have endangered the lives of the animals within it, ſo it was very unfit for ſwimming to a great diſtance, or for riding in a boiſterous ſea. It conſiſted of three ſtories, each of which, abating the thickneſs of the floors, might be about eighteen foot high, and was partitioned into a great many rooms, or apartments [b]. This veſſel was without doubt ſo contrived as to have the benefit of the air and light on all ſides †, though the particular conſtruction of the windows be not mentioned; and the whole ſeems to have had

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[x] Vid. Buteon. de Arca Noe. Pool's Synopſis, in loc. [y] Vid. Bernard. de menſuris & ponder. antiq. l. 3. [z] See the preface. [a] Geneſ. vi. 14, 15, 16. [b] Ibid. v. 14, 16.

the ark was meaſured by a large cubit of three foot (5), or by the ſacred cubit, which was larger by a hand's breadth than the common cubit (6), all without the leaſt ground or intimation to that purpoſe in the ſacred hiſtorian. Sir Walter Raleigh (7) ſuppoſes, the antediluvian cubit was larger than that which was after in uſe, becauſe, as he imagines, mankind were of a larger ſtature: but this gains no room in the ark, becauſe the bulk of its cargo muſt have been encreaſed in proportion.

† There are various tranſlations of the word צֹהַר Sohar (8), which is found but one in the whole bible in this ſenſe. Our verſion renders it window, as it ſeems very properly; for the root in the Chaldee ſignifies to ſhine, or to give light; were

(5) Cappell. Hiſt. Sacr. p. 30. (6) Vid. Heidegg. Hiſt. Patr. Tom. I. Exerc. 17. § 10. (7) Ubi ſup. § 9. (8) Geneſ. vi. 16.

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had another covering beſides the roof, probably made of ſkins, like that of the tabernacle ‡.

THAT the ſpace in the ark was abundantly ſufficient to contain both Noah, and his family, and the animals, and all neceſſary proviſions for them, does evidently appear from the geometrical calculations of learned men **, who have yet generally ſuppoſed the length of the cubit to have been but eighteen inches c; whereas, if we take the dimenſions according to the larger meaſure abovementioned, the whole capacity will be nearly doubled d, as may be eaſily proved.

Bur

c Buteo, de Arca Noe. Biſhop Wilkin's Eſſay towards a real character. d Vid. Peletier Differt. ſur. l' arche de Noe.

wherefore one of the paraphraſts (9) imagines Sohar to have been a precious ſtone, or carbuncle, which Noah was to fetch from the river Phiſon, to illuminate the ark. From the following words, *and in a cubit ſhalt thou finiſh it above*, ſome have ſuppoſed the window was to have been a cubit ſquare, or but a cubit high, which would have been much too ſmall; but the relative it, being in the Hebrew of the feminine gender, and Sohar of the maſculine, thoſe two words cannot agree; and therefore the proper antecedent ſeems to be the ark which was to be covered with a roof raiſed a cubit high in the middle.

‡ Noah is ſaid, after the flood, to have removed the covering of the ark (10), which cannot well be ſuppoſed to have been the roof, but ſomething flung over it, like that of the tabernacle, which is expreſſed by the ſame Hebrew word; and the uſe of it was probably to hang over and defend the windows in bad weather.

** Biſhop Wilkins has reduced the number of ſpecies of animals, which at the firſt view may ſeem almoſt infinite, within very moderate bounds; he reckons, they do not amount to one hundred of quadrupeds, and two hundred of birds; and of theſe muſt be excepted ſuch as live in the water, ſuch as proceed from a mixture of different ſpecies, and ſuch as change their colour, ſize, and ſhape, by changing their climate; and thence, in different countries, ſeem to be of different ſpecies, when they are not. He afterwards enters into a particular detail of the animals, the quantity of food neceſſary for them, and of the capacity and proportion of the ark; and concludes, there was

(9) Jonathan. (10) Geneſ. viii. 13.

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BUT another objection has been raiſed againſt the preſervation of animals in the ark, which may not be ſo eaſily anſwered; and that is, how the unknown kinds of ſerpents in Braſil, the ſlow-bellied creature of the Indies, and all thoſe ſtrange ſpecies of animals ſeen in the Weſt-Indies, ſhould either come into the ark, or be conveyed out of it into thoſe countries, which are divided from that continent where Noah was, by ſo vaſt an ocean on one ſide, and at leaſt as large a tract of land on the other (ſuppoſing a paſſage out of one continent to the other, which has not been yet diſcovered), and ſome animals cannot live out of the particular clime wherein they are [e]. But to this it may be anſwered, that it is probable, that the temperature of the air, before the deluge, was ſo equal and ſerene, that all kinds, even of the American animals, might live and be found in thoſe parts of Aſia, when Noah went into the ark, though none of them could bear the climate ſince, by reaſon of the change in nature. The great difficulty is, how to get them into America after the flood was over; and here we confeſs we cannot tell how that was done, any more than we can by what means America was peopled; and yet even thoſe who contend for a partial deluge, allow the inhabitants of that country to be the deſcendants of Noah *.

THE

[e] Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacr. l. 3. c. 4. p. 542.

was room enough and to ſpare: whereupon he obſerves, that had the moſt ſkilful mathematicians and philoſophers been ſet to conſult what proportion a veſſel deſigned for ſuch a uſe ſhould have in the ſeveral parts of it, they could not have pitched on any more ſuitable to the purpoſe than thoſe mentioned by Moſes (1). It is not to be expected, we ſhould here examine the ſeveral plans given of the ark, which may ſerve indeed to ſhew us the poſſible, but not the real, diſpoſition of it; however, for the readers ſatisfaction we have inſerted a view of the ark, according to that plan which ſeems to us moſt likely to be the true one.

* Mr. Whiſton thinks it moſt probable, that ſome were preſerved from the deluge in the American continent as well as in this, though we have no records left among them to give us notice

(1) Wilkin's Eſſay, &c. See alſo Temporarius, Chronolog. Demonſtr. lib. 1. p. 32.

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Its materials.

THE timber of which the ark was framed, Moses called Gopher wood [f]; but what tree the Gopher was †, is controverted; some will have it the cedar [g], others the pine [h], some the box [i], and others, particularly the Mohammedans, the Indian plane tree [k]; but they seem to be in the right who suppose it to be the cypress [l]; which, besides the resemblance in name, is allowed to be a very proper sort of timber for the building of ships [m], and not subject to rot [n]. To preserve it from leaking, Noah was directed to pitch it with pitch both within and without; which requiring a very large quantity, some have supposed it to be not pitch but bitumen, such as was used in the building the tower of Babel; which is probable enough, though Moses uses a different word in that place.

Where built.

NOR is there less disagreement as to the place where the ark was built, and the time spent therein. One supposes it was built in Palestine, and that Noah planted the cedars of which he made it in the plains of Sodom [o]; another takes

[f] Genes. vi. 14. [g] Targum of Onkelos, and most of the old Rabbins. [h] Munster. [i] Scholiast. Græc. [k] Eutych. p. 34. D' Herbel. p. 675. [l] Fuller Miscell. l. 4. c. 5. Bochart Phaleg. lib. 1 c. 4. [m] Vid. Plutarch. Sympos. lib. 1. quæst. 2. Veget. l. 4. c. 34. Plato, de legib. l. 4. [n] Vitruv. l. 2. c. 9. Plin. l. 16. c. 40. Theophrast Hist. Plant. l. 5. c. 5. [o] Jacob. Edessen, apud Barcepham, de parad. part. 1 c. 14. p. 38.

tice of it. The silence of the sacred historian as to that world he takes to be no objection, because he supposes the whole earth of Moses comprehends no more then the than known parts of the world (2).

† Aben Ezra and Kimhi only say it is a sort of wood so called, which is light, and swims on the water. The vulgat and Septuagint take the word Gopher not to denote the species of timber, but for an adjective, the first translating it ligna lævigata, smoothed, or planed timber, and the other ξύλα τετράγωνα square timber (3); Vossius endeavours to prove, that the expression of this last version signifies not timber squared by the workman, but such sort of trees whose branches shoot quadrangularly, or by four and four at equal distances from the earth, Of which kind are the pine, firr, cedar, and some others; but not the cypress (4).

(2) Whiston's Theory, p. 409, &c. (3) Vid, Eutych. p. 24. (4) Voss. de Sept. Interp. c. 11.

takes it to have been built near mount Caucaſus, on the confines of India [p]; and a third in China, where he imagines Noah before the flood [q]. But the place ſeems rather to have been ſomewhere near Eden; from whence, it is to be preſumed, Noah would not remove far, though not for the reaſon alledged by ſome [r], viz. becauſe he was the eldeſt ſon in a lineal deſcent from Seth, which is no way certain from ſcripture; nor can we think it was far from Ararat where the ark reſted, that being a veſſel which could not be driven to a great diſtance. It was therefore probably built in Chaldea, in the territories of Babylon [s]; where there was ſo great a quantity of cypreſs in the groves and gardens in Alexander's time, that that prince built a whole fleet out of it for want of other timber [t]. And this conjecture is confirmed by the Chaldean tradition, which makes Xiſuthrus ſail from that country [u].

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As to the time, a Rabbin ſays, the ark was fifty two years in building [w]: the fathers and oriental authors a hundred [x], becauſe Noah is ſaid to be an hundred years old before any mention is made of the ark [y]. Some from the words of St. Peter, *that the long-ſuffering of God waited, while the ark was preparing* [z], ſuppoſe Noah was employed therein the whole time of forbearance [a], which was one hundred and twenty years [b]: and others think the time much ſhorter, becauſe Noah's three ſons, the eldeſt of whom was born in his five hundreth year, are not only mentioned before the directions given for the ark, but they and their wives are ordered to be taken into the ark in theſe very directions [c]; which ſeems to imply, they were then married; and yet they had no children till after the flood, unleſs they periſhed in the deluge. But there is no ſuch connection, or exact order of time kept in this whole narration, as to eſtabliſh any of theſe conjectures. All we can affirm is, that ſuch a veſſel as the ark, and the neceſſary preparations of timber for it, could not be the work of a few years.

And in what time.

THE

[p] Temporarius Chronol. Demonſt. l. 1. [q] Whiſton's Theory, p. 387, &c. [r] Dr. Well's Geogr. of the old Teſt. vol. I. p. 65. [s] Vid. Bochart, ubi ſupra. Heidegg. Hiſt Patr. tom. I. Exer. 17. § 20. [t] Strabo, l. 16. p. 1072, & 1076. Arrian. de Exped. Alex. l. 7. [u] See before, p. 271, &c. [w] R. Eliezer Pirke, c. 23. [x] Origen. Gregor. Auguſtin, &c. Elmacin. p. 11. [y] Geneſ. v. 32. [z] 2 Pet. iii. 20. [a] Bedford's ſcripture chronol. p. 21. Vid. R. Solomon. [b] Gen. vi. 3. [c] Ibid. v. 18.

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THE appointed time of the deluge being come, and all things in readiness, Noah, at God's command, went into the ark with his wife, his sons, and his daughters in-law *; and

Noah, &c. enter into the ark and the flood begins.

* It is certain, both from the testimony of Moses and St. Peter (1), that eight persons and no more were saved in the ark; and though there be a tradition among the Mohammedans to the same effect, which is said to have been received from their prophet himself, yet others of them report this number variously: some say they were but six; others ten; others twelve; others seventy eight; others fourscore, half men and half woman (2); and that one of them was the elder Jorham (3), the preserver, as some pretend, of the Arabian language. But it is still more extraordinary, that a christian writer should encrease the number of Noah's family, by supposing he had daughters of his own and their husbands, his sons-in-law, with him in the ark (4). The Mohammedans, on the other hand, also tells us, that the family of Noah were not all saved; but that one of his sons named Yam (5), or Canaan (6), whom some make his grandson, and the son of Ham (7), and others his wife's son by another husband (8), perished in the flood. The Korân says, Noah called to his son from the ark, saying, *Embark with us, my son, and stay not with the unbelievers: he answered, I will get on a mountain which will secure me from the waters; to which Noah replied, There is no security this day against the decree of God, unless for them on whom he shall have mercy.* And immediately a wave separating them, he was drowned (9). Some commentators (10) add, that Noah's wife likewise perished with her son.

The Eastern authors differ as to the name of Noah's wife. Some of the Jews called her Tisiah, or Arisisah (11), others say she was Naamah, the daughter of Lamech (12), of the race of Cain. The Gnostics called her Noria, for which Epiphanius (13) reprehends them, and says, her name was Barthenos. Eutychius tells us Noah's wife was Haical, the daughter of Namusa, the son of Enoch; and that Shem's wife was named Salît; Ham's, Nahlat; and Japhet's Arisisah; and that they were all three the daughters of Methuselah (14). But these deserve the same credit as the Sibyl, who pretends she was in the ark with Noah, being one of his daughters-in-law (15. The

(1) 1 Pet. iii. 20. (2) Al Zamakhshari & Jallalo'ddin in Alcor. c. 11. v. 40. Ebn Shohnah. (3) Idem. (4) Const. Manasses apud Heidegg. Hist. Patr. Tom. I. Exerc. 17. § 23. (5) Ebn Shohnah. (6) Jallalo'ddin. (7) D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 676. (8) Al Zamakhshari. (9) Al Koran, c. 11. v. 32. (10) Jallalo'ddin. K Al Zamakhsh. (11) Shalshel. Hakkab. p. 92. (12) Bereshit Rabba, & Shalshel. Hakkab. p. 7. (13) Hæres. 26. (14) Eutych. p. 34. (15) Sibylla Erythr. l. 3.

and he took in to him, purſuant to the divine directions, of all kinds of beaſts, and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth on the earth; of the unclean by pairs, and of the clean by ſevens, the male and his female † [d]. Noah went into the ark in the ſix hundreth year of his age, on the ſeventeenth day of the ſecond month [e], which anſwers

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[d] Geneſ. vii. 7, and 2, &c. [e] Geneſ. vii. 6, 11, 13.

The Eaſtern authors add, that Noah in purſuance of the directions of Adam, handed down to him for that purpoſe (16), took the body of that patriarch with him into the ark, and placed it in the midſt of the veſſel, as a barrier between the men and the women, who had no commerce during the deluge (17).

† It is a doubt, whether there went into the ark but ſeven of every clean, and two of every unclean ſpecies, or fourteen of the firſt, and four of the laſt. Some adhere to the former expoſition (18), and others to the latter (19), which ſeems to be the natural ſenſe of the Hebrew words, ſeven and ſeven; and two and two; the male and his female (20). Beſides, if there were but ſeven of the clean beaſts, one muſt have been without a mate; and if we anſwer, that the odd one was for ſacrifice (21), it is more than Moſes tells us, who, on the contrary, repeats it, that the animals all went in by pairs (22). If this be admitted, the capacity which we have allowed the ark, being double to what biſhop Wilkins computes it, will be no more than neceſſary for double the number of animals; eſpecially if we conſider, the birds all went in by ſevens; unleſs the diſtinguiſhing word clean, which is inſerted in the Samaritan text, and in the Septuagint, and Syriac verſions, ſhould be ſupplied in the Hebrew (23).

If it be aſked by what means Noah got all theſe animals together into the ark, the beſt anſwer that has been given is, that they came voluntarily, by a ſupernatural impulſe from God (1); which ſeems to be intimated by the words of ſcripture (2), though others ſuppoſe it was done by the aſſiſtance of angels (3).

(16) See before, p. 241. (17) Eutych. p. 38. Vid. Eliezer. Pirke, c. 23. Yahya, in Al Korân apud Maracc. 340. (18) Joſeph. Ant. l. 1. c. Auguſt. de civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 17. Hieronym. cont. Jovian l. 2, &c. (19) Juſtin. Martyr. Origen. Aben Ezra, &c. (20) Geneſ. vii. 2. (21) Theodoret quæſt. 50. in Geneſ. R. Solomon. (22) Geneſ. vii. 9, 15, 16. (23) Vid. Cleric. in loc. Heidegg. ubi ſup. § 25. (1) Vid. Philon. Jud. de vita Moſis, l. 2. p. 663. Jallalo'ddin in al Korân apud Maracc. ubi ſup. (2) Geneſ. vi. 20, vii. 9. (3) Eliez. Pirke, c. 23.

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answers to our second of December *, while the rest of mankind were in the height of security, and, contemning the repeated admonitions of Noah, did eat, and drink, did marry wives, and were given in marriage, until the flood came and destroyed them all [f]. For on the self-same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened; and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights. The waters of the flood continued gradually to encrease for five months, till they reached their utmost height, which was fifteen cubits, or upwards, or twenty seven foot above the tops of the highest mountains; but they seem to have been free from storms, or violent commotions, and to have raised and carrried the ark gently along, that vessel, as has been observed, being unable to abide a stormy sea.

[f] Matt. xxiv. 38. Luke xvii. 27.

* Several writers have fallen into mistakes as to the day when the flood began, by computing from the vernal equinox. But since the antediluvian year indisputably commenced from the autumnal equinox, the seventeenth day of the second month will fall about the time we have fixed it, according to the Samaritan chronology; and according to the Hebrew on the seventh of December, as archbishop Usher computes (4); on the sixth of November, as others reckon (5); or, more exactly, on the twenty eighth day of November, which is the calculation of Mr. Whiston (6).

It is remarkable, that the day assigned by Moses for the beginning of the deluge, agrees exactly with the day wherein Plutarch tells us Osiris went into the ark, viz. the seventeenth of Athyr, which month is the second after the autumnal equinox, the sun then passing through Scorpius (7). Nor does it differ above a day or two from that set down by Berosus, if we allow what probably may have been the case, that that writer, or his transcribers, fell into the mistake abovementioned, and supposed the flood began the second month from the vernal equinox, which was Dæsius (8); whereas the true month was Apellæus, the second from the autumnal equinox.

The Mohammedans say the flood began the tenth day of Rajeb (9).

(4) Annal. ad A. M. 1656. (5) Vid. Cleric. in loc.
(6) Theory, p. 218. (7) Plut. de Iside & Oziride, p. 356. D. (8) Vid. Galen. Comment. in l. 1. Epid.
(9) Ebn Shohnah.

AT the end of the five months, God caused a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters began to assuage, the two sources which fed them being stopped and restrained. On the very first day of their decrease, viz. the seventeenth of the seventh month, or the second of May, they fell so much that the ark rested on the mountains of Ararat: and by the first of the tenth month, or fifteen of July, the tops of the neighbouring mountains began to appear. Forty days after or about the twenty third of August, Noah, the better to judge of the height of the waters, opened the window, or lattice of the room where the birds were kept, and let out a raven †, which flew to and fro till the earth was dry, but gave Noah no satisfactory information; whereupon he sent out a dove ‡ three several times, staying seven days between each; the first time the dove quickly returned, finding no place dry enough for her to rest on; the second time she came back in the evening, bringing in her mouth an olive leaf plucked off, which shewed a considerable abatement of the waters; and the third time she returned no more.

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The waters assuage.

ON

† The raven is supposed to have been sent out, because Noah, thought the smell of the carcases would tempt him to fly to some distance (10); instead of which he kept hovering about the ark, having some jealousy, as the Jews pretend, of his mate (11). Though the Hebrew says the raven returned again, yet according to the Septuagint, Syriac, and vulgat versions, he did not return; wherefore it is thought he perished in the waters (12). The Rabbins have framed a dialogue on this occasion between Noah and the raven, who asking, why he was picked out to be sent on that errand, Noah told him, because the world might well be without ravens, which was neither fit for food, nor for sacrifice (13).

‡ The dove was probably sent, because of her tameness, her flying far, feeding on the ground, and returning to her nest from the greatest distance (14). Some of the Jews, pretend, she took the olive leaf from paradise, others from mount Olivet: for they imagine Judæa was not drowned in the deluge (15). From the olive leaf Noah might infer, that the lower hills, where those trees chiefly grow, were left by the waters, and that the vegetables were not totally destroyed (16). The Chaldean tradition agrees with the Mosaic history in the circumstance of the birds

(10) Vid. Bochart, Hieroz. part. 2. l. 2. c. 12. (11) In Aguddah. (12) Vid. Bochart. ubi sup, (13) Bereshit rabbah. § 33. (14) Bochart. ubi sup. l. 1 c. 6. (15) Bereshit. rabba. ubi sup. (16) Bochart. ubi sup.

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Noah, &c. leave the ark.

On the first day of the first month, answering to our seventh of October, in the six hundredth and first year of Noah's life, that patriarch removed the covering of the ark, to have a more extended view, and saw the surface of the earth was cleared of the waters; however, he stayed sometime longer in the ark, till the twenty seventh of the second month, or the second of December, when by God's direction he came forth out of the ark, with his family, and all that were with him, having remained therein a year and ten days according to the antediluvian computation; and according to the present, a full year, or three hundred sixty five days [g].

The Persian, and Indian traditions of the flood.

We shall conclude this section with adding a word or two concerning the Persian, and Indian traditions relating to the deluge.

An eastern writer tells us, that some of those who embrace the Magian religion, are said to deny the flood, or at least the universality of it, pretending, it reached no further than a cliff near Hulwân [h], a city of Irâk, bordering on Curdestân. Yet the orthodox among them acknowledge this general destruction by water, wherein all mankind perished, except some few that were preserved by providence; and that it was sent by God to punish the crimes of mankind, one of whom, named Malcûs, was a monster of wickedness and impiety. One odd circumstance mentioned by them is, that the first waters of the deluge gushed out of the oven * of a certain old woman named Zala Cufa [i].

We

[g] Genes. vii. and viii. [h] Ebn Shohnah. [i] Vid. Hyde, de rel. vet. Persar, c. 10. and Lord's account of the religion of the Persees, p. 9.

birds being sent out by Xisuthrus (17). And Plutarch, says, that according to the mythologists, a dove was let out of the ark, and that her going out was to Deucalion a sign of fair weather, and her return of foul (18).

* Mohammed has borrowed this circumstance, and inserted it in his Korân (1). The commentators say, it was the sign by which Noah knew the flood was coming (2). And some pretend it was the same oven which Eve made use of to bake her bread in, being

(17) See before, 271. (18) Plutarch. de solert. animal. p. 968 (1) Al Koran. c. 11. v. 40. and c. 23. v. 28. (2) Vid. Maracc. in Alc. p. 340.

WE are told, by the same author, that the Indians acknowledge no deluge; but this must not be understood of all, for the Bramins say, that the four tribes, or casts, of which the first race of men consisted, degenerating from their primitive innocence, the priest neglecting his piety, the soldier becoming insolent and tyrannical, the merchant practising deceit in trade, and using false balances, and the artisan spending the profits of his inventions in riot and excess; their impiety and wickedness grew at length to so insufferable an height, that God's indignation was justly provoked, and he sent a flood, which destroyed all nations without exception; after which God, to repair mankind, created three persons of greater excellency than those of the former generation; to one of whom, named Bremaw, he gave the power of creating men and animals, which he executed accordingly; the first human pair proceeding one from his right side, the other from his left. The man was called Manow, and the woman Ceteroupa, and by them was the earth replenished [k]. It must be observed, however, that these people believe several alternate destructions and reparations of mankind: and some of them say, there have been already no less than three destructions by water, and that another is yet to be expected by the same element [l]. Year of the World, 1307 / Year before Christ, 2997

SECT. VII.

Of the state of the antediluvian world, and the changes made in the earth by the deluge.

WE cannot dismiss the history of the old world, without taking a transient view of the antediluvian state of mankind, and of the alterations which have been wrought in nature by the flood. Of the state of the old world.

[k] Lord's Discourse of the Banian religion, c. 6. and 7.
[l] Propag. of the gospel in the east. part. 1. lett. 3. See also the Introd. p. 143.

being of a form different from those we use, having the mouth in the upper part; and that it descended from patriarch to patriarch till it came to Noah (3).

(3) Vid. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Noub.

THE religion, policy, arts, and sciences of these first men would be a very entertaining subject, if the greatest part of what can be said on these heads was not reducible to a few conjectures.

The religion of the antediluvians.

THE only thing we know as to their religious rites is, that they offered sacrifices, and that very early, both of the fruits of the earth, and of animals; but whether the blood and flesh of the animals, or only their milk and wool were offered, is a dispute which we shall consider elsewhere. Some have endeavoured to prove, that all the patriarchs from Adam had stated places, and annual, and weekly times set apart for divine worship, and also a separate maintenance for the priests: all which particulars may be true, though they cannot be made out from scripture. But what is more extraordinary, they pretend to tell us the very day of the week on which the antediluvian sabbath was kept, and that it was the same with the christian sabbath, or sunday [a]; which notion we shall, in a proper place, shew to be very groundless and precarious.

Their arts and sciences.

OF the arts and sciences of these people we have not much more to say. They seem rather to have spent their time in luxury and wantonness, to which the abundant fertility of the first earth invited them, than in discoveries or improvements, which probably they stood much less in need of than their successors. The art of working metals was found out by the last generation of Cain's line; and music, which they might be supposed to practise for their pleasure, was not brought to any perfection, if invented, before the same generation. Some authors have supposed astronomy to have been cultivated by the antediluvians, though this is probably owing to a mistake of Josephus [b]: but it is to be presumed, the progress they made therein, or in any other science, was not extraordinary; it being even very doubtful, whether letters were so much as known before the flood (as will be shewn in another place), whatever is pretended by some men, who have conceived so high an opinion of Adam's knowledge, that they suppose it to have been almost universal; nor can any thing be inferred from the books attributed to that patriarch, or to Seth, and Enoch [c], which are forgeries too gross to deserve any consideration.

As

[a] Smith's Doctrine of the Church of England concerning the Lord's day. Vid. Bedford's Scripture Chronol. p. 6. [b] See before, p. 243. [c] See before, p. 236, 237.

As to their polities and civil conſtitutions, we have not ſo much as any circumſtances whereon to build conjectures. It is probable, the patriarchal form of government, which certainly was the firſt, was ſet aſide when tyranny and oppreſſion began to take place, and much ſooner among the race of Cain than that of Seth. It ſeems alſo, that their communities were but few, and conſiſted of vaſtly larger numbers of people than any formed ſince the flood; or rather it is a queſtion whether, after the union of the two great families of Seth and Cain, there were any diſtinction of civil ſocieties, or diverſity of regular governments at all; it is more likely, that all mankind then made but one great nation, though living in a kind of anarchy, divided into ſeveral diſorderly aſſociations; which, as it was almoſt the natural conſequence of their having, in all probability, but one common language, ſo it was a circumſtance which greatly contributed to that general corruption, which otherwiſe perhaps could not have ſo univerſally overſpread the antediluvian world. And for this reaſon chiefly, as it ſeems, ſo ſoon as the poſterity of Noah were ſufficiently increaſed, a plurality of tongues was miraculouſly introduced, in order to divide them into diſtinct ſocieties, and thereby prevent any ſuch total depravation for the future. Their polity.

THE ſtate of the natural world before the flood ſeems to have been exceedingly different from what it is at preſent.

THE antediluvian world was, in all probability, ſtocked with a much greater number of inhabitants than the preſent earth either actually does, or perhaps is capable of containing, or ſupplying. This ſeems naturally to follow from the great length of their lives, which exceeding the preſent ſtandard of life in the proportion, at leaſt, of ten to one, the antediluvians muſt accordingly in any long ſpace of time double themſelves, at leaſt, in about the tenth part of the time in which mankind do now double themſelves; for they began to beget children as early, and left off as late in proportion as men do now, and the ſeveral children of the ſame father ſeem to have ſucceeded as quickly one after another as they uſually do at this day; and as many generations which are but ſucceſſive with us, were contemporary before the flood, the number of people living on the earth at once would be by that means ſufficiently increaſed to anſwer any defect, which might ariſe from other circumſtances not conſidered. So that, if we make a computation on theſe prin- The old world more populous and fertile than the preſent.

ciples *, we ſhall find, that there were a conſiderable number of people in the world at the death of Abel, though their father Adam was not then 130 years old, and that the number of mankind before the deluge would eaſily amount to above one hundred thouſand millions (even according to the Samaritan chronology) that is to twenty times as many as our preſent earth has, in all probability, now upon it, or can well be ſuppoſed capable of maintaining in its preſent conſtitution [d]. From whence it follows, that to ſuſtain ſo much larger a number of inhabitants (beſides the brute animals which were very probably as numerous in proportion) the earth muſt have been much more fruitful before that deſolation than it has been ſince [e], though it was then barren in compariſon of its primitive fertility before the fall.

Of the longævity of the antediluvians.

One of the moſt extraordinary circumſtances which occurs in the antediluvian hiſtory, is the vaſt length of mens lives in thoſe firſt ages in compariſon of our own. Few now arrive to eighty, or a hundred, years, whereas before the flood they frequently lived to near a thouſand; a diſproportion almoſt incredible, were it not inconteſtably certain from the joint teſtimonies of ſacred and profane writers

[d] Whiſton's Theory, p. 246, &c. [e] Ibid. p. 256.

* It is now generally owned (1), and that from good obſervations, that mankind do double themſelves in about three hundred and ſixty, or three hundred and ſeventy years; or allowance being made for all, but very uncommon and very rare caſes of general wars, famines, plagues, and ſuch like deſolations, in about four hundred years. So that allowing the period for the doubling of mankind from the creation to the deluge to be ten times ſhorter, by reaſon of their ſo much longer lives; if we have a ſeries of forty numbers beginning at two (for ſo many God created himſelf at firſt) and doubling themſelves in forty, or for convenience in forty one years at a mean, or one age with another, till the deluge, we ſhall, in ſome degree, obtain the ſum total of mankind at the deluge, and alſo in the ſeveral ages before that time; though this period of doubling muſt ſtill have been much ſhorter in the earlieſt, and longer in the lateſt, times of the interval. Which computation Mr. Whiſton (2), (to whom we are obliged for theſe obſervations) has given us in the following table.

(1) See Sir W. Petty's Eſſay on the multiplication of mankind; and the Philoſophical Tranſactions, N° 196. p. 597, &c.
(2) Theory of the Earth, p. 249.

ters *; whose authority in this point being not to be eluded, some, to reconcile the matter with probability, have imagined, that the ages of those first men might possibly be computed not by solar years, but months [f], which reduces the length of their lives rather to a shorter period than our own. But for this there is not the least foundation; besides the many absurdities that would thence follow, such as their begetting children at about six years of age, as some of them in that case must have done, and the contraction of the whole interval between the creation and the deluge to considerably less than two hundred years, even according to the larger computation of the Septuagint.

THE

[f] Varro, apud Lactant. Inst. divin. l. 2. c. 12. Vid. Augustin, de civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 12.

Series.	Years of doubling.	Years of the world.	Number of mankind.	Series.	Years of doubling.	Years of the world.	Number of mankind.
1	2	2	4	20	40	420	2,097,152
2	4	6	8	21	42	462	4,194,304
3	6	12	16	22	44	506	8,388,608
4	8	20	32	23	46	552	16,777,216
5	10	30	64	24	48	600	33,554,432
6	12	42	128	25	50	650	67,108,864
7	14	56	256	26	52	702	134,217,728
8	16	72	512	27	54	756	268,435,456
9	18	90	1024	28	56	812	536,870,912
10	20	110	2048	29	58	870	1,073,741,824
11	22	132	4096	30	60	930	2,147,483,648
12	24	156	8192	31	62	992	4,294,967,296
13	26	182	16,385	32	64	1056	8,589,924,592
14	28	210	32,768	33	66	1122	17,179,869,184
15	30	240	65,536	34	68	1190	34,359,738,368
16	32	272	131,072	35	70	1260	68,719,476,736
17	34	306	262,144	36	72	1332	137,438,953,472
18	36	342	524,288	37	74	1406	274,877,906,944
19	38	380	1,048,576	38	76	1482	549,755,813,888

* Josephus reckons up the testimonies of Manetho, Berosus, Mochus, Hestieus, Jerom the Egyptian, and the writers of the Phœnician antiquities. He says also that Hesiod, Hecatæus, Hellanicus, Acusilaus, Ephorus, and Nicholaus wrote, that the anti-

The causes of it.

The causes of this longevity are variously assigned: some have imputed it to the sobriety of the antediluvians, and the simplicity of their diet; that they eat no flesh †, and had none of those provocations to gluttony, which wit and vice have since invented. This, were it true, might have some effect, but not possibly to such a degree as we are speaking of, since we have had many temperate and abstemious persons in latter ages, who yet seldom have exceeded the usual period. Others have imputed it to the excellency of their fruits, and some peculiar virtue in the herbs and plants of those days; but as the earth was cursed immediately after the fall, its fruits we may suppose gradually decreased in their virtue and goodness till the flood; and yet we do not see the length of mens lives decreased considerably, if at all, during that interval. Others have thought, that the long lives of those inhabitants of the old world proceeded from the strength of their stamina, or first principles of their bodily constitutions; which might indeed be a concurrent, but not the sole and adequate, cause of their longevity: for Shem, who was born before the deluge, and had all the virtue of the antediluvian constitution, fell three hundred years short of the age of his fore-fathers, because the greatest part of his life was passed after the flood [g].

It has therefore been more rationally supposed, that the chief cause of this longevity was the salubrious constitution of the antediluvian air, which after the deluge became corrupted and unwholesome, breaking by degrees the pristine crasis of the body, and shortening mens lives, in a very few ages, to near the present standard. But how the flood should induce, or occasion such a change in the air is not easy to comprehend [h].

Dr.

[g] Burnet's Theory, Book 2. c. 2 and 4. See Stackhouse's Body of Divinity, p. 307, &c.

[h] Ray on the deluge, p. 122.

ents lived a thousand years (1). Of all which testimonies we have none now extant, except only that of Hesiod (2).

† A learned physician has advanced a very contrary opinion. Among several causes of the longevity of the first men enumerated by him, one is their eating of raw flesh; the most nourishing and best parts whereof, he supposes, are carried off in dressing by the action of the fire (3).

(1) Joseph. Ant. l. 1. c. 4. (2) In oper. & dieb. v. 130, &c. (3) Beverovicius Thes. Sanitat. l. 3.

The changes made in the world at the deluge, according to Dr. Burnet.

Dr. Burnet, as he attributes the fertility and paradiſiacal ſtate of the firſt earth to a perpetual equinox, the conſequence of the direct, or parallel poſition which he ſuppoſes the earth had then to the ſun; ſo he thinks the barrenneſs of the preſent earth, and the malignity of our air, are owing to the inequality of ſeaſons introduced at the deluge, when the earth, being broken and ſhattered, loſt its poiſe, and fell into that oblique ſituation which it now has [i]. Thence proceeded an unequal temperature of the air, violent exhalations, meteors, thunder, lightning, rain, ſnow, hail, ice, tempeſtuous winds, and the like, to which the earth was before an utter ſtranger, cauſing a ſenſible decay in nature, and a gradual contraction of human life [k].

——and Mr. Whiſton

Mr. WHISON is of the ſame opinion as to the different ſtates of the air before and ſince the deluge, and the effects thereof on human bodies, as well on the productions of the earth; but aſſigns very different cauſes for both. He thinks the purity and equality of the antediluvian air were the natural and regular properties of an original earth, ſuch as one would rationally expect in a world newly come out of the hands of its creator, and ſuch as the generality of our fellow planets (eſpecially our next neighbour the moon), as far as we can obſerve, are ſuppoſed to have had at firſt, and hitherto retained. So that all that can in reaſon be deſired, is to give a plain account of thoſe oppoſite phænomena of the earth which we are now ſo ſenſible of, and by what means the deluge could occaſion the ſame [l]. And this he endeavours to do by ſuppoſing; 1. That the comet, which, according to his hypotheſis, was the cauſe of the deluge, in paſſing by the earth by its attraction accelerated the earth's annual motion, and changed its then circular orbit into an ellipſis [m]: and, 2. That the earth at the deluge carried off vaſt quantities of the groſs, heterogeneous, and indigeſted maſſes with which the chaotic atmoſphere of the comet was crouded; part of which were received into our air, and the other part, being mixed with the waters derived from the comet, ſettled and formed a new cruſt over the ſurface of the earth, which was ſomewhat encreaſed by the dirt and ſoil thrown up by the ſubterraneous waters, and waſhed from the mountains [n].

THESE

[i] See before, 212, 213. [k] Burnet's Theory, Book 2. c. 2 and 3. [l] Whiſton's Theory, p. 363. [m] Ibid. p. 207, &c. [n] Ibid. p. 275, 417.

These two great changes in the natural world would have very conſiderable conſequences. That made in the earth's orbit, beſides altering the form of the year *, would by placing us at a greater diſtance from the ſun, occaſion a very ſenſible decreaſe in the heat of that luminary, which muſt (on calculation) have been a twenty fifth part greater before the flood than ſince [o]. The primigenial ſoil would lie buried under the ſediment, or factitious cruſt, which he computes to be about one hundred and five foot thick [p], wherein the fertile mold would be much thinner ſpread than before the deluge; conſidering which circumſtances, together with the great damp put to the influence of the central heat, as well by the waters of the deluge, as the conſolidation of the adventitious ſediment, it naturally follows, that the preſent earth could be nothing near ſo fruitful and luxuriant in her productions as the antediluvian was [q]. This ſuppoſition of a new cruſt acquired by the earth at the flood, by the way alſo accounts for the phænomena we formerly mentioned of the bones, teeth, and ſhells of fiſh, and other marine and vegetable productions ſo frequently dug up, even on mountains, and at great diſtances from the ſea [r]. The heterogeneous compoſition of our preſent groſs atmoſphere, acquired likewiſe from the comet, muſt neceſſarily occaſion great irregularities and depredations in the temperature and conſtitution of the air. For the difference of climates being not wholly owing to the ſun's heat, or the nature of the air, but partly to thoſe calorific and frigorific mixtures which are uncertainly contained therein; and our air being now in the torrid zone full of ſulphureous and ſultry, and in the frigid ones

[o] Ibid. p. 363. [p] Ibid. p. 418. [q] Ibid. p. 363, &c.
[r] Ibid. p. 423, &c.

* The antediluvian year was, according to this gentleman, in abſolute ſpace of time nearly equal to our preſent and antient lunar one, and above ten days, or, more nicely, ten days, one hour, twenty eight minutes and an half ſhorter than our preſent ſolar year; yet it contained three hundred and ſixty antediluvian days, which were equal to only three hundred and fifty five days, four hours, and about twenty minutes of our preſent days; the earth's diurnal motion having been retarded, and our days conſequently lengthened in that proportion, partly by the quantity of foreign matter derived from the comet at the deluge, and partly from another cauſe (1).

(1) Whiſton's Theory, p. 208, 209, 220.

ones of nitrous and freezing, effluvia, or exhalations, which may be removed, on the veering of the wind, from one region to another; thoſe extremities of heat and cold, and ſudden changes in the temper of the air, which we are now ſo ſenſible of, are thence eaſily accounted for; and the ſame nitro-ſulphureous and other heterogeneous mixtures and exhalations might likewiſe occaſion thoſe coruſcations, meteors, thunder, lightening, clouds, rain, winds, and ſtorms, ſo common with us; from which, and their pernicious effects, the pure homogeneous antediluvian air was perfectly free [r].

As both the theoriſts deny, there was any rain, at leaſt in the habitable parts of the primitive earth, it may be aſked, what expedients they have found out to ſupply it with water. Mr. Whiſton, who allows there were rivers, lakes, and ſeas (though no great ocean) in the firſt earth, effects this with little difficulty; ſuppoſing the vapours elevated by the ſun in the day, which the purity and thinneſs of the air hindered from condenſing and falling down in rain, deſcended, however, in regular and gentle miſts in the night [s]. But Dr. Burnet, in whoſe antediluvian earth there were neither mountains nor ſeas *, and the whole element of water was locked

[r] Ibid. p. 365, &c. [s] Ibid. p. 369.

* To this form of the primæval world, and the change made therein by the deluge, Dr. Burnet (1) has met with a ſurpriſing teſtimony from an Ethiopian tradition, delivered to the count Balthaſar Caſtiglione by a philoſopher of that nation then in Spain; which is to the following effect, viz. That the firſt earth was much more ſpacious than the preſent, and nearer to heaven; that it was perfectly round, without mountains or vallies, but all hollow, or full of cavities within, like a ſponge; that the inhabitants breathed a moſt pure air, and paſſed their lives happily; the earth ſpontaneouſly bringing forth moſt excellent fruits without plowing or ſowing: but after ſome ages, when mankind, elated with pride, had degenerated from their primitive innocence, the angry gods ſhook the earth with ſo vehement a concuſſion, that the greateſt part of it fell down into the caverns below; and the water, before incloſed in thoſe hidden receſſes, was thereby violently forced out; and to this the fountains, rivers, lakes, and ſea owe their original: that that part of the earth which had not fallen in, but ſtood above the reſt, appeared as mountains; and the iſlands and rocks in the midſt of the ſea, are nothing elſe but fragments of the hollow earth, which remained after that ſudden diſruption and fall of the whole terreſtrial frame (2).

(1) See his Theory, p. 386. (2) Fr. Patricio, della Rhetorica degli Antichi, apud Ramazzin, de fontium Mutinenſium ſcaturigine, p. 41.

locked up in the abyſs, is obliged to have recourſe to a more extraordinary explication. He ſays that the action of the ſun being very ſtrong and conſtant in raiſing vapours, and the earth at firſt moiſt and ſoft, as it grew more dry the rays of the ſun would pierce more deep into it, and reach at length the great abyſs which lay underneath, and was an inexhauſted ſtore-houſe of new vapours †. Thoſe vapours would be hindered by the heat from condenſing into clouds, or rains in the warmer parts of the earth, and there being no mountains, nor contrary winds to ſtop, or compreſs them, would bend their courſe where they found the leaſt reſiſtance, and that would be towards the poles, or colder regions, where, when they were arrived, they would be condenſed and fall down in a continual rain, or dew, upon thoſe parts of the earth; ſo that there would be a conſtant ſource of waters, which would neither fail, nor overflow, but find the earth with an equal ſupply throughout all the parts of the year. And to account for the flowing of theſe waters on the even ſurface of the earth, and of their forming themſelves into rivers, which ſeems a difficulty not eaſily to be got over, he ſuppoſes, the earth was not exactly ſpherical but oval, the polar parts being higher than the equinoctial, that is more remote from the center; by which means the waters which fell about the extreme parts would have a continual deſcent towards the middle parts of it, forming by the way lakes, and dividing into leſſer and leſſer ſtreams, till at length they were either exhaled again by the ſun, or drank up by the thirſty ſands of the torrid zone [t].

Whether any Rainbow before the flood.

If either of theſe hypotheſes be admitted, the diſpute whether there was any rainbow or not before the deluge muſt be at an end. For in an air, wherein there fell no rain in ſenſible round drops, to refract and reflect the rays of light, on which the rain-bow entirely depends, the appearance of that beautiful phænomenon could not be expected; and indeed it is ſomewhat hard to conceive, how it could be a ſign, or confirmation of the covenant which God

[t] Burnet's Theory, p. 310, &c.

† Yet, if the calculation made be true, this ſtore-houſe would be quite exhauſted long before the deluge (3).

(3) See before the note, 291.

God made with Noah, that he would drown the world no more with water, if it had been in the clouds before, and with no regard to this promiſe. For if we ſuppoſe it even an arbitrary ſign, and to have no connection with the effect, it ſeems, that, to make it ſignificant and ſatisfactory, it muſt be ſomething new, otherwiſe it could not ſignify a new thing, or be the confirmation of a new promiſe. And accordingly it has been obſerved, that the ſigns by inſtitution only, mentioned in ſcripture, have all ſomething new and ſtrange, as a mark of the hand of God: at leaſt it muſt be acknowledged, that if Noah had never ſeen a rainbow before, that ſign muſt have made a much more lively impreſſion on him, and given him much greater comfort and aſſurance in God's promiſe, than if it had been no more than what he muſt have often obſerved before the late terrible devaſtation [v].

Whether fleſh might be eaten before the flood.

WHETHER fleſh was permitted to be eaten before the deluge, is alſo a queſtion which has been much debated [u]. By the permiſſion expreſly given to Noah for that purpoſe after the flood [w], and God's aſſigning vegetables only for food to man as well as beaſt at the creation [x], one would imagine it was not lawful before; yet others have ſuppoſed, that it was included in the general grant of power and dominion given to Adam by God over the animal creation [y]; and the diſtinction of beaſts into clean and unclean, which was well known before the flood [z], is inſiſted on as a ſtrong argument on this ſide, and which it is not eaſy to anſwer. To ſay that diſtinction was uſed proleptically, is a mere ſubterfuge; and to ſuppoſe it made ſolely to diſtinguiſh what was lawful or unlawful to be ſacrificed, and not what might or might not be eaten, is little better; it being the cuſtom to offer to God ſuch fruits and animals as were fit for food and ſuſtenance, and not ſuch as were of no uſe or benefit to mankind in that reſpect.

[v] Burnet's Theory p. 324, &c. Vid. Heidegg. Hiſt. Patr. Tom. I. Exerc. 15. [u] Vid. Ibid. Exerc. 10. § 26, &c. [w] Geneſ. ix. 3, 4. [x] Geneſ. i. 29, 30. [y] Ibid. v. 26 28. [z] Geneſ. vii. 2.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

An enquiry concerning the situation of mount Ararat, and the various opinions about it.

IT may be proper, before we close this chapter, to give some account of the mountains of Ararat, whereon the ark rested, the situation of which is rendered, in some measure, uncertain by the different traditions concerning it.

The Sybilline verses place mount Ararat in the borders of black Phrygia, near Celænæ, at the springs of the river Marsyas [a], which rises out of the same lake with the Mæander, and falls at length into it [b]. But it appears from good authorities, that there is really no mountain at all in that place, at least none near so high as Ararat must needs have been, but only a small hill, or eminence [c]. This fancy therefore seems to have taken its rise from Apamea, another city near Celænæ, being sur-named Cibotos, or the ark; not, as Bochart observes [d], from any tradition of Noah's ark, but from its situation, being shut up like an ark, or chest, by three rivers which encompassed it; as the port of Alexandria in Egypt was called Cibotos from the bay surrounding it: besides, Cibotos was a new name, which does not seem to have been known in those parts till given to Apamea, built by Seleucus, or Antiochus Soter; and Celænæ [e] had a prior right to it, if there had been any such tradition; so that what is farther alledged of the Apameans coining medals having on the reverse the impression of an ark, as may be seen on three severally struck in honour of Adrian [f], Septimius Severus, and Philip the Arabian [g], is of no weight.

Ben

[a] Xenophon, Livius, l. 38. [b] Strabo, l. 12. Max. Tyrius, Serm. 38. [c] Strabo ubi supra. Ptolem. lib. 5. cap. 3. Stephan. in Πεσσινοῦς. [d] Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 3. [e] Strabo ubi supra. Livius ubi sup. [f] Calmet. Dict. de la Bible, Art. Apamée. [g] Vid. Falconerij differt. de num. Apam. apud Kircher. Arca Noæ. l. 2. c. 6.

BEN GORION ſeems to extend the name of Ararat to Caucaſus [h]: but by the mountains of Ararat have been generally underſtood, both by antient and modern authors, thoſe of Armenia. Ararat is by the Septuagint [i], and in the Vulgat [k], rendered Armenia *; and there is actually a province of that country named Ararat [l], or Airarat, from a plain therein ſo called in memory of Arai the eighth king of that nation, who was ſlain in battle there [m]; Arayi arat [n] ſignifying the ſlain of Arai. But though authors have generally agreed in placing Ararat in Armenia, yet they differ as to the particular ſituation of the mountain where the ark reſted, there being two opinions concerning it, each of which is ſupported by a tradition.

First tradition about mount Ararat.

THE firſt opinion is, that it was one of the mountains which divide Armenia on the ſouth from Meſopotamia and that part of Aſſyria inhabited by the Curds, from whom thoſe mountains took the name of Curdu, or Cardu, by the Greeks, turned into Gordyæi, and other names †. It is called by the Arabs Al Judi [o], (if it be not a miſtake for Gordi [p], or a corruption of Cordi, or Jordi §, as it ought to be written by the Arabs [q];) and alſo Thamanîn [r],

[h] Lib. 6. cap. 96.
[i] Iſa. xxxvii. 38.
[k] Gen. viii. 4. 2 Kings xix. 37.
[l] V. La Notice des Egliſes qui dependent du Patr. d' Armenie publiée par le P. Simon à la fin de ſon Hiſtoire Critique de la Creance & des Coutumes des Nations du Levant, & Schroeder. diſſert. de rebus Armenicis.
[m] Moſes Chorenenſis, Geogr. univerſal. p. 46, 52.
[n] Արայի արատ.
[o] Eutych. Annal. p. 41. D'Herberot Bibl. Orient. Art. Gioudi.
[p] Bochart. Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 5.
[q] Golius in Not. ad Alfragan, p. 287.

* The Samaritan verſion tranſlates it Serendib, which is the name the eaſtern writers give to the iſland Ceylon. See before, p. 194.

† The Greek and Latin writers name them Carduchi, Cardiei, Cordyæi, Cordueni, Gordi, Cordæi, Curdi, &c. the orientals call them alſo Cardon, Cordyn, Curud, &c. Bochart (1) ſuppoſes they are the ſame which are called by miſtake in Joſephus Cæron (2).

§ גורדי Jordi may be changed גודי Judi by an eaſy miſtake of the Ra for the Waw; but it is odd ſuch an error ſhould be univerſal.

(1) Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 3. (2) Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 2.

nîn[r], probably from the town hereafter named, at the foot of it.

The tradition which affirms the ark to have reſted on theſe mountains muſt have been very antient, ſince it is the tradition of the Chaldeans themſelves [s]: the Chaldee paraphraſts conſent to this opinion [t], which obtained very much formerly, but when we come to enquire into the particular part of theſe mountains, whereon the ark reſted, authors ſeem to place it out of Armenia; Epiphanius in the country of the Cordyæans [u], or between the Armenians and Cordyæans on the mountain Lubar [w]: the eaſtern authors, as well Chriſtians as Mohammedans, on mount Thamanîn, or Jûdi [x], which overlooks the country of Diyar Rabiah [y] in Meſopotamia, near the cities of Mauſol, Forda ‡, and Jazîrat ebn Omar *† [z], which laſt one affirms to be but four miles from the place of the ark [a].

To

[r] Geogr. Nubiens. p. 202. [s] Beroſus apud Joſephum Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 4. [t] Onkelos & Jonathan in Gen. viii. 4. [u] Epiphan. Hæreſ. 18. [w] Idem, ibid. lib. 1. § 4. [x] Geogr. Nubiens. p. 202. Ebn Shohnah, MS. [y] Ebn Amîd, l. 1. c. 1. [z] Eutych. Annal. p. 41. Vid. etiem D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 404. Art. Gioudi & p. 676. [a] Benjamin Tudelens. Itiner. p. 61.

‡ If this name were not uſually written Forda by the Arabian authors, we ſhould judge it ought to be Korda, from the name of the mountain. D'Herbelot mentions a town called Corda at the foot of Al Judi (3).

*† Jazîrat ebn, or bani, Omar is a city in an iſland of the Tigris, ſo named from the Khalîfah Omar ebn Abd'alazîz, of the family of Ommiyah, who, if you will believe Benjamin the Jew (4), (tho' he by miſtake calls him Omar ebn al Khettâb), removed the remains of the ark into that city, and built a Mohammedan temple therewith. The Syrians call it Gozarta, or the iſland; but we muſt not confound it, as, Aſſemani does (5), with the Gezerta of Maſius, called by ſome the iſle of Eden, which is no more than twelve miles above Mauſol; whereas Jezîrat ebn Omar is ninety miles above that city (6), in one of the roads from Aleppo to Tauris (7.)

(3) Bibl. Orient. Art. Gioudi. (4) Itiner. p. 61. (5) Bibl. Orient. Tom. II. diſſert. de Monophys. & Tom. I. p. 540. (6) Geog. Nubiens. p. 202. (7) Tavernier, Voyage de Perſe, liv. 3. chap. 4.

To confirm this tradition, we are told, that the remainders of the ark were to be ſeen upon theſe mountains: Beroſus and Abydenus both declare, there was ſuch a report in their time [b]; the firſt obſerves farther, that ſeveral of the inhabitants thereabouts ſcraped the pitch off the planks as a rarity, and carried it about them for an amulet: and the latter ſays, they uſed the wood of the veſſel againſt many diſeaſes with wonderful ſucceſs. The relics of the ark were to be ſeen alſo in the time of Epiphanius, if we may believe him [c]; and we are told the emperor Heraclius went from the town of Themanîn up the mountain Al Judi, and ſaw the place of the ark [d]. This town of Themanîn is, or was, ſituate at the foot of the mountain Al Judi [e]; the name ſignifies eighty (and not eight, as Bochart, Calmet, and others would have it) in memory of the eighty perſons, who, according to a Mohammedan tradition, were ſaved in the ark [f]; though the chriſtian writers among the Arabs, who ſay this city was built by Noah and his ſons near Forda, not approving the tradition, ſuppoſe it called ſo becauſe they were eight [g].

Remainder of the ark to be ſeen for a long time on the Cardu mountains.

THERE was formerly a famous monaſtery, called the monaſtery of the ark, upon the Cardu mountains, where the Neſtorians uſed to celebrate a feaſt day on the ſpot where they ſuppoſed the ark reſted; but in the year of Chriſt 776, that monaſtery was deſtroyed by lightening, with the church, and a numerous congregation in it [h]. Since which time probably the credit of this tradition hath declined, and given place to another which at preſent obtains.

Monaſtery of the ark formerly there.

THE ſecond opinion therefore places mount Ararat towards the middle of Armenia, near the river Araxes, or Aras, above 280 miles diſtant from Al Judi to the north-eaſt.

Second tradition about mount Ararat.

JEROM ſeems to be the firſt who hath given an account of this tradition: Ararat, ſays that father, is a champian

[b] Beroſus apud Joſephum Antiq. l. 1. c. 4. Abydenus apud Euſeb. Chron. Græc. & de præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4. [c] Hæreſ. 18. [d] Ebn Amîd Hiſt. Arabum. l. 1. c. 1. [e] D' Herbelot, ubi ſupra. Vid. Agathiam, l. 4. p. 135. [f] D' Herbelot, p. 677. [g] Vid. Eutych. & Ebn Amîd ubi ſupr. [h] Vid. Chronic. Dionyſii Patriarch. Jacobitar apud Aſſeman. Bibl. Orient. tom. II. p. 113.

pian country, incredibly fertil, through which the Araxes flows, at the foot of mount Taurus, which extends ſo far. Wherefore by the mountains of Ararat, whereon the ark reſted, are not to be underſtood the mountains of Armenia in general, but the higheſt mountains of Taurus, which overlook the plains of Ararat [i]. Theſe probably are the plains mentioned before, which gave name to the country. An author of the middle age obſerves, that near the city of Naxuan [Nakh-chuvûn] are the mountains on which the ark reſted, having the Araxes running at the foot of them [k]; and ſince that time all the travellers into thoſe parts ſpeak of no other mountain of Ararat.

This tradition would appear of equal antiquity with the former, could we be certain this was the high mountain Baris *, in the province of Minyas † in Armenia, to which, according to a tradition reported by Nicholas of Damaſcus

[i] Hieronym in Eſai. 37. [k] Rubruquis de Tartaris, c. 48.

* Bochart (8) ſuppoſes Baris, in the Armenian tongue, to be the ſame with ἀποβατήριον, the deſcent, or going forth, as we are told that nation called the place where Noah came down from the ark (9); and has found an Arabic word of that ſignification ſomething like it; but we doubt much, whether he could find an Armenian one: բարձր bardſr, ſignifies high in that tongue, and might be given to this mountain on account of its height; but this is only conjecture. Others tell us Baris, in the Egyptian language, ſignifies a ſort of a ſhip (10), and therefore think, the name has ſome reference to the ark; and that the ſame may be alluded to in the names of the temple of Baris, and the mountains Imbar and Nibar, in that neighbourhood (11) (though their ſituation be very uncertain), as well as the Lubar of Epiphanius (12).

† Some will have Minyas to be written Milyas (13); but the firſt ſeems to be the true reading, ſince we find Minni joined with Ararat in ſcripture (14). Sir Iſaac Newton makes one name of Ararat Minni (15); and perhaps Armenia is only a contracti-
on

(8) Phâleg. l. 1. c. 3. (9) Joſeph Antiq. l. 1. c. 4. Euſeb. de locis Hebr. ex interpr. Hieron. (10) Herodot. Euterp. Heſych. (11) Strabo, l. 11. p. 799, 803. (12) Vid. Fuller. Miſcell. Sacr. l. 1. c. 4. (13) Voſſius, apud Berkel, in Steph. voce Μινύα. (14) Jerem. li. 27. (15) Chronol. p. 323.

Damascus [l], many people in the time of a deluge fled for sanctuary; and upon the top of which a certain man stuck with his vessel. As it is no new thing to find the same relics in two different places at once, the same author also assures us, that several pieces of the timber of that vessel were to be seen on the mountain Baris, a long time after it had landed there [m]: but this circumstance may be urged as an objection against Baris being the same with the last mentioned mountain, which is said to be inaccessible. However, at the foot of it they also shew a town called Cemain, which comes pretty near to Shemonah [n], signifying eight, the number of persons who came out of the ark, and, as the Armenians say, built it [o].

Objections to it.

An objection indeed has been started by a late traveller, which tends to overthrow both traditions: he says he does not see where the dove could find an olive-branch, if the ark be supposed to have rested on any of the mountains of Armenia, for the olive is not found thereabouts [p]; nor (we are told) in any part of Asia beyond Aleppo, except one single place near Casbîn [q] in Persia. However, it seems to have been otherwise antiently, for the scripture mentions Assyria as a land of oil-olive [r]; and we are told, that the olive grew in Gogarene, a province of Armenia [s]. Another has observed, that this mountain is so pointed at the top, that he could not easily conceive how the waters of the deluge could withdraw quick enough, just when the ark was over it, so as to leave it on so narrow a space [t].

Called Masîs by the Armenians.

But the Armenians are not to be convinced by any arguments, that this is not the very mountain on which the ark rested; they called it Masîs [u], and derive the name from

[l] Apud Joseph, Antiq. l. 1. c. 4. [m] Ibid. [n] שמנה. [o] Vid. Rubruquis ubi supr. [p] Tournefort Voyages, lett. 7. [q] Tavernier Voyage de Tunquin. p. 181. [r] 2 Kings xviii. 32. [s] Strabo, l. 11. p. 800. [t] Poullet, Nouv, relat. du levant, part. 1. c. 10. p. 132. [u] Rubruq. Tournefort, ubi supr. Gol. Not. ad Alfrag. p. 237.

on, or compound of Har and Minni, which signifies the mountain, or mountainous country of Minni; though the Armenians themselves derive the name from Aram one of their kings (16).

(16) Moses Choren, Hist. Arm. p. 49.

Amaſia ‡, the third ſucceſſor of Haikh [w], the founder of their nation. The Turks name it Agri dagh, that is, the heavy or great mountain [x], and Parmak daghi, or the mountain of the finger, in alluſions to its appearance** [y]: it ſtands about twelve leagues to the eaſt [or rather ſouth-eaſt] of Erivan [a] and of Ejmiadzin, or the three churches, (from which laſt it is two ſhort days journey) four leagues from the Aras [b], and ten to the north-weſt of Nackhchuvan [c]*†. Here

[w] Moſes Choren. p, 47. [x] Cartwright's Travels, p. 33. Chardin, Voy. en Perſe, Tom. I. p. 157. Tournefort, ubi ſupr. [y] D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 404. [a] Chardin, ubi ſupr. [b] Tournefort, ubi ſupr. [c] Idem, ibid.

‡ This etymology overthrows Chardin's Armenian derivation from Mas, or Meſhech, the ſon of Japhet, whom he ſays that nation conſider as their founder; and his Perſian derivation from Azîz, an Arabic word ſignifying dear, or beloved (17); which laſt, however, might have been an epithet of this mountain, ſince a traveller calls it Aſſe Maſis (18), which perhaps he miſtook for Azîz Masîs. Other travellers write it Meſſis Saur (19), and Maſeſuſar, (20), and ſay, it ſignifies the mountain of the ark; but this is alſo a miſtake; for though the Armenians call a mountain Sâr, yet Masîs does not ſignify an ark. They ſhould have written Masîs Sâr, which ſignifies no more than mount Masîs: but faults of this kind in travellers are numberleſs, they being ſeldom acquainted with the language of the countries they viſit.

From Masîs doubtleſs the antients made their Mons Maſius, the ſituation of which they have delivered with as much uncertainty as the moderns (21),

** Perhaps this author miſtook this for another mountain ſo called by the Turks, which ſtands near the Caſpian ſea, between Niaſabâd and Shamakhi, and ſeems to deſerve the name better (22).

*†It is ſaid, the memorial of the ark's reſting here is preſerved in the name of this city, Nak ſignifying in Armenian a ſhip, and ſhivan, reſted (23); but this ſeems to be an etymology no better grounded than thoſe abovementioned; the Perſians ſaying it

(17) Chardin, Voyage en Perſe, tom. I. p. 157. Lucas, Voyage 1. tom. II. chap. 2. (18) Newberry in Purchas, part 2. 1417. (19) Cartwright, ubi ſup. Tavernier Voyages, liv. 1. cap. 4. (20) Gemelli Voyages, tom. 2. book 1. cap. 2. (21) Vid. Cellarii Geogr. Antiq. Vol. II. lib. 3. cap. 11. p. 232. (22) Vid. Olearius's Travels l. 1, c. 5. (23) Tavernier ubi ſupra.

Here we muſt obſerve a miſtake of the modern as well as antient geographers, who have placed this mountain ſeveral degrees more to the weſt than it ought to be. This error of theirs hath miſled many hiſtorians, and made them look for Ararat ſomewhere elſe, ſince they could not reconcile the ſituation, which the maps give it, with ſcripture. Sir Walter Raleigh ſet the example to our Engliſh hiſtorians, and reſts the ark not upon the mountains of Armenia, but ſome of thoſe between Perſia, Tartary, and India: he takes the mountains of Ararat in a more extended ſenſe, than either the antient traditions, or ſcripture will allow; and, to ſerve his turn, ſuppoſes the mountains of Caucaſus, towards Bactria and Scythia, to be part of a branch of Taurus, which, in its way through Aſia, croſſed Armenia [d], but for this there does not appear the leaſt authority from the obſervations of travellers in thoſe countries. However, his opinion hath been followed by ſome of our lateſt writers [e], not conſidering, perhaps, that Sir Walter took his notion from Goropius Becanus, one of the moſt fanciful authors that ever wrote; and that this laſt was led into it by the beforementioned miſtake of the geographers ††.

Mount Masîs is encompaſſed by ſeveral petty hills, on the tops of which are found many ruins, thought to have been the buildings of the firſt men, who feared for a time to deſcend into the plains [f]: it ſtands by itſelf in form of a ſugar loaf, in the midſt of one of the greateſt plains that is to be ſeen

Deſcription of mount Masis.

[d] Raleigh Hiſt. of the world, book 1. ch. 7. § 10. [e] Shuckford's Connect. Vol. I. p. 98, 103. [f] Cartwright, or the Preachers Travels, p. 30, 31.

it was named Nakkaſh jehân, from the great numbers of painters ſettled there; for the Perſians call one of that profeſſion (by an Arabic word) نقاش Nakkâſh: and in Armenian alſo նկարիչ Nakſherâr, is a painter; and նկարել nakſhel, to paint.

†† This author among others out of the way conceits, holds the mountain Parapaniſus, or Paropamiſus (a branch of Taurus, not of Caucaſus) to be Ararat. He imagines, that the place firſt inhabited after the flood was Margiana, a province of Perſia, from whence thoſe colonies came with Nimrod, which built Babel: his reaſon for this opinion is, becauſe they went from the Eaſt (24) to the plain of Shinaar; whereas Armenia (ſays he) bears ſomewhat weſtward from thence (25).

(24) Gen. xi. 2. (25) Goropius Becanus Indo-Scythia, p. 473.

ſeen [g], detached as it were from the other mountains of Armenia, which make a long chain [h]: it conſiſts of two hills [i]; the leſſer is the more ſharp and pointed [k]; the higher, which is that of the ark, lies north-weſt of it [l], and raiſes its head far above the neighbouring mountains [m]: it ſeems ſo high and big, that when the air is clear it does not appear to be above two leagues from Erivan [n] (whence one writer, deceived by the ſight, computes the diſtance but at one league [o]), and may be ſeen four, or five, days journey off [p]. Yet travellers agree, that the height of it is not extraordinary [q]; one thinks, he hath paſſed a part of Caucaſus which was higher [r]; and another ſays, it is not above twice as high as mount Valerian near Paris [s]: they therefore impute its being viſible ſo far off to its lonely ſituation in a vaſt plain [t], and upon the moſt elevated part of the country, without any mountains before it to obſtruct the view [u]. As for the ſnow, with which, according to all accounts, it is perpetually covered from the middle upwards [w] (as it is often with clouds during two, or three, months of the year [x]), we are told that is no rule to judge of the height by, ſince the loweſt mountains in thoſe countries, paſſed with the ſame eaſe as the plains, are covered with ſnow [y], which even in the hotteſt ſummer lies on the leaſt hills in Armenia [z], as it does on thoſe ſmall ones ſurrounding Ararat [a].

Fables of the Armenians concerning it.

The Armenian monks tell a thouſand idle ſtories concerning the ark, the whole [b], or a part of which, they pretend, is ſtill to be ſeen on the top of the mountains [c], ſomething always appearing there black, which they imagine to be the ark [d]; though at the ſame time they affirm none ever was, nor can get there [e]; thoſe who have attempted to aſcend the hill out of zeal, or otherwiſe, having

[g] Tournefort, ubi. ſup. [h] Tavernier, ubi ſup. [i] Poullet, p. 131, Rubruquis, ubi. ſup. [k] Tournefort, ubi ſup. [l] Newberry in Purchas, part 2. p. 1417. [m] Tavernier, Poullet, ubi ſup. Cartwright, p. 32. [n] Chardin, ubi ſup. [o] Poullet, ubi ſup. [p] Idem, p. 130. Tavernier, ubi ſup. [q] Rabruquis, Newberry, & Poullet, ubi ſup, [r] Chardin, ubi ſup. [s] Poullet, ubi ſup. [t] Tournefort, ubi ſup. [u] Poullet, ubi ſup. [w] Tavernier, Chardin, Tournefort, &c. ubi ſupr. [x] Tavernier, ubi ſupr. [y] Poullet, ubi ſupra. [z] Tournefort, ubi ſupra. [a] Cartwright, ubi ſupr. [b] Poullet, Chardin, ubi ſupr. [c] Cartwright. ubi ſupr. [d] Haitho de Tartaris, lib. 1. cap. 9. [e] Rubruq. Newberry, Cartwright, Chardin, &c. ubi ſupr.

ing been puniſhed, or at leaſt brought back again by angels at night to the place they ſet out from in the day, to prevent their approaching that veſſel [f], as happened, they ſay, to a monk of Ejmiadzin, afterwards biſhop of Niſibîn, called James; though God at length ſo far complied with his deſires, as to ſend an angel to him with a piece of the ark, who bid him, at the ſame time, not fatigue himſelf in vainly endeavouring to aſcend the mountain, for that God had prohibited the acceſs to the top of it [g], and would not ſuffer men to pull in pieces a veſſel which had ſaved ſo many creatures [h]: but if they are aſked, whether they have any relics of the ark, they gravely anſwer, that it ſtill lies buried in the vaſt heaps of ſnow [i]; which indeed is the charm that hinders the aſcent [k], as one Armenian author confeſſes [l], and is ſufficient to defend the ark without the help of an angel. Yet a certain miſſionary conceits, that the earthly paradiſe ſtill remains in ſome agreeable plain of this mountain, which God preſerves from heat and cold, and where the prophets Enoch and Elias enjoy a thouſand ſorts of delights, and are to eat of the tree of life till the end of the world [m]. Indeed the plain under the mount might be allowed its claim to the terreſtrial paradiſe, was it to be decided by the beauty and delightfulneſs of the ſituation.

WITHOUT doubt the Armenian prieſts would be glad to produce better credentials in behalf of their tradition; accordingly, they ſometimes tell travellers the ſaid monk had been at the top of Ararat [n]. The Armenian patriarch informed Tournefort, that God had favoured one ſaint with the ſight of the ark itſelf [o]. And Rubruquis was aſſured by a biſhop, that the beforementioned piece of the ark [brought to James] was in their church [p]; and the Copts ſhew part of a beam of that veſſel in theirs at old Cairo in Egypt [q]. What credit ought to be given to theſe venerable teſtimonies, will beſt appear from the account Tournefort has left us of his attempt to climb this moun-

[f] Cartwright, p. 34. Poullet and Chardin, ubi ſupra. [g] Rubruquis, Chardin, & Tournefort, ubi ſupr. P. Philippe Voy. 1. tom. II. c. 2. [h] Tournefort, ubi ſupr. [i] Ibid. [k] Vid. Chardin, Tournefort, Poullet, Lucas, &c ubi ſup. [l] Haitho de Tartaris, lib. 1. cap. 9. [m] P. Philippe, ubi ſup. [n] Newberry, ubi ſup. [o] Tournefort ubi ſup. [p] Rubruquis, ubi ſup. [q] De Bruyn Voyage au Levant, Vol. I. c. 35. p. 190.

tain *, in which having ſpent a whole day with infinite fatigue,

* "We began, ſays that author (1), to aſcend mount Ararat about "two o'clock in the afternoon, but not without difficulty. We "were forced to climb up in looſe ſand, where we ſaw nothing "but ſome Juniper and Goats-thorn. This mountain is one of "the moſt ſad and diſagreeable ſights upon earth; there are nei-"ther trees, nor ſhrubs upon it, nor any convents of religious. "Struys would have done us a favour, if he had told us where "the Anchorites he mentions reſided; for the people of the "country do not remember to have heard, there ever were in this "mountain either Armenian Monks, or Carmelites; all the mo-"naſteries are in the plain. I do not believe the place is inhabi-"table in any other part, becauſe the whole ſoil of Ararat is looſe "or covered with ſnow; it ſeems too as if this mountain waſted "continually. From the top of a great abyſs, oppoſite to the "village [of Akurlu in the road from Erivan] from whence we "came, there continually fall down rocks of a blackiſh hard ſtone, "which make a terrible noiſe. There are no living animals but "at the bottom, and towards the middle of the mountain: they "who occupy the firſt region, are poor ſhepherds and ſcabby flocks, "among which one finds ſome patridges: the ſecond region is "poſſeſſed by crows and tygers, which paſſed by us not without "giving fear. All the reſt of the mountain, that is, the half of "it, has been covered with ſnow ever ſince the ark reſted there, "and theſe ſnows are covered half the year with very thick "clouds. That which is yet more inconvenient and troubleſome "in this mountain is, that the ſnow which is melted runs into the "abyſs by a vaſt number of ſources, which one cannot come at, "and which are as foul as the waters of a land-flood in the greateſt "ſtorm. All theſe ſources form the ſtream which runs by Akurlu, "and which never becomes clear. They drink mud there all the "year; but we found it more delicious than the beſt wine: it is "always cold as ice, and has no muddy taſte. Notwithſtanding "the amazement this frightful ſolitude caſt us into, we endeavour-"ed to find the pretended monaſtery, and enquired, whether there "were any religious ſhut up in caverns. The notion they have in "the country that the ark reſted here, and the veneration all the "Armenians have for this mountain (for they kiſs the earth ſo ſoon "as they ſee it, and repeat certain prayers, after having made the "ſign of the croſs) have made many imagine it muſt be filled "with religious; and Struys is not the only perſon who has told "the publick ſo. However, they aſſured us, there was only one "forſaken convent at the foot of the gulph; that there was no "fountain throughout the whole mount, only the ſtream of the abyſs,

(1) In loco ſuperius citat.

tigue, he was obliged, by the ſnow and intenſe cold, to return

" abyſs, which we could not come at to drink, but near that " convent; and that we could not go in a whole day to the " ſnow and down again to the bottom of the abyſs; that the " ſhepherds often loſt their way, and we might judge what a " miſerable place it was, from the neceſſity they were under to " dig the earth from time to time, to find a ſpring of water " for themſelves and their flocks; and that it would be to no " purpoſe to aſcend higher in ſearch of plants, becauſe we " ſhould only find rocks hanging over our heads, and heaped one " upon another.

" After this we began to travel towards the firſt range of " rocks, with one bottle of water: but notwithſtanding we had " made pitchers of our bellies, in two hours time they were quite " dried up; and water ſhook in a bottle is a very diſagreeable " ſort of drink: our only hope therefore was to come at the " ſnow, and eat ſome of it to quench our thirſt. It muſt be ac- " knowledged, that the ſight is very much deceived, when we " ſtand at the bottom and gueſs at the height of a mountain, and " eſpecially when it muſt be aſcended through ſand as trouble- " ſome as the Syrtes of Africa. It is impoſſible to take one firm " ſtep upon the ſand of mount Ararat; in many places, inſtead " of aſcending, we were obliged to go back again down to the " middle of the mountain; and, in order to continue our " courſe, to wind ſometimes to the right, and ſometimes to the " left. When we meet with any Mouſe-ear which was too ſhort " to brouze, it made our boots as ſmooth as glaſs, and ſo ſlip- " pery, we were forced to ſtand ſtill.

" To avoid the ſand, which fatigued us intolerably, we took " our way to the great rocks heaped one on another. We paſs " under them as through caverns, wherein we are ſheltered from " all the injuries of the weather, except the cold, which we felt " there very ſenſibly, and ſerved a little to allay our thirſt. We " were obliged to leave this place quickly, leſt we ſhould get a " pleuriſy, and came into a very troubleſome way, full of " ſtones, and were forced to leap from one ſtone to another. We " came about noon to a place more pleaſing, for it ſeemed as " if we were ready to take hold of the ſnow with our teeth. But " our joy laſted not long; for what we had taken for ſnow was " only a chalk rock, which hid from our ſight a tract of land a- " bout two hours journey diſtant from the ſnow, and which " ſeemed to us to have a new kind of pavement, not of little " flints, but ſmall pieces of ſtone broken off by the froſt, and " whoſe edges cut like flints. We kept in very good order; " we aſſured our guides, that we would go no farther than a " heap of ſnow, which appeared ſcarce bigger than a cake; but

turn without accomplishing his design, though it was then in the middle of summer †.

The

" but when we came to it, we found the heap was above thirty " paces in diameter. We every one of us eat more or less, as " we had a mind; and by agreement resolved to advance no far- " ther. This snow was above four foot thick; and being frozen " hard, we took a great piece to fill our bottle. It cannot be " imagined, how much the eating of snow revives and fortifies: " we descended therefore from the snow with a wonderful vigor, " which was not of long duration; for we came to sands which " lay behind the abyss, and were full as troublesome as the for- " mer. When we endeavoured to slide along, half our bodies " were buried; besides, we could not keep the direct " way, but were obliged to go to the left to come to the " edge of the abyss, of which we had a mind to take a nearer " view. And indeed it is a most frightful sight; to look on " the horrible precipices, ever so little, will make the head turn " round. The noise made by a vast number of crows, who are " continually flying from one side to the other, has something in " it very frightful. To form an idea of this place, you must " imagine one of the highest mountains in the world opening its " bosom, only to shew the most horrid spectacle that can be thought " of. All the precipices are perpendicular, and the extremities " are rough and blackish, as if a smoak came out of the sides " and smutted them. About six o'clock in the afternoon we " found ourselves quite tired out and spent. However, at length " observing a place covered with Mouse-ear, whose declivity " seemed to favour our descent, that is to say, the way Noah " took to the bottom of the mountain; we ran thither in haste, " and then sat down to rest ourselves, and found there more " plants than we had all the journey besides: and what " pleased us mighty well was, that our guides shewed from " thence, but at a great distance, the monastery whither we were " to go to quench our thirst. We laid ourselves on our backs, " and slid down for an hour together upon this green plat, and " so passed on very agreeably, and much faster than we could " have gone on our legs. The night and our thirst were a kind " of spurs to us, and caused us to make the greater speed. We " continued therefore to slide in this manner as long as the way " would suffer us, and when we met with small flint stones which " hurt our shoulders, we turned and slid on our bellies, or went " backwards on all four. Thus by degrees we gained the mona- " stery, but so disordered and fatigued by our manner of travel- " ling, that we were not able to move hand or foot. To our " great misfortune also we found there neither wine nor water, so " were forced to send to the river, the descent to which was near " a quarter of a league down-right, and the way very rugged.

† Yet,

THE ſituation of Ararat, whether it be mount Masîs, or the mountain of Cardu, is very convenient for the journey of the ſons of Noah from thence to Shinaar, the diſtance not being very great, and the deſcent eaſy, eſpecially from the latter, into the plains of Meſopotamia, of which Shinaar is a part. We diſcover plainly, through the Moſaic hiſtory, a neighbourhood between the land of Eden, where man was created, that of Ararat, where the remains of mankind were ſaved, and that of Shinaar, where they fixed the centre of their plantations. And certainly it was more natural it ſhould be ſo, than to ſeparate thoſe ſcenes at ſuch a diſtance from each other, as ſome have done.

† Yet, if you will believe a certain Dutch traveller (1), theſe difficulties may be ſurmounted; for he aſſures us, he went five days journey up mount Ararat to ſee a Romiſh hermit; that he paſſed through three regions of clouds, the firſt dark and thick, the next cold and full of ſnow, and the third colder ſtill: that he advanced five miles every day; and when he came to the place where the hermit had his cell, he breathed a very ſerene and temperate air: that the hermit told him, he had perceived neither wind nor rain all the twenty five years he had dwelt there, and that on the top of the mountain there ſtill reigned a greater tranquillity, whereby the ark was preſerved uncorrupted. He farther pretends, that the hermit gave him a croſs made out of the wood of the ark, together with a certificate, a formal copy of which the author has given in his ſham relation.

(1) Struys's Voyages, chap. 17.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The General Hiſtory from the Deluge to the Birth of Abraham.

SECT. I.

The Chronology from the Deluge to the Departure of Abraham from Haran ſtated.

PURSUANT to our intended method, before we proceed to the poſtdiluvian hiſtory, we ſhall ſettle the chronology of this firſt period of it, which, as well as that of the preceding, can be adjuſted only from the records of Moſes.

THIS is one of the moſt difficult periods to ſettle in all chronology, not only, becauſe we have no aſſiſtance therein from profane hiſtory, but alſo on account of the great diverſity between the ſeveral copies of the Moſaical writings. It is a great misfortune, that there ſhould be any uncertainty with regard to the times next after the flood. For the planting of the world, the forming of ſocieties and governments, the riſe of arts and ſciences, and the beginning of ſtates and monarchies, falling within theſe limits, nothing could have been more ſerviceable to hiſtory than a fixed and uniform chronology of theſe early ages: whereas authors, being divided in their judgments about the authenticneſs of the ſeveral copies, have every one choſen to follow that which agreed beſt with his own notions, or hypotheſis; whereby they have ſo perplexed and confounded all tranſactions, both ſacred and profane, which fall within this period, that the hiſtory thereof can be compared to nothing but the original chaos.

HOWEVER, it is no ſmall ſatisfaction, that the great difference between the ſeveral copies end here; and that being once got below the birth of Abraham, we enter upon a more certain ſeries of time, about which chronologers are more generally agreed; the variety of the ſeveral copies making a difference of but a few years, not, ſeveral ages, as we find the difference ariſes to in this period: for the better exhibiting of which we have inſerted the following tables, adjuſted in the ſame form with thoſe we have given of the antediluvian patriarchs.

A TABLE

A TABLE of the Years of the postdiluvian Patriarchs, to the birth of Abraham.

	Their Ages at their Sons Birth.				Years they lived after the Sons Birth.			Length of their Lives.		
	Heb.	Jos.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.
Shem after the flood	2	2	2	2	500	500	500	600	600	600
Arphaxad	35	135	135	135	403	303	430	438	438	565
Cainan	0	0	0	130	0	0	330	0	0	460
Salah,	30	130	130	130	403	303	330	433	433	460
Eber,	34	134	134	134	430	270	370	464	404	504
Phaleg,	30	130	130	130	209	109	209	239	239	339
Reu,	32	132	132	132	207	107	207	239	239	339
Serug,	30	130	130	130	200	100	200	230	230	330
Nahor,	29	29	79	79	119	69	129	148	148	208
Terah,	130	70	130	130	75	75	75	205	205	205
Sum to Abraham's birth,	352	892	1002	1132						

A Chronological Table of the Years of the postdiluvian Patriarchs, to the call of Abraham, according to the Computation of the Hebrew.

	Years of the Flood.	Years of Noah,	Years of Shem,	Years of Arphaxad,	Years of Salah,	Years of Eber,	Years of Peleg,	Years of Reu,	Years of Serug,	Years of Nahor,	Years of Terah,	Years of Abraham,
The Flood,	0	600	98	100	30							
Arphaxad born,	2	602	100	35	65	34	30	32	30	29	70	18
Salah born,	37	637	135	65	30							
Eber born,	67	667	165	95	60	64	30	32	30	29	70	18
Peleg born. Confusion of tongues, and dispersion of mankind,	101	701	199	99	64	34						
Reu born,	131	731	229	129	94	64	30	32	30	29	70	18
Serug born,	163	763	261	161	126	96	62	32	30	29	70	18
Nahor born,	193	793	291	191	156	126	92	62	30	29	70	18
Terah born,	222	822	320	220	185	155	121	91	59	29	70	18
Haran born,	292	892	390	290	255	225	191	161	129	99	70	18
Peleg dies,	340	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	177	147	118	18
Nahor dies,	341	941	439	339	304	274		210	178	148	119	18
Noah dies,	350	950	448	348	313	283		219	187		128	18
Abraham born,	352		450	350	315	285		221	189		130	18
Reu born,	370		468	368	333	303		239	207		148	18
Serug dies,	393		491	391	356	326			230		171	41
Terah dies, and Abraham is called from Haran,	427		525	425	390	360					205	75

A Chronological

A Chronological TABLE of the Years of the poſtdiluvian Patriarchs, to the call of Abraham, according to the Computation of the Septuagint.

	Years of the Flood.	Years of Noah,	Years of Shem,	Years of Arphaxad,	Years of Cainan,	Years of Salah,	Years of Eber,	Years of Peleg,	Years of Reu,	Years of Serug,	Years of Nahor,	Years of Terah,	Years of Abraham,
The Flood,	0	600	98	100									
Arphaxad born,	2	602	100										
Cainan born,	137	737	235	135									
Salah born,	267	867	365	265	130								
Noah dies,	350	950	448	348	213	83							
Eber born,	397		495	395	260	130							
Shem dies,	502		600	500	365	235	105						
Peleg born. Confuſion of tongues, and diſperſion of mankind,	531			529	394	264	134						
Arphaxad dies,	567				430	330	170	36					
Cainan dies,	597				460	360	200	66					
Reu born,	661					394	264	130					
Salah dies,	727					460	330	196	66				
Serug born,	793						396	262	132				
Peleg dies,	870						473	339	209	77			
Eber dies,	901						504		240	108			
Nahor born,	923								262	130			
Reu dies,	1000								339	207	77		
Terah born,	1002									209	79		
Serug dies,	1123									330	200	121	
Abraham born,	1132										209	130	
Terah dies, and Abraham is called from Haran,	1207											205	75

A Chrono-

A Chronological TABLE of the years of the poſtdiluvian Patriarchs, to the call of Abraham, according to the Computation of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

	Years of the Flood.	Years of Noah,	Years of Shem,	Years of Arphaxad,	Years of Salah,	Years of Eber,	Years of Peleg,	Years of Reu,	Years of Serug,	Years of Nahor,	Years of Terah,	Years of Abraham,
The Flood,	0	600	98									
Arphaxad born,	2	602	100									
Salah born,	137	737	235	135								
Eber born,	267	867	365	265	130							
Noah dies,	350	950	448	348	213	83						
Peleg born. Confuſion of tongues, and diſperſion of mankind,	401		499	399	264	134						
Arphaxad dies,	440		538	438	303	193	40					
Shem dies,	502		600		365	255	101					
Reu born,	531				394	264	130					
Salah dies,	570				433	303	169	39				
Peleg dies,	640				373	239	109					
Serug born,	663				396		132					
Eber dies,	671				404		140	8				
Reu dies,	770						239	107				
Nahor born,	793							130				
Terah born,	872							209	79			
Serug dies,	893							230	100	21		
Nahor dies,	941								148	69		
Abraham born,	1002									130		
Terah dies, and Abraham is called from Haran.	1077									205	75	

THERE is no difference in this period between the Hebrew and the Samaritan, but what ariſes from the different computation of the years of the genitures of the patriarchs; the great difficulty, in both copies, conſiſts in Terah's age at the birth of Abraham: ſome will have him born in the ſeventieth year of Terah, which cannot be, unleſs Abraham were the eldeſt ſon, as it is evident he was not (for Lot, Haran's ſon, was near as old as Abraham) or unleſs Haran was born ſome years before his father was ſeventy, which ſeems to be not agreeable to the text; and if Terah was two hundred and five years old at his death, Abraham being then but ſeventy five, he muſt be one hundred and thirty when Abraham was born *. The Samaritan copy indeed helps this matter, by making Terah's age, at his death, no more than one hundred and forty five; but then the firſt objection as to Haran's ſeniority remains: ſo that in this point the fault ſeems to be in the Samaritan †, for, it muſt be confeſſed, the Hebrew number is here moſt fit to be relied on.

* This, we think, has been ſatisfactorily proved by Mr. Whiſton, in his ſhort view of the chronology of the old Teſtament (1).

† The gentleman juſt mentioned, ſince the publiſhing of his ſaid Chronology, has thought fit to change his opinion in this matter (2), and produces ſeveral arguments to prove the Samaritan to be the true reading, and the Hebrew number a corruption. He relies on two paſſages, one of Philo, the other of Joſephus. The former ſays, *that* Abraham (*born when his father* Terah *was ſeventy*) *was ſeventy five years old when he departed from* Haran; *though* Terah *lived there till his death* (3). But Philo here only copies Moſes; ſo that his concluſion, whatever it was, does not decide any thing as to the true age of Terah at that time, which muſt have been more than ſeventy from the plain ſenſe of the text, when attended to. Joſephus's words are, *They buried* Terah *when he died at* Haran, *after he had lived two hundred and five years*; for the *life of man was already cut ſhort and did become ſhorter till the birth of* Moſes (4). Now ſince he expreſly mentions the age of Terah to have been two hundred and five, we cannot ſee any ground to ſuppoſe it a corruption for one hundred and forty five, though he elſewhere mentions Abraham to be born in the ſeventieth year of his father; for the inconſiſtency has been overlooked

(1) Pag. 31. (2) See his Eſſay towards reſtoring the true text of the old Teſtament, p. 27, &c. (3) Philo de Somniis, p. 572. (4) Joſeph. Ant. l. 1. c. 6.

The call of Abraham, where the period ends, is by some reckoned five years sooner, when he left Ur; but this will not agree with scripture, as shall be shewn when we come to settle the next period.

There are some variations between the present copies of the Septuagint; but as most of them relate to the length of some of the patriarchs lives, a circumstance not very material, and which makes no difference in the computation, we shall pass them by, and only observe, that some copies place the birth of Arphaxad twelve years after the flood, which will encrease the total of this period ten years; and that some make the age of Nahor, at the death of Terah, 179 *.

We have chosen to follow the readings of the Alexandrian manuscript, according to which the only difference between the Septuagint and the Samaritan in this period is, 130 years given to Cainan, who is added between Arphaxad and Salah, but is to be found neither in the Hebrew, nor the Samaritan, nor in the chronology of those times, given us from the Septuagint itself, by Africanus and Eusebius [a]: circumstances we look upon as sufficient authority to reject him out of the number of the patriarchs, notwithstanding his name is inserted in St. Luke [b]; which may easily have happened, by its being added from some erroneous copies of the Septuagint, and first, as is most probable, put in the margin, though it has since crept into the text.

The difference between the Hebrew reckoning and the Samaritan in this period is very considerable, being no less than 650 years, in which the Hebrew is defective, and in all

[a] Vid. Eusеb. Chron. Græc. p. 9. [b] Luke iii. 36.

overlooked by many besides Josephus; much less can we conclude it such from his reasoning about the length of mens lives being shortened; which may be just, notwithstanding Terah lived to be older than his father.

* Father Pezron, following the present copies of Josephus, places the birth of Terah in the 19th year of Nahor, which agrees with the Hebrew, and the amended number of Josephus, with the addition only of 100 years; and thus the total of this period will be 1257 (1). But afterwards taking in the 10 years, added as above, between the flood and the birth of Arphaxad, he in his second computation makes the whole 1267.

(1) See his Antiq. des temps retablie, p. 61.

all probability has been corrupted; we reserve for another place the examination of the authenticneſs of the various copies of the Pentateuch; at preſent we ſhall make uſe of ſome arguments drawn from reaſon, to ſhew that the Samaritan is to be preferred to the Hebrew.

IN the firſt place, this period ſeems much too ſhort, according to the Hebrew, for the hiſtorical facts belonging thereto. We ſhall ſhew, when we come to ſpeak of the diſperſion, how inconſiſtent it is in all reſpects with that tranſaction, and to what extreams it hath driven thoſe who follow the Hebrew chronology, to place the birth of Peleg, when that diſperſion happened, at no greater diſtance from the flood than 101 years; and how improbable it is, that in the ſpace of 427 years, the world ſhould be in ſuch an improved ſtate, as it appears to have been in the time of Abraham; when cities were built, kingdoms erected, and monarchs extended their dominion even from Perſia to Canaan: But we ſhall confine ourſelves at preſent to ſome other obſervations ariſing from the conſequences of the Hebrew numbers, which we ſhall give in the words of a learned writer [c].

1. IT is not probable, that the ſeven firſt patriarchs after the flood, who lived 300 and 400 years, ſhould beget at thirty, or thereabouts, as the preſent Hebrew is; and yet the following patriarchs, who did not live half ſo long, ſhould not beget their firſt-born till double the age: Terah at ſeventy, Abraham at eighty ſeven, Iſaac at ſixty, Jacob at eighty four, Levi, Kohath, and Amram at about ſixty each of them; for from the birth of Levi to the birth of Moſes the ſon of Amram, were about 180 years.

2. † IT is not probable, that Noah, who lived 600 years

[c] Dr. Wills, in his appendix to his learned diſcourſe of the chronology of Joſephus.

† In this paragraph we have accommodated Dr. Will's reaſoning to our own table of the Hebrew chronology, differing ſomewhat from his, which follows the ſhorter calculation, making Abraham born in the ſeventieth year of Terah, and conſequently placing his birth ſixty years earlier; that is, in the year of the flood 292, whereby there happens ſome variation between our calculations, in comparing the years of the deaths of the patriarchs together; and, as we have not brought in Joktan with his ſons, any more than Peleg, into the firſt diſperſion, we have omitted the third reaſon urged by the doctor againſt the Hebrew numbers. However, for the reader's ſatisfaction, we ſhall ſubjoin them both, by way of note, in his own words. 2dly,

before the flood, ſhould ſee nine generations ſucceed each other after the flood, and live till the 128th year of Terah, within two years of Abraham's birth; that Arphaxad ſhould outlive Peleg, Reu, Serug, Nahor, and Terah, for five generations lineally deſcended from him. And what is more ſtrange, that Shem ſhould ſurvive Arphaxad, and ſee eight generations after him ſucceſſively die; and live till the fiftieth year of Iſaac, within fifteen years of Abraham's death; that Eber, ſhould outlive Abraham himſelf, the ſeventh in deſcent from him, though Abraham dies in a good old age, an old man [d]. Thus the great anceſtors, which in courſe of nature ought to die firſt, die laſt; by reducing the ſtandard of the length of human life too faſt, for the ſhortneſs of the ſpace allowed from the flood to the birth of Abraham; and hence, among other abſurd conſequences which follow from this chronology, occaſion was given to that notion of the Jews, followed ſtill by many modern writers, that Melchizedech was Shem.

SECT.

[d] Gen. xxv. 8.

2dly, Says that author, it is not probable, that Noah, who lived 600 years before the flood, ſhould ſee ten generations ſucceed each other after the flood, and live till the fifty-eighth year of Abraham; that Shem ſhould ſee nine generations after him ſucceſſively die, and live many years after the death of Abraham, the ninth perſon lineally deſcended from him; who yet died in a good old age, an old man (2); that Sala ſhould outlive Phaleg, Ragau, Lamech (3) Nahor, Terah, and Abraham, for ſix generations lineally deſcended from him; and even the laſt of them lived to be an old man: that Heber ſhould outlive Phaleg, Ragau, Lamech (4), Nahor, Terah, Abraham, and Iſaac, ſeven ſucceſſive generations that deſcended from him, and yet Abraham and Iſaac ſhould both live to be old men (5).

3dly, It is not poſſible, that Joktan ſhould have thirteen ſons when Phaleg was born, at the diviſion of tongues, if Phaleg was born in the thirty-fourth year of Heber, as it is in the Hebrew; and to fancy Phaleg firſt called ſo at the time of his death, is ridiculous, and expreſly contrary to Joſephus. At the diviſion of tongues we are told, that Mizraim, Canaan, Sidon, Elam, Aſhur, Aram, &c. gave names to countries, and yet they died before Phaleg. Shem, Arphaxad, Salah, Heber, &c. according to the Hebrew, were alive when God inſtituted circumciſion; and yet none of them ordered to be circumciſed, which was then the ſign of being in covenant with God.

(2) Gen. xxv. 8. (3) A miſtake of the printer for Serug. (4) Serug. (5) Gen. xxxv. 29.

SECT. II.

The hiſtory of Noah after the flood, and of his deſcendants to Abraham.

THE time of Noah's going forth of the ark, is fixed in ſcripture [e] to have been on the twenty ſeventh day of the ſecond month in the ſix hundred and firſt year of his age *. The firſt thing he did upon landing was, to build an altar, and offer a burnt ſacrifice of every clean beaſt, and every clean fowl [f]. † God having accepted the ſacrifice, bleſſed Noah, and gave him power over all living creatures, with a permiſſion to eat of them as freely as of the produce of the ground; however, he forbad him to eat the blood of animals, or to ſhed that of man, ordering him to puniſh manſlaughter with death, and to people the world as faſt as he could [g]. Year of the Flood, 1. Year before Chriſt, 2997. Noah comes out of the ark. The precepts given him by God.

IT is not to be thought, that theſe three injunctions contained all that was obligatory on Noah and his poſterity, till the promulgation of the law of Sinai, there being nothing here required of his duty towards God, the whole conſiſting in moral precepts; but we are to conſider them either as explanatory of, or additional to, the laws, which Noah had received in common with the reſt of the antediluvians, and which were derived from Adam. The permiſſion to eat fleſh, now firſt explicitly given, ſeems to intimate, that it was not allowed before the flood: but to avoid repetitions, we refer the reader to what we have already ſaid on that ſubject [h].

[e] Gen. viii. 13. [f] Gen. viii. 20. [g] Chap. ix. 1—7. [h] Chap. 1. §. 7.

* The Mohammedans will have it, that Noah quitted the ark the 10th day of Moharram, which is the firſt month of their year; and that he inſtituted the faſt, obſerved by them on that day, which they call Aſhura, in commemoration of his deliverance (6).

† Some Rabbins pretend Shem offered the ſacrifice, Noah being rendered unqualified for that office, by having the misfortune to be bit by a lyon (7).

(6) D' Herb. Bibl. orient. p. 676. (7) Shalſhel, Hakkab. p. 7.

Year of the Flood, 1. Year before Christ, 2997

THE rabbins pretend, that God gave to Noah and his sons certain general precepts, which, according to them, contain the law of nature, common to all men indifferently, and for the non-observance of which the Gentiles themselves have been punished by God [i]. These precepts enjoined, 1. To abstain from idolatry. 2. From blasphemy. 3. From murder. 4. From adultery. 5. From theft. 6. To institute judges to maintain those laws; and 7. To abstain from eating the flesh of any animal, cut off while the animal was living; which last precept was supposed to be intended by the words, *the flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall you not eat* [k]. This barbarity some pagans are said to have practised [l]. From the time of Moses, the Jews would not suffer a stranger to live among them, unless he observed the precepts of the Noachidæ, and never give quarter in battle to any who were ignorant of them.

MAIMONIDES [m] says, the six first precepts were given to Adam, and the seventh to Noah: to those some Rabbins add others, as the prohibition to draw blood of any living creature to drink [n]; to maim animals [o]; to use magick and sorcery [p]; to couple animals, and graft trees with different kinds [q]. But what calls the antiquity of these precepts in question is, that there is no mention made of them, neither in scripture, nor in Onkelos, nor in Josephus, nor in Philo; and that neither Jerom, nor Origen, nor any of the antient fathers appear to have known any thing of them.

BISHOP Cumberland, who likewise justly suspects the veracity of the Rabbins, thinks the patriarchal laws are to be searched for in the scripture, and accordingly, in a particular treatise on that subject [r], he has shewn from thence that the patriarchs, long before the law was delivered by Moses, carefully observed the principal precepts, as well towards God, as towards man, so as to fulfil the decalogue moved thereto either by the same promises, or fear of the same judgments and punishments, which were afterwards pronounced by the Mosaical law [s].

Go

[i] Vid. Selden de jure nat. & gent. lib. I. cap. ult. Calmet dict. art. Noachides. [k] Genes. ix. 4. [l] Arnob. cont. Gent. lib. 5. See before, p. 259. in the notes. [m] Yad Hazzakah, Sepher melakim. c. 9. [n] Rab. Chevi [o] R. Chidea. [p] R. Simeon. [q] R. Eliezer. [r] legibus patriarcharum, printed in his Origines gentium ar quiss. [s] Ibid, chap 5.

GOD farther made a covenant with Noah [t], never to drown the world again, promiſing, as a token thereof, for the future, to ſet his bow in the clouds, when it rained. This ſeems to have been done to take away Noah's apprehenſions, who, according to Joſephus, ſacrificed to appeaſe God's wrath, fearing an anniverſary deluge; for which ſuppoſition that hiſtorian has been cenſured ſomewhat too ſeverely [u].

Year of the Flood, 1. Year before Chriſt, 2997

God aſſures Noah the world ſhould not periſh by a ſecond deluge.

NOAH, being come down from the mountain, applied himſelf to huſbandry, and planted a vineyard [x]; but the eaſtern authors [y] make this the work of his ſons. However, Noah, having drank of the wine to exceſs, lay careleſly uncovered in his tent, which his ſon Ham perceiveing, called in his brothers, Shem and Japhet, to behold the poſture their father was in; but they, out of a ſenſe of duty and modeſty, took a garment, and going backwards, covered Noah with it; for which, when he came to know of what had paſſed, he bleſſed them, and curſed Ham in his poſterity, who were to be ſervants to their brethren [z].

Noah becomes an huſbandman.

THE Armenians have a tradition, that Noah, after quitting the ark, went and ſettled at Erivan, about twelve leagues from Ararat, and that it was there he planted the vineyard, in a place where they ſtill make excellent wine [a]. According to Tavernier, Nakſhiwan, which is ten leagues diſtant from Ararat, was the place where Noah went to dwell; and he adds, that it is reported to be the oldeſt city in the world. Another tradition of the country will have the village of Cemain above-mentioned, to be the place where Noah and his ſons fixed their firſt habitation [b]. But this is to be underſtood of the places where theſe towns were afterwards built, for it is not likely, they began to build towns ſo early, much leſs, that the deluge left them ſtanding, if there had been any there before; and the ſcripture ſays, Noah was in his tent when Ham ſurprized him in wine.

Where firſt he ſettled.

HOWEVER, this tradition, ſo far as it relates to Noah's ſettling in the country near the mountain where the ark reſted, ſeems more probable than a notion lately advanced

Noah, not Fo hi.

[t] Gen. ix. 11, 17. [u] Joſeph. ant. l. 1. c. 3. Heideg. Hiſt. patriarc. Exercit 19. 3. [x] Gen. ix, 20. [y] Eutych. p. 43. [z] Gen. ix. 21.—27. [a] Calmet Dict. ſuppl. p. 63. [b] See before chap. i. §. 8.

Year of the Flood, 1. Year before Christ, 2997

by some men of learning [c], that Noah left his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, in some little time, and with his younger issue travelled to China, where he lived before the deluge, and that he was the first king of that country, whom the Chinese call Fo hi *; it seeming more

[c] Dr. Allix, in his Reflections upon the books of the holy scriptures, p. 112. Mr. Whiston in his Chronol. of the old Test. &c. in his new theory of the earth, and his Essay for restoring the true text, &c. Mr Shuckford in his Connection, and Mr. Bedford in his scripture chronology.

* This opinion (much more reasonable than that of Hornius, who will have Fo hi to be Adam (1), though the Chinese (2) expressly make a different person the first man, whom they call Puon ku) depends on the following observations. 1. The Chinese histories say, Fo hi had no father (3); which agrees well enough with Noah, because the memory of his father might be lost in the deluge, and so give occasion to this fable, that he had no father at all. 2. The same histories affirm, that Fo hi's mother conceived him as she was encompassed with a rainbow (4); which seems an imperfect tradition concerning the first appearance of the rainbow to Noah after the flood. 3. The character and appellation of Fo hi among the Chinese agrees with what the scriptures affirm of Noah.——Fo hi, says Le Compte, the first emperor of China, carefully bred up seven sorts of creatures, which he used to sacrifice to the supreme spirit of heaven and earth. For this reason some called him Paohi, that is oblation (5), Noah says Moses, took into the ark *of every clean beast by sevens, of fowls also of the air by sevens, the male and his female, to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth* (6). And after the flood *Noah built an altar unto the Lord, and took of every clean beast, and every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar* (7). 4. The Chinese histories affirm, that Fo hi settled in the province of Shensi, which is the most northwest province of China (8), and very near to mount Caucasus, upon which (according to an opinion we have taken notice of) the ark rested, and from which Noah must descend to go thence into China. In favour of

(1) Arca Noe, p. 14. (2) Vid. Martinii Hist. Sinicum, lib. 1. p. 13. (3) Ibid. p. 21. (4) Ibid. (5) Le Compte Memoirs of China, p. 313. Couplet Confucius proœm. p. 38, 76. (6) Genes. -vii. 2, 3. 9. (7) Chap. viii. 20. (8) Martinius ubi supr. Couplet. Chronol. in Fo hi.

more agreeable to reaſon, as well as ſcripture, to conclude, that Noah continued with his poſterity till his death, and that, after quitting the ark, they dwelt ſomewhere near the mountain where it reſted, which is in Armenia; and that they did not remove, till ſuch time as they are mentioned in ſcripture to have begun their journey towards Shinaar .

Year of the Flood, 1. Year before Chriſt, 2997

NOAH

[c] Gen. xi. 2.

of this opinion, it is alſo further obſerved, 5. That the Moſaic hiſtory, as it is perfectly ſilent in relation to the peopling of China at the diſperſion, confining itſelf within the bounds of the then known world; ſo it ſays little or nothing of Noah after the flood; which ſeems to be an intimation, that Noah had no ſhare in the ſubſequent actions related in the ſacred hiſtory; and ſo by a fair conſequence might be in China, a region out of the compaſs of the known world. 6. That this is confirmed by the Chaldean tradition of the ſudden diſappearing of Xiſuthrus, or Noah, his wife, and daughter, and the Pilot, on their coming out of the ark. 7. That the Chineſe language and writing, are ſo entirely different from thoſe among us, introduced by the confuſion of Babel, that they cannot well be derived from thence, 8. That the diſperſion beginning from Babylon, ſo remote a country as China, could not be ſo ſoon reached and peopled, as the prodigious number of its inhabitants at preſent ſhew it to have been; and therefore they could not be of ſo late an original. 9. That the learned ſciences ſeem to have been antiently much better known in China, than in theſe parts of the world; their government and conſtitution much firmer and more laſting than ours; their moſt antient hiſtories more authentic and certain than ours (excepting thoſe of more than human original): all which things would make one ready to imagine, that as it is probable Noah might be much more wiſe and learned than any of his ſons; ſo all thoſe ſettlements, laws, and traditions, which are derived from him, are remarkable effects and teſtimonies of the ſame (9). 10. And principally, that the reign of Fo hi, according to the moſt rational and exact account hitherto given of the Chineſe chronology, coincides with the time of Noah (10); and that the length of the reigns and lives of Fo hi, and his firſt ſucceſſors, greately correſponds with the duration of the lives of men in the ſame ages recorded in ſcripture (11).

But

(9) Vid. Whiſton's Theory, Book II. p. 137, &c. (10) Vid. his Short view of the Chronol. &c. p. 61. (11) Ibid. p. 64, 65.

Year of the Flood, 350
Year before Chriſt, 2648
Noah dies.

NOAH died in the nine hundred and fiftieth year of his age, and, according to the tradition of the orientals, was buried in Meſopotamia, where they ſhew his ſepulchre, in a caſtle near a monaſtery called Dair abunah, that is, the monaſtery of our Father [d]. According to a common opinion, before his death, he divided the world among his three ſons, giving to Shem Aſia, to Ham Africa, and to Japhet Europe: but this has not the leaſt foundation in ſcripture.

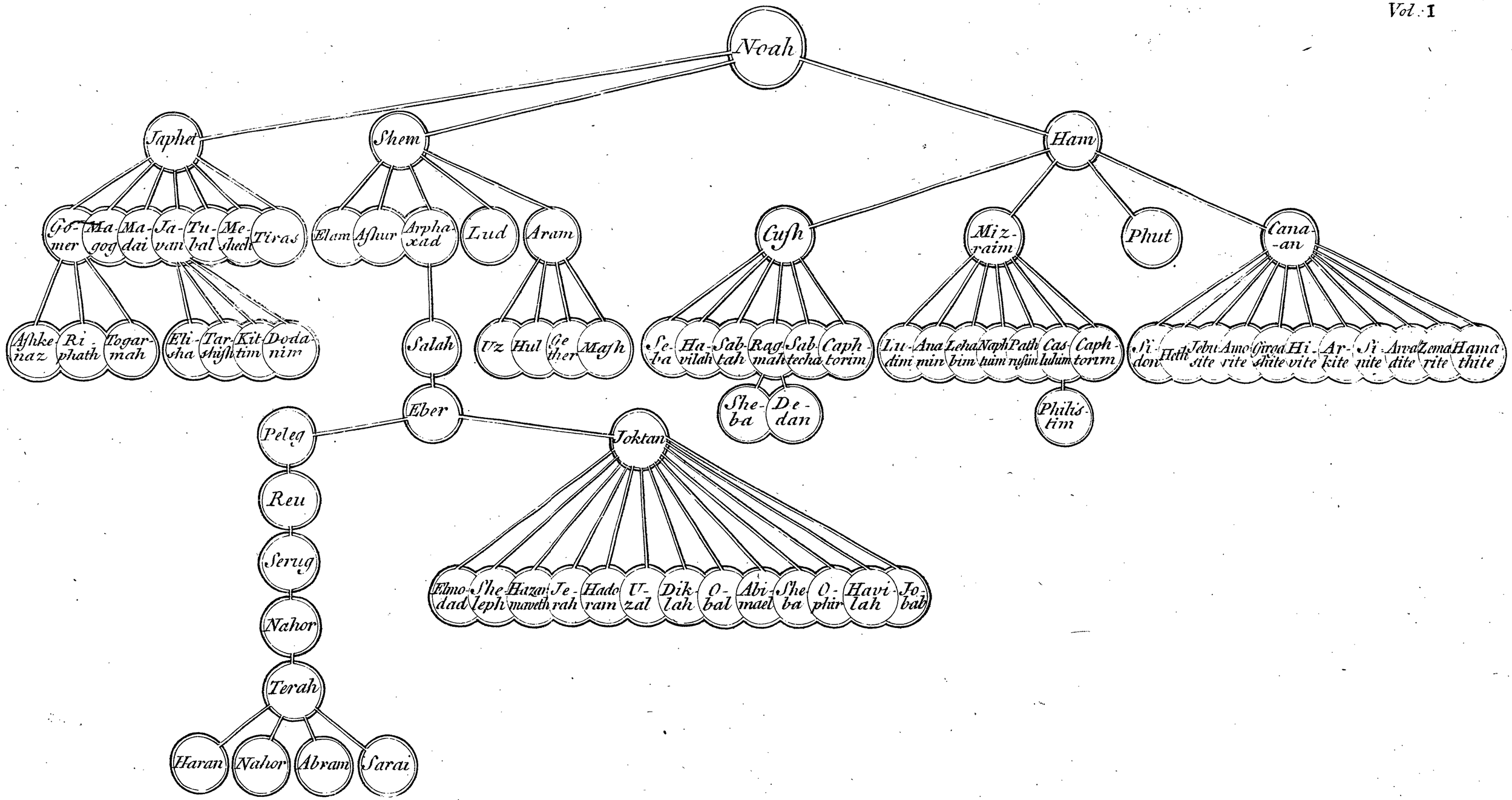
ALL mankind, at leaſt that we have any account of in ſcripture, being the iſſue of theſe three ſons of Noah, who were

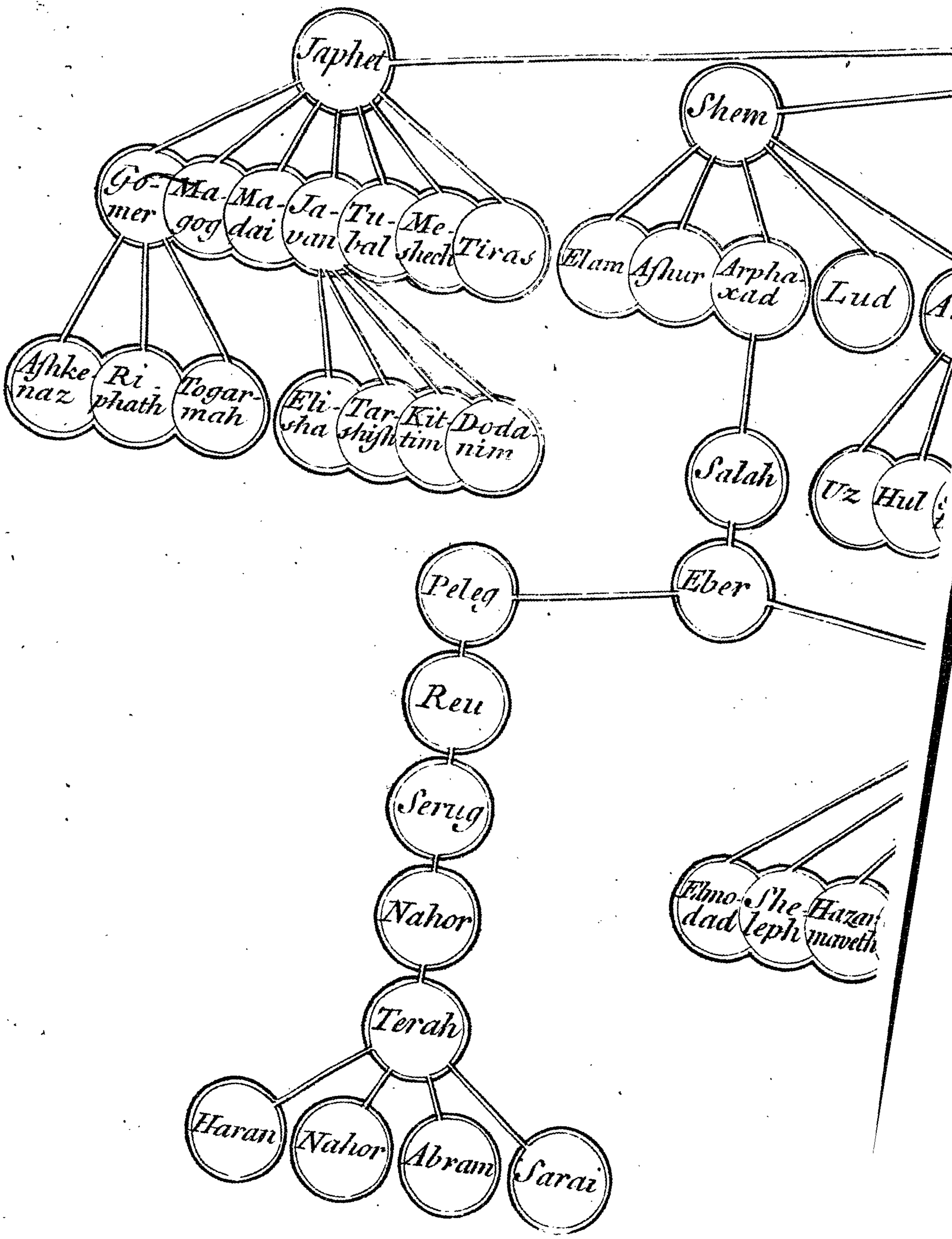
[d] D' Herbel. p. 677.

But as this opinion is conjectural only, ſo ſeveral objections might be made to it. As 1. That it is improbable, if Noah was Fo hi, that the Chineſe annals ſhould make no mention of ſo extraordianary an event as the deluge, which they are ſo far from having recorded, that Couplet (12) expreſly makes it an error in thoſe who imagine they have. 2. The uncertainty of the Chineſe writers themſelves as to the hiſtory of Fo hi and his next ſucceſſors, ſome doubting, whether there was ever ſuch a man as Fo hi; and others rejecting both him and his ſucceſſor Shin nungh, and beginning with Hoangh ti the third king; wherefore Couplet leaves them out of the ſucceſſion of Chineſe monarchs, and that not without reaſon, ſince Fo hi is ſaid to have had the body of a ſerpent, and Shin nungh the head of an ox (13). 3. Moſes's account of the diſperſion ſeems moſt evidently to relate to all mankind without exception, who, he ſuppoſes, were collected together in the plain of Shinaar; as will hereafter be more particularly evinced. And if this be admitted, Noah, having no other iſſue than his three ſons named by Moſes, conſequently could not reign in China.

This matter, however, we may be probably be able to decide, when we come to treat profeſſedly of the Chineſe affairs; wherein we expect ſome aſſiſtance from the new hiſtory of China, lately publiſhed in Italy, written by a Mandarin, who, as we are told, has made it appear, that there are no genuine records to be found in that empire, earlier than two or three centuries before Chriſt.

(12) Præf. ad Tab. Chronol. p. 3, 8. (13) Vid. Ibid. p. 3. 10, 11.


Noah
Japhet
Shem
Ham
Go-mer
Ma-gog
Ma-dai
Ja-van
Tu-bal
Me-shech
Tiras
Elam
Aſhur
Arphaxad
Lud
Aram
Cuſh
Miz-raim
Phut
Cana-an
Aſhke-naz
Ri-phath
Togar-mah
Eli-ſha
Tar-ſhiſh
Kit-tim
Doda-nim
Salah
Uz
Hul
Ge-ther
Maſh
Se-ba
Ha-vilah
Sab-tah
Rag-mah
Sab-techa
Caph-torim
Liu-dim
Ana-min
Leha-bim
Naph-tuim
Path-ruſim
Cas-luhim
Caph-torim
Si-don
Heth
Jebu-ſite
Amo-rite
Girga-ſite
Hi-vite
Ar-kite
Si-nite
Arva-dite
Zema-rite
Hama-thite
Eber
She-ba
De-dan
Philiſ-tim
Peleg
Joktan
Reu
Serug
Nahor
Terah
Elmo-dad
She-leph
Hazar-maveth
Je-rah
Hado-ram
U-zal
Dik-lah
O-bal
Abi-mael
She-ba
O-phir
Havi-lah
Jo-bab
Haran
Nahor
Abram
Sarai


Japhet
Shem
Go-mer
Ma-gog
Ma-dai
Ja-van
Tu-bal
Me-shech
Tiras
Elam
Assur
Arphaxad
Lud
Aram
Ashke-naz
Ri-phath
Togar-mah
Eli-sha
Tar-shishim
Kit-tim
Doda-nim
Salah
Uz
Hul
Peleg
Eber
Reu
Serug
Nahor
Terah
Elmo-dad
She-leph
Haran
Nahor
Abram
Sarai

were saved with him in the ark *; before we proceed any farther, it will be proper to give a genealogical table of their descendants, in the same manner as we have already given one of the antediluvian patriarchs. (See the plate.) Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Christ, 2648

THE chief design of Moses being to record what particularly concerned the Israelites, he has given us the genealogy of the line of Shem only entire. As to the descendants of the other two sons of Noah, his design seems to have been to bring them down as low as the dispersion, in order to leave to posterity the names of the first founders of nations, and there to dismiss them; for it is observable, that though several particulars are mentioned in the course of the Mosaical history relating to the Canaanites, as the people with whom the Israelites were more particularly to be concerned, yet he hath deduced the genealogy of that branch of Ham no farther; on the contrary, it is shorter than those of Mizraim and Cush by one generation. The genealogy of the descendants of Noah.

NOR indeed is there much to be collected from scripture relating to the descendants of Shem, more than their names and the ages of the patriarchs in the line of Peleg, till we come to Terah the father of Abraham, with whom this period ends. But whatever there may be wanting in the sacred history, the Jews have taken care, according to their usual custom, plentifully to supply with the figments and conceits of their Rabbins, a set of men, who have surpassed all others in the art of trifling and inventing absurdities. On the other hand, the christian chronologers and historians of all ages, who have endeavoured to connect the prophane history with the sacred, within this period, would furnish us with materials enough to fill up the vacancies, could we think it worth while to collect their several opinions and conjectures; few of them agreeing in any one point, which yet every one is confident he has settled. We shall therefore take notice of but a very few of them; such contradictory sentiments serving only to shew the uncertainty of the

* Besides these three sons, some of the Jewish writers give Noah a fourth, named Yoniko, who, as they pretend, taught astronomy, and instructed Nimrod in the art of war (1). The Mohammedan traditions, generally speaking, allow Noah but three sons, yet an Arab writer mentions another, named Majestûn (2), who was probably born after the flood.

(1) Juchasin. 135. (2) Abdalrahman Ebn Abdallah apud D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. in voc. Nouh.

Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Christ, 2648

the whole, and consequently to confound, rather than to instruct, the reader.

We shall not in this place touch upon the migrations, or the planting of nations by the posterity of Noah, which we have reserved for the subject of a distinct section, that we might not mix the history of that remarkable transaction with other matters. We have also thought proper to change the order of the table, and give an account of the line of Ham before that of Shem, which will more naturally close this section.

Of Japhet and his posterity.

Though Japhet is generally placed last in scripture [e], yet he is expressly said to be the eldest † [f]; and that he was so is farther evident, for that Noah was five hundred years old when he begat his three sons [g], according to which manner of expression in scripture one of them was born in his five hundredth year: but it could not be Shem, for he being in the one hundredth year of his age at the birth of Arphaxad, two years after the flood [h], when Noah was six hundred and three years old, it follows, that he himself was born in the five hundred and third year of Noah: nor could it be Ham, for he is expressly said to have been the younger [i]; so that Japhet was the eldest of the three sons.

Japhet being affected, as well as Shem, with filial concern at Ham's exposing their father's nakedness, assisted to cover him, and had a blessing given him by Noah on that occasion. God, says that patriarch, *shall enlarge Japhet* ‡, *and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem*; *and Canaan shall be his servant* [k]. The first part of this prophecy has been verified in the great possessions which fell to the descendants of Japhet; as all Europe, and all the northern part

[e] Genes. v. 32. vi. 10. vii. 13. ix. 18. x. 1. [f] Ibid. x. 21. [g] Ibid. v. 32. [h] Ibid. xi. 10. [i] Ibib. ix. 24. [k] Ibid. ix. 27.

† This is the sense of the passage according to the English version and the Septuagint; but the Vulgate translates it, Shem the elder brother of Japhet. The former interpretation must be the true one, for the reason immediately given; though the original, and the oriental versions are capable of either sense.

‡ Noah here alludes to the name of Japhet, the root of which signifies to enlarge; though others translate the passage, God shall persuade Japhet, that is, bring him over in time to the true worship, figured by the tents of Shem.

part of Aſia, the leſſer Aſia, Media, Armenia, the countries between the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas, as well as thoſe lying to the north of them, Grand Tartary, with India, and China. Add to theſe the European colonies in America of late ages; for, as to the original inhabitants of that continent, it is uncertain from which of the three branches they are deſcended. The next part of the prophecy, that *he ſhould dwell in the tents of Shem*, ſeems to refer to the overthrow of the Aſſyrian empire by the Medes in conjunction with the Babylonians, as well as to the conqueſts of the Greeks and Romans in Aſia; alluded to afterwards by Balaam in his prophecy [1], *that ſhips ſhould come from the coaſts of Chittim, and ſhould afflict Aſhur, and ſhould afflict Eber*: that is, they ſhould afflict the Aſſyrians, and thoſe who dwelt beyond the river Euphrates *. And at the ſame time

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[1] Num. xxiv. 24.

* The common opinion is, that by Eber in this place is to be underſtood the Hebrews, or Jews; but a learned author has offered reaſons which ſeem to prove the contrary. He obſerves, that to take it in that ſenſe is repugnant to the deſign of the paſſage, and makes Balaam bleſs, and curſe, the children of Iſrael, in the ſame breath, by propheſying of their deſtruction (1): and therefore he will have it, that Eber has not reſpect to perſons, but to place, and ſignifies beyond the river (2); in which ſenſe that word is often uſed in ſcripture (3). Upon this occaſion the ſame author propoſes to amend our tranſlation of the above text (4) by reading it thus; *and they ſhall go forth from the coaſt of Chittim, and afflict Aſhur, and ſhall afflict the other ſide of the river* (5), that is, the countries beyond Euphrates. There ſeems to be no need of ſuppoſing the laſt and to be taken conjunctively, or the words following it to be a repetition, or explanatory of the firſt, as that writer thinks; for Aſhur, ſtrictly ſpeaking, lay beyond the Tigris; neither in Balaam's time had the Aſſyrian empire extended itſelf weſtward ſo far as the Euphrates: and when that prophecy was to be fulfilled, Aſhur was reduced to its primitive bounds, and in ſubjection to Elam or the Perſians; as were alſo the Babylonians, and the inhabitants of Aram, or Meſopotamia: who we think are to be underſtood by Eber, or the other ſide of the river, that is, the Euphrates.

(1) Vid. Hyde de Rel. Vet. Perſ. p. 56. (2) Vid. eund. ibid. p. 57. (3) Idem, ibid. p. 50, &c. (4) Numb. xxiv. 24. (5) Hyde, ibid. p. 57.

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time that they dwelt in the tents of Shem, they made the posterity of Ham their servants, by subduing the Babylonians, the Canaanites, the Egyptians, and other nations descended from that branch, wherein was the completion of the last part of Noah's prophecy.

This prophecy seems also to have regard to the state of the true religion, confining it to the race of Shem, for a certain period of time, ending perhaps at the coming of the Messiah [m]; for since Christ the knowledge of the true God hath spread considerably more among the descendants of Japhet, than it did before amongst those of Shem, having till then been confined almost wholly to the nation of the Jews, however, the Mohammedans rank Japhet himself among the prophets [n].

The septuagint version, followed by Eusebius and others, mention, an eighth son of Japhet named Elisa, who is neither in the Hebrew, nor the Chaldee †.

No particulars being mentioned in scripture with reference to the descendants of Japhet, farther than what relates to their founding of Nations, we must refer the reader, for what may be said of them under that head, to our account of the migrations.

That

[m] See below. [n] Vid. D'Herbelot Bibl. Orient. Art. Jafeth. [o] Euseb. Chronic. l. 1. p. 8. Chronic. Alexandr. Augustinus.

† The Persian historians give Japhet eleven sons, viz. 1. Jin, Chin, or Sin. 2. Seklab. 3. Manshuj. 4. Gomari. 5. Turk (from whom this patriarch is surnamed Abu'l Turk, or the father of Turk). 6. Khalaj. 7. Khozar. 8. Rûs. 9. Sussan. 10. Ghaz. And 11. Taraj. (6). The Tartarian authors name but eight sons of Japhet, in this order; 1. Turk. 2. Khars [Khozar]. 3. Saklab. 4. Rûs. 5. Maminakh. 6. Zwin [Jin]. 7. Kamari. 8. Tarikh (7). The former authors assert, that Japhet married his sons to their own sisters before they departed to people their countries, to the end they might multiply the easier; and indeed it happened, that the eastern countries, and the greater part of the north were first peopled (8).

(6) Mîr Khond & Khond Amîr. See D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Jafeth. (7) See Abu'lghazi Khans Genealogical Hist. of the Tartars, vol. I. p. 6. (8) D'Herbelot, ubi supra.

THAT Ham was the youngeſt ſon of Noah ‡, though generally placed the ſecond of the three, is evident by his being expreſly called the youngeſt: he may have been born within a few years after Shem, but as neither his age, nor the time of his birth are mentioned, we can determine nothing concerning that point. However, one would be apt to imagine, from Ham's indiſcretion as well as wickedneſs in diſcovering his father's nakedneſs, that when he committed that crime he was but a very young man, though he had children; he might probably be about fifty, or threeſcore, an age ſcarce equivalent in thoſe days to eighteen now. Year of the Flood. 350. Year before Chriſt, 2648

Of Ham and his poſterity.

WHEN Noah was acquainted with the irreverent action of Ham *†, he curſed him in a branch of his poſterity; *Curſed*, ſays he, *be Canaan, a ſervant of ſervants ſhall he be unto*

‡ The Hebrew word חם Ham ſignifies hot, or heat, or ſunburnt. Though he is expreſly ſaid to be the younger, yet numbers of commentators, relying more upon the order wherein he is named, maintain, that he was the ſecond ſon of Noah; and to elude the force of the text, ſeveral of them pretend, that it is not Ham himſelf, but Canaan, his ſon, who is here ſpoken of: others will have it, that Ham was called the younger, or the youngeſt, for no other reaſon, but becauſe his conduct was leſs prudent than that of his brothers (9). But ſuch interpretations, if once admitted, will ſerve only to render the moſt clear expreſſions in ſcripture obſcure.

*† If we enquire, by what means Noah came to know that it was Ham who had diſcovered his nakedneſs, ſome Rabbins anſwer, that he inferred ſo much from Ham's paſt ſhameleſs behaviour, in prophaning the ark by lying with his wife (10); others ſay, that Ham by looking on his father's ſhame, found extraordinary alterations in himſelf; his eyes became red, his hair and beard burnt, and his lips diſtorted; and he knew ſo little what he did, that he ſtripped himſelf ſtark naked, and walked about in that condition. Noah, ſeeing all this, from thence concluded, that it was Ham who had diſhonoured him. Some ſay, that he could not have known it otherwiſe than by revelation. St. Chryſoſtom's opinion is very rational; he believes, that Noah ſeeing himſelf covered with a garment which did not belong to him, aſked the occaſion of it, and learned from Shem and Japhet all that had paſſed (11).

(9) Vid. Heidegg. Hiſt. Patriarch. Exercit. 20. num. 4. (10) Vid. Heidegg. Hiſt. Patriarch. tom. I. p. 409. (11) Vid. eund. ibid.

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unto his brethren [p]. This curse, if it be a curse ††, being pronounced not against Ham the immediate transgressor, but against his son, who does not appear from the words of Moses to have been any way concerned in the crime, though some imagine he had a principle share in it *‡, hath occasioned several conjectures: some [q] have believed, that Noah cursed Canaan, because he could not well have cursed Ham himself, whom God had not long before blessed [r]; others, more reasonably, think Moses's chief intent in recording this prediction was, to raise the spirits of the Israelites, then entring on a terrible war with the children of Canaan, by the assurance that, in consequence of the curse, that people were destined by God to be subdued by them [s]; for the opinion of those who imagine all Ham's race were here accursed, seems repugnant to the plain words of scripture, which confines the malediction to Canaan and his posterity, and also contrary to fact †‡.

Among

[p] Gen. ix. 25. [q] Chrysost. serm. 29. in Gen. [r] Genes. ix. 1. [s] Augustin. quæst. 17. in Genes. Theodoret in Gen. 58. Heidegg. Hist. Patr. tom. I. p. 411. Bayle cited in the notes below.

†† Mr. Bayle does not take this passage properly to contain a curse. He says, it is pretty strange, that the scripture takes no notice of any thing being done by Noah to Ham: he observes, that there is not one word of censure passed upon Ham; that the patriarch was content to curse Canaan the son of Ham; and that this curse was nothing else but a prophecy of the victories, which the descendants of Shem should obtain over the descendants of Canaan under Joshua, that is to say, seven or eight ages after the crime of Ham had been committed (12).

*‡ The Jews pretend, that Canaan was the person who first discovered the nakedness of Noah, with which he acquainted his father Ham; who made sport of the accident, and went and told it to his brothers Shem and Japhet; and that Noah awaking out of his sleep cursed Canaan, because he was the first occasion of the scandal (13).

†‡ A learned author hath affirmed, that there hath never yet been a son of Ham who hath shaken a scepter over the head of Japhet; Shem hath subdued Japhet, and Japhet hath subdued Shem, but Ham never subdued either (14). However, this must

(12) Bayle Dict. Hist. Art. Cham. § 37. Theodoret. quæst. 57. in Genes.

(13) Bereshit Rabba

(14) See Mede's works, p. 358.

AMONG thoſe who are for extending the curſe to Ham and his other race, ſome have ſuppoſed another effect of it, not mentioned by Moſes; that Ham became a black-moor, and communicated that colour to his deſcendants ‡‡; but this opinion is a meer chimæra, as has been formerly obſerved [t]. Year of the World, 350. Year before Chriſt, 2648

IN conſequence of this undutiful act of his telling his brothers that he had ſeen his father's nakedneſs, Ham has been

[t] Introd. p. 174.

muſt be a miſtake, if there be any truth in what the Egyptian hiſtories relate of the actions of Seſoſtris, and ſome others of their kings, who conquered the greateſt part of Aſia and Europe; and conſequently Ham may be ſaid to have ſubdued both. Beſide, we find the Iſraelites were long the ſlaves of Mizraim, or the Egyptians; and we ſee no reaſon why the ſhameful ſubmiſſion, which Rehoboam, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Solomon, made to Shiſhak, the Egyptian Pharaoh (15), who, after taking all the ſtrong cities of Judah, ſeems to have had Jeruſalem delivered up to him without oppoſition, to be ſpoiled with the temple, may not be deemed a ſervitude; it being expreſly ſaid, the Jews ſhould be his ſervants (16). Ham alſo appears to have encroached upon Shem very early, for he ſeems to have driven the Shemites out of their firſt ſeats in Shinaar; and every body knows the Babylonians, who were Hamites, had a conſiderable ſhare in the deſtruction of the Aſſyrian empire. But a ſtronger inſtance than any of the preceding is the Babyloniſh captivity, in which the Jews themſelves were the ſufferers. Nay, the very branch of Canaan ſeems to have had great ſucceſs againſt Japhet, not only by the exploits of the Carthaginians (originally Canaanites) in Italy, but by their conqueſt of Spain.

‡‡ This opinion has been entertained by ſeveral chriſtians, as well as Mohammedans, though ſome of the latter account otherwiſe for mens different complexions (17). The Arab writers add, that Noah, relenting at the ſudden change in his ſon, prayed to God, that his poſterity might be treated gently in their ſervitude; in conſequence whereof the black ſlaves are not only in great requeſt, but generally have great credit and power with their maſters (18).

Some of the ſame authors pretend, that Noah's curſe was inflicted on Ham for his diſobedience, becauſe he would not come to prayers one morning when his father called him (19).

(15) 1 Kings xiv. 25. 2 Chron. xii, 2. 9. (16) 2 Chron. xii. 5, 8. (17) Vid. Introd. p. 173. (18) D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. p. 245, & 677. (19) Ibid. p. 677.

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been looked upon as the first introducer of wickedness after the flood; and authors have imputed to him many enormities, some of them ridiculous enough, which they have grounded solely upon this single passage. They have believed, seeing Ham could be guilty of so much indiscretion towards his father, that he was a reprobate, who had committed all sorts of abominations. They take it for granted, that none but he and his posterity were concerned in the building of Babel, which they consider as a very wicked attempt [u]. They make him the first propagator of idolatry after the flood *, and the inventor of magic, and relate many passages to that effect †. They pretend, that he set a very unedifying example of incontinence, by getting his wife with child in the very ark ‡. Nay, it has been imagined, that the crime which he committed against his father was infinitely more enormous than it

[u] See after.

* Several instances of this the reader will find hereafter.

† Ham is held to have been the inventor of magic, so far only as that it was he who preserved and taught it to the descendants of Noah; for it is allowed, it was not Ham who first invented this art, but the angels, who, becoming enamoured of the women of the old world, taught it the antediluvians (1). They say that Ham, not daring to carry with him into the ark the books which treated of this subject, engraved the principal rules of the art upon plates of metal and hard stone, able to resist the waters of the deluge; which treasure he carefully hid, and after quitting the ark went and took them from the place where he had deposited them (2). It is pretended, that Mizraïm learned of his father Ham all those abominable secrets; and that the pretenders to that science consider Ham as their first founder, and to have been the same with Zoroastres, and honour him as a god. The first author of this opinion seems to have been the counterfeit Clemens (3).

‡ Though St. Ambrose and others conceive from the words of Moses, that the matrimonial duty was superseded and suspended during the time Noah and his family lived in the ark (4); nevertheless it is an opinion which has spread pretty much, that Ham did not observe continency on that occasion, but that his wife brought forth Canaan in the very ark (5).

(1) See before, p. 246. in the notes. (2) Cassian. Collat. 8. c. 21. Pseudo-Beros. lib. 3. p. 80. apud. Bayle Dict. Hist. Art. Cham. (3) Lib. 4. recognition. Apud Bochart. Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 1 (4) Ambros. de Noa & Arca, c. 21. apud Salian. tom. 1. p. 290. (5) Vid. Heid. vol. 1. p. 409.

it is repreſented in ſcripture : ſome concluding, that Ham caſtrated Noah ** ; others, that he rendred him impotent by

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** Some Jewiſh Doctors have aſſerted this, and pretend, that what prompted Ham to ſo violent an act was, to prevent Noah's having any more ſons ; as if he feared his ſhare in the diviſion of the world would be too ſmall (6). Some grave authors have undertaken to refute this fancy very ſeriouſly, by theſe words of ſcripture : *Noah awoke from his wine and knew what his younger ſon had done unto him.* If he had performed, ſay they, upon his father ſo painful an operation as that of caſtrating muſt have been, Noah would not have ſlept till he was ſober, but the anguiſh would quickly have awakened him, and he would have ſurpriſed the criminal in the very fact ; nor would he have had any occaſion to have aſked who he was (7). From ſuch conceits as theſe ſome have drawn arguments to prove, that all the pagan gods were taken from the Jewiſh traditions. Thus they pretend, that Noah is the Saturn and the Uranus of the pagans ; and that the ſtories which are told of Jupiter's caſtrating his father Saturn, and Cronus caſtrating his father Uranus, are borrowed from this notion of Ham (8).

Upon this occaſion we are tempted to introduce a paſſage out of the count de Gabalis. He ſuppoſes, that Noah, after the deluge gave up his wife Veſta to the ſalamander Oromaſis, prince of the fiery ſubſtances, and perſuaded his three children to reſign alſo their three wives, to the princes of the three other elements (9). Ham, adds that author, rebelled againſt the counſel of Noah, and could not reſiſt the charms of his wife ; but his want of complaiſance marked all his black poſterity : the frightful complection of the inhabitants of the torrid zone, is the puniſhment of the profane ardour of their father—You believe for inſtance, continues he, that the injury which Ham did his father, was the ſame as is literally expreſſed ; but it was indeed a very different thing. Noah being come out of the ark, and ſeeing his wife Veſta's beauty rather improved by the familiarity which ſhe had with her gallant Oromaſis, his love for her returned upon him. Ham, fearing leſt his father might yet people the world with children blacker than his Ethiopians, took his opportunity one day, when the good old man had got his doſe of wine, and caſtrated him without mercy (10). We leave the reader to judge which notion is moſt agreeable to ſcripture, or becoming the gravity of a commentator, that of the Jews or this of the count de Gabalis.

(6) Referente R. Levi in Gen. cap. 9. apud Salian, tom. 1. p. 297. (7) Salianus, ibid. (8) Vid. Bayle Dict. Hiſt. Art. Cham. Rem. D. (9) Entretiens ſur les ſciences ſecretes, p. 204. (10) Ibid. p. 206.

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by vertue of ſome magick charms *† ; others again, that he committed inceſt with his father's wife †† ; whilſt a fourth party accuſe him of all ſorts of uncleanneſs (A). This character

*† This imagination is taken from the ſpurious Beroſus: he ſays, that Noah, unable to bear the vicious courſes of Ham, who particularly addicted himſelf to magic, became odious to this ſon; and the rather becauſe he ſhewed more tenderneſs for his other ſons who were younger; and Ham finding an opportunity of revenge, did not let it ſlip: he graſped the genitals of his father, and muttered ſome words which rendered him impotent for ever after (11).

†† This is the ſentiment of Mr. Von der Hart, profeſſor of the oriental languages in the univerſity of Helmſtad. He believes, that the injury which that patriarch received from Ham, conſiſted in the infamous temerity which this brutiſh ſon had to lie either with his own mother, or at leaſt with his ſtep-mother. He proves this explanation by divers places of ſcripture, where the phraſe to *uncover the ſhame of a woman*, ſignifies to lie with her. In the ſame places of ſcripture it is ſaid, that the nakedneſs or ſhame of a woman, is the nakedneſs or ſhame of her huſband; and by conſequence, according to this way of expreſſion, to have ſeen the nakedneſs of Noah, is a modeſt phraſe, importing to have had to do with Noah's wife. This author ſuppoſes, 1. That Ham watched his time for compaſſing his deſign, when Noah was aſleep after his debauch. 2. That ſome body having diſcovered the affair, went and gave the other two ſons of Noah notice of it. 3. That they, filled with indignation at the horrid affront which had been put upon the patriarch, repaired to the place as faſt as they could, and having ſurpriſed their brother in the act, threw their garments over him and his accomplice. 4. That they gave an account to their father of all that they had ſeen. 5. That Noah, much enraged, ordered by his will, that Canaan, who was to be the iſſue of that inceſtuous commerce, ſhould be wholly deprived of the inheritance (1). Theſe hypotheſes, ſays Mr. Bayle (2), are learned and ingenious; but if once it be ſuffered to ſuppoſe, that the narrations of Moſes are ſo diſguiſed, it may be feared, that the ſame liberty will be taken with the hiſtory of the temptation, and of the fall of Adam, as ſome have dared to do.

(A) The reaſon of Noah's diſcarding Ham ſeems not to have been ſo much on account of the perſonal injuries he had received from him, as his other immoralities. That unhappy man, it

(11) Pſeudo-Beroſus, lib. 3. p. 80.

(1) See the book intituled, Ephemeridum Philologicarum tomus, in the Leipſic Journal for October 1693, p. 466.

(2) Dict. Hiſt. Art. Cham. Rem. F.

character is very conformable with what we meet with in the antients concerning Cronus, with whom, among many others (B), Ham is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame. Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Chriſt, 2648

IF we may judge by the number of perſons in the three generations of Ham's line mentioned by Moſes [x], which exceeds the number of perſons deſcended from both his brothers in the ſame degree, he muſt have had the moſt numerous iſſue of the three ſons of Noah, and a greater part of the earth to his ſhare. But though much mention is made of the later poſterity of Ham in the ſucceeding part of the Jewiſh hiſtory, Moſes has recorded nothing relating to his firſt deſcendants, beſides their names and ſome general circumſtances, excepting Canaan and Nimrod.

CANAAN (C) was the fourth ſon of Ham, if we may be allowed to judge by the order in which we find his name placed in ſcripture. Neither the length of his life, nor the Of Canaan.

[x] Geneſ. x. 6.

it is pretended not only taught, that men ſhould live as they did before the flood, and commit all ſorts of inceſts, and ſomething worſe; but practiſed thoſe abominable leſſons himſelf. We chooſe to expreſs them in the words of the author. At vero cum publice corrumperet mortale genus, aſſerens, & re ipſa exequens, congrediendum eſſe ut ante inundationem, cum matribus, ſororibus, filiabus, maſculis, brutis, & quovis alio genere, ab hoc ejectus à Jano piiſſimo & caſtimonia atque pudicitia refertiſſimo (3).

(B) The hiſtory of Cronus from Sanchoniatho, whoſe account of him is the moſt full, will be given in the next ſection. Marſham thinks Ham is to be found in profane hiſtory under the names of Hammon, Thamus, Thammuz, Adonis, Oſiris, Baal, Belus, Jupiter, and Saturn the ſecond (4). The ſame author ſays, the Hebrew chronology requires, that Ham ſhould be the ſame with Menes, the firſt king of Egypt, whom almoſt all other authors make to be Mizraïm, his ſecond ſon (5)

(C) The Hebrew word is כנען, and not pronounced as we commonly do Canaan, making Ca the firſt ſyllable, but Chenaan, or rather Chnaan, the Shevah joining the Ch and N into one

(3) Pſeudo-Beroſus, lib. 3. p. 80. (4) Canon. Chron. p. 23, 30, 31, 32, 33. (5) Ibid. p. 23.

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the time of his birth, are mentioned by Moſes: however, ſome will have it that he was born in the ark, and that, becauſe he was the fruit of an unſeaſonable incontinence, therefore he was a wicked man. It has been already obſerved, that the curſe given by Noah to Canaan was peculiar to this ſon of Ham, and does not ſeem to have extended to the reſt of his brethren. And indeed the prophecy of Noah, that Canaan *ſhould be a ſervant of ſervants to his brethren*, ſeems to have been wholly completed in him. It was completed with regard to Shem, not only in that conſiderable part of the ſeven nations of the Canaanites were made ſlaves to the Iſraelites, when they took poſſeſſion of their land, as part of the remainder of them were afterwards enſlaved by Solomon [y]; but alſo by the ſubſequent expeditions of the Aſſyrians and Perſians, who were both deſcended from Shem, and under whom the Canaanites ſuffered ſubjection, as well as the Iſraelites; not to mention the conqueſt of part of Canaan by the Elamites, or Perſians, under Chedorlaomer [z], prior to them all. With regard to Japhet we find a completion of the prophecy, in the ſucceſſive conqueſts of the Greeks and Romans in Paleſtine and Phœnicia, where the Canaanites were ſettled, but eſpecially in the total ſubverſion of the Carthaginian power by the Romans; beſides ſome invaſions of the northern nations, as the poſterity of Thogarma, and Magog, wherein many of them probably were carried away captive.

It is believed that Canaan lived and died (D) in the country called after his name; where formerly they ſhewed his tomb, which was twenty five feet long, in a cave of

[y] 2 Chron. viii. 7, 8, 9. [z] Geneſ. xiv. 4, 7, 8, &c.

one ſyllable, and ſo the Jews pronounce it; which reading brings the word nearer the Chna of Sanchoniatho and Stephanus (6): it ſignifies a merchant, or trader, as the Canaanites, or Phœnicians, were.

(D) The Mohammedans are not uniform in their opinions concerning Canaan. Some agreeing with the account given of him in ſcripture, and others affirming, that he was born before the flood, and went not into the ark, but was drowned in the deluge, as hath been already obſerved (7).

(6) De Urbib. in voce Χνὰ. (7) See chap. 1. ſect. 1.

of the mountain of the Leopards, not far from Tripoly in Syria [a]. Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Chriſt, 2648

CANAAN ſeems to have been known to the antient heathens. Sanchoniatho expreſly ſays, Chna was the firſt Phœnician, or the firſt who was called a Phœnician [b]. The ſcripture mentions nothing particular with reſpect to any of his ſons, but the tranſactions of the Iſraelites, with their deſcendants, make up a great part of the Jewiſh hiſtory, and will be treated of in their proper place.

NIMROD was the ſixth ſon of Cuſh (E), and in all appearance much younger than any of his brothers; for Moſes mentions the ſons of Raamah, his fourth brother, before he ſpeaks of him. What the ſacred hiſtorian ſays of him is ſhort, and yet he ſays more of him than of any other of the poſterity of Noah, till he comes to Abraham. He tells us, that Nimrod *began to be a mighty one in the earth*; that he was *a mighty hunter before the* LORD, even to a proverb; and that *the beginning of his kingdom was* Babel, *and* Erech, *and* Accad, *and* Calneh *in the land of* Shinaar [c]. Of Nimrod.

FROM this account a great idea hath been received of his ſtrength and valour. Some repreſent him as a giant [d] (F); all conſider him as a great warriour. It is generally thought, that by the words *a mighty hunter*, is to be underſtood that he was a great tyrant; but ſome of the Rabbins [e] interpret thoſe words favourably, ſaying, that Nimrod was qualified by a peculiar dexterity and ſtrength for the chaſe, and that he offered to GOD the game which he took; and ſeveral of the moderns are of the opinion, that this paſſage is not to be underſtood of his tyrannical

[a] See Calmet, Dict. de la Bible Art. Canaan. [b] Apud Euſeb. de præp. Evang. lib. 1. cap, 10. p. 39. [c] Gen. x, 8, 9, 10. [d] Eutych. Annal. p. 63. Abu'lfarag. p. 12. [e] Aben Ezra, Kimhi. See alſo Grot.

(E) Some Mohammedan authors confound the genealogies of the ſons of Noah at a ſtrange rate. One of them ſays, that Nimrod was the ſon of Canaan, and brother of Cuſh, whom the Perſians ſurname Fil dendan, that is, the elephants tooth (1).

(F) The Hebrew word גִּבֹּר Gibbor, which our verſion renders a mighty one, is by the Septuagint tranſlated a giant (2).

(1) The author of Lobb al Tawarikh. apud D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Art. Nimrod. p. 668. (2) Gen. x. 8.

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oppreſſions, or of hunting of men, but of beaſts [f] (G). It muſt be owned, that the phraſe, *before the Lord*, may be taken in a favourable ſenſe, and as a commendation of a perſon's good qualities; but, in this place, the generality of expoſitors underſtand it otherwiſe (H.)

HUNTING muſt have been one of the moſt uſeful employments in the times juſt after the diſperſion, when all countries were over-run with wild beaſts, of which it was neceſſary they ſhould be cleared, in order to make them habitable; and therefore nothing ſeemed more proper to procure a man eſteem and honour in thoſe ages, than his being an expert hunter, as Nimrod probably was. By that exerciſe we are told the antient Perſians fitted their kings for war and government [g]; and hunting is ſtill, in many countries, conſidered as one part of a royal education.

THERE is nothing in the ſhort hiſtory of Nimrod which carries the leaſt air of reproach, except his name, which ſignifies a rebel (I); and that is the circumſtance which ſeems to have occaſioned the injurious opinions, which have been entertained of him in all ages. Commentators, being prepoſſeſſed in general, that the curſe of Noah fell upon the poſterity of Ham, and finding this prince ſtigmatized by his name, have interpreted every paſſage relating

[f] Bochart. Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 12. Perizon. Orig. Bab. cap. 12. p. 230. [g] Vid. Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 1.

(G) A writer of great authority in the Eaſt has a ſingular notion, that Nimrod by hunting provided food for the builders of Babel (3).

(H) The phraſe, *before the Lord*, ſeems to be in itſelf perfectly indifferent, and made uſe of only by way of exaggeration; however, it being often introduced in ſcripture where wicked actions are mentioned, therefore inſtead of before the Lord, St. Auſtin will have it to be rendered againſt the Lord (4), in which he is followed by ſeveral (5). The Jeruſalem Targum, and that of Ben Uzziel, both take this character of Nimrod in an ill ſenſe.

(I) This name is generally derived from מרד marad to rebel; but if a compoſition may be allowed of, a more favourable etymology,

(3) Abu'lfarag. Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 12. (4) De civit. Dei, lib. 16. cap. 4. (5) Joh. Sariſbur. Policrat. l. 1. p. 13, & l. 8. p. 559. Nic. Abram, Pharus V. T. lib. 5. cap. 5. § 16.

lating to him to his disadvantage. They represent him as a rebel against GOD, in perswading the descendants of Noah to disobey the divine command to disperse, and in setting them to build the tower of Babel, with an impious design of scaling heaven (K). They brand him as an ambitious

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mology, and more agreeable to Nimrod's occupation, might be offered from נמר namer a leopard, which may by a metonomy denote wild beasts in general, and רדד radad to fell or beat down, or רדה radah to subdue or take. The Arabs make Nemrûd, the plural of which is Nemâredah, the same with מארד mâred, a rebel. However, a certain Persian author, who makes Nimrod the same with Cay Caus, a king of the second dynasty of Persia, gives the name a Persian derivation, as if it was Nemûrd, that is, immortal; which appellation, he says, was given to him on account of his long reign of above 150 years (6). If the first of the three significations be the right, the name must have been given him by his enemies, not by his subjects (7). The Greeks write the name Nembrod and Nebrodes.

(K) An Arab author says, that Nimrod built this tower, that he might ascend to heaven to see Abraham's God, who had delivered him from the fiery furnace, into which that tyrant had cast him. They worked at this building three years, and when Nimrod had gotten on the top of it, he wondered to see the heaven as far from him as it was before; but his astonishment encreased, when this tower and another, which had been built for the same purpose, were successively overthrown. Still persisting in his design, he would be carried to heaven in a chest, born by four monstrous birds; but after wandering for some time through the air, he fell down on a mountain with such a force that made it shake, to which, as this writer imagines, alludes that passage in the Korân; *though the stratagems of the impious make the mountains tremble* (1).

Nimrod, by this disappointment, finding he could not make war with God in person, instead of acknowledging his power, proceeded to persecute those who adored any besides himself; but God, by dividing Nimrod's subjects, and confounding their language, deprived him of the greater part of his people, and plagued those who continued to adhere to him by a cloud of gnats, which destroyed almost all of them.

Another author adds, that one of those gnats having entered into the nostril, or ear of Nimrod, penetrated to one of the membranes

(6) The author of Mesatih. al. Olûm, apud D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Nemrod. (7) Vid. Hyde de rel. vet. Persar. p. 35. (1) Cap. 14. v. 46.

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bitious usurper, and an insolent oppressor; and make him the author of the adoration of fire (L), of idolatrous worship given to men, and the first persecutor on the score of religion (M). On the other hand, some account him a virtuous prince, and so far from advising the building of Babel, that they say he left the country and went into Assyria, because he would not give his consent to it (N).

NIMROD is generally thought to have been the first king after the flood (O); though some authors, supposing a plantation, or dispersion, prior to that of Babel, have made kings

membranes of his brain, where, growing bigger every day, it gave him such intolerable pain, that he was obliged to cause his head to be beaten with a mallet, in order to procure some ease; and that he suffered this torture for the space of four hundred years, God being willing to punish by one of the smallest of his creatures him, who insolently boasted himself to be the lord of all (2).

(L) The orientals make Nimrod the author of the sect of the Magi, or worshippers of fire; they tell us, that accidentally seeing fire rise out of the earth at a great distance from him in the east, he worshipped it, and appointed one Andeshan to attend the fire there, and throw frankincense into it (3).

(M) The person persecuted by Nimrod, according to several Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan authors, was Abraham, who by the Hebrew chronology might have been his contemporary.

(N) Jonathan ben Uzziel paraphrases the passage (4) thus; Nimrod going out of that land reigned in Assyria, because he would not come into the measures of those who were concerned in the division, therefore God gave him another country, where he built four other cities, viz. Niniveh, Platiathkartha, Parioth, and Telasar.

(O) The Eastern writers make him not only the first king of Babel, but of all the world; and say, he was the first who wore a crown, the model of which he took from the figure of one he had seen in the sky; for being pleased with the appearance, he sent immediately for an artist, and had a crown of gold cast in the same form, which he put upon his head; from whence his subjects took occasion to say, that it came down to him from heaven (5).

(2) Vid. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Nemrod. (3) Vid. Eutych. Annales, p. 63, 64. Ebn Amîd, p. 29. (4) Gen. x. 11. (5) Ebn Amîd, p. 29. Eutych. Annal. p. 63.

kings in ſeveral countries before him. Mizraim is ſuppoſed by many, who contend for the antiquity of the Egyptian monarchy, to have began his reign a good while earlier than Nimrod [i]; and others, from the uniformity of the languages ſpoken in Aſſyria, Babylonia, Syria, and Canaan, affirm thoſe countries to have been peopled before the confuſion of tongues[k]. Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Chriſt, 2648

THE four cities (P) Moſes gives to Nimrod made a large kingdom in thoſe early times, when few kings had more

[i] Vid. Marſh. Chron. Can. p. 18, 23. [k] Hornius ad Sulpit. Sever. p. 21.

(P) We might be able to make ſome judgment concerning the extent of the firſt Babyloniſh kingdom, could we fix the ſituations of theſe four cities: but this is very difficult; all of them having been long ſince deſtroyed, and authors differing ſo much in opinions about them. There are even two traditions with regard to the ruins of Babel, ſome placing them at Felugia, a village on the Euphrates, about thirty ſix miles to the ſouth-weſt of Baghdâd, on the Tigris; others, about the ſame diſtance from Felugia ſouthward, on the firſt of thoſe rivers: how much more uncertain then muſt be the ſituation of the reſt, which were towns not ſo famous, and whoſe ruins, if any remain, are ſeldom enquired after.

According to the Eaſtern authors, Erech, or Arach, is Hadas, or Edeſſa (6), called by the Syrians Urhoi, by the Arabs Roha, and by the inhabitants Orfa; Accad, or Akhar as ſome write it, is Niſibîn; and Calneh, Calanne, or Calya, is Cteſiphon, or Medaïn (7); and if they are not miſtaken, the diſtances of theſe cities from each other will give Nimrod's kingdom a great extent, as do ſome traditions concerning him (8): but the Aſiatics, in many things relating to their own antiquities, are not to be relied on more than the Europeans. We are of opinion, the Babylonian kingdom, under Nimrod, was much more limited, and rather agree with thoſe who believe Erech to have been a city of Chaldea, which from thence took its preſent Arabic name of Erâc (9). This ſeems to be the Arecca of Ptolemy, and Arecha of Marcellinus, who places it in Suſiana (10). Neither can Erec be Urhoi, or Edeſſa, in the opinion of thoſe who hold Ur of the

(6) Vid. Targum Jonathanis & Hieroſol. (7) Ephrem Syrus Comment. in Geneſ. ubi de Nimrod. apud Aſſemani Bibl. Orient. tom. 1. p. 26. Abul'farag. p. 18. (8) See Thevenot's Trav. Part II. Book 1. chap. 9, & 13. (9) Hyde in notis ad Peritſol. Itinera Mundi, p. 65. D'Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. Art. Erac. (10) Lib. 23.

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more than one: only it must be observed, that possessions might at first have been large, and afterwards divided into several parcels; and Nimrod being the leader of a nation, we may suppose his subjects settled within those limits. Whether he became possessed of those cities by conquest, or otherwise, does not appear: it is most probable, he did not build Babel, all the posterity of Noah seeming to have been equally concerned in that affair; nor does it appear, that he built the other three, though the founding of them and many more, with other works, are attributed to him (Q). It may seem also a little strange, that Nimrod should be preferred to the regal dignity, and enjoy the most cultivated part of the earth then known, rather than any other of the elder chiefs, or heads of nations, even of the branch of Ham. Perhaps it was conferred on him for his dexterity in hunting; or, it may be, he did not assume the title of king till after his father Cush's death, who might have been settled there before him (R), and left him the sovereignty; but

the Chaldees and Urhoi to be the same; for Erec and Ur are distinguished in scripture as two different cities. Calne we admit to be Ctesiphon, or Medaïn, nearer either of the aforesaid ruins of Babel than is Baghdâd; and as for Accad, we may suppose it to have been some city in the neighbourhood of the other three, long since ruined, and the memory of it lost: and thus will this early monarchy be reduced to such dimensions, as, in all probability, the first could not exceed.

(Q) Abu'lfarag says Nimrod built three of these cities, mentioned by Moses, viz. Erech, Accad, and Calya (1), or Calne. Others ascribe to him the building of Babel, Nineveh, Resen, and several other cities, among which was Abherbijân (2), in the Persian province of the same name. An Arab author mentions a city called Takharât, or Takharân Sâr, where Nimrod coined money (3). Others write, that he dug several rivers in Erâk, derived from Euphrates, of which that of Cutha, in the way [from Babel] to Cufah, was one (4).

(R) A Persian author of great authority affirms, that Cush, or Cûtha, was king of the territory of Babel, and resided in Erak; and attributes to him the making of the river Cutha (5). Dr. Hyde places the original seat of Cush in the same country, which he calls the most antient Cûsh (6); and says, that his posterity removing into Arabia, it thence took the name of Cûsh also (7).

(1) Abu'lfarag. Hist. Dyn. p 18. (2) Eutych. Annal. p. 64. (3) Safioddin. apud Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p. 74. (4) Ahmed Ebn Yusef, apud Hyde, ibid. p. 71, 73. (5) Al Tabari in cap. de Morte Saræ apud Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p. 40. (6) Hyde ibid. p. 38. (7) Id. ibid. p. 37.

but we incline to think, that he ſeized Shinaar from the deſcendants of Shem, driving out Aſhur, who from thence went and founded Niniveh, and other cities in Aſſyria. Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Chriſt, 2648

THE ſcripture does not inform us when Nimrod began his reign (S). Some [l] date it before the diſperſion; but ſuch a conjecture does not ſeem to ſuit with the Moſaical hiſtory: for before the diſperſion we read of no city but Babel, nor could there well be more, while all mankind were yet in a body together; but when Nimrod aſſumed the regal title, there ſeem to have been other cities built, which ſhews it was a good while after the diſperſion. We have placed the beginning of his reign thirty years from that event, that is in the year of the flood 431, and in all likelihood it ſhould be placed rather later than earlier. Year before Chriſt, 2567

AUTHORS have taken a great deal of pains to find Nimrod in prophane hiſtory; ſome have imagined him to be the ſame with Belus [m], the founder of the Babyloniſh empire; others with Ninus [n], the founder of the Aſſyrian (T); ſome think him the ſame with Evechous, the firſt Chaldæan king after the deluge [o]; and a fourth ſort perceive a great reſemblance between him and Bacchus, both in actions and name [p]. Some of the Mohammedan writers ſuppoſe Nimrod to have been Zohak, a Perſian king of the firſt dynaſty [q]; others Cay Câus, the ſecond king of the ſecond race [r];

[l] Vid. Nic, Abram, Pharus V. T. lib. 5. § 7. [m] Petav. Doct. temp. l. 13. p. 283. [n] Hyde de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 43, 44. [o] Syncell. p. 90. [p] Vid. Calmet Dict. de la Bible Art. Nemrod. Bedford Script. Chronol. p. 265, 266. [q] Tarikh Montakhab apud D'Herbelot Art. Nemrod & Neouh.

(S) The Arabs ſay, that Nimrod reigned in al Sowâd, that is, the black country; for ſo they call Irak Arabi, from the black tents of the Scenite Arabs ſcattered over the province (8). They ſuppoſe, his father Cuſh reſided at Erac, in the province of Babel (9); though Babel is genrally thought, by chriſtian authors, to have been the regal ſeat of Nimrod.

(T) Many have confounded the Babylonian and the Aſſyrian empire together, by miſtaking the ſenſe of the text (10), as if both of them had been founded by Nimrod; but this point will be diſcuſſed hereafter, when we come to ſpeak of the foundation of the Aſſyrian empire.

(8) Abu Mohammed Muſtafa apud Hyde de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 42, 43. (9) Vid. Hyde ibid. p. 40. (10) Gen. x. 11.

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race [r]; and some of the Jews says he is the same with Amraphel, the king of Shinaar, in Moses [s]: but there is no certainty in these conjectures, nor have we any knowledge of his immediate successors (U).

THE scripture mentions nothing as to the death of Nimrod; but authors have taken care that such an essential circumstance in his history should not be wanting. Some of the Rabbins pretend, he was slain by Esau (W), whom they make his contemporary. There is a tradition, that he was killed by the fall of the tower of Babel, which was overthrown by tempestuous winds while Nimrod was in it [t]. Others say, that, as he led an army against Abraham, God sent a squadron of gnats, which destroyed most of them; and particularly Nimrod, whose brain was pierced by one of those insects [u].

Of Shem and his posterity to Abraham.

WE now come to the history of Shem and his posterity, which for convenience we have placed last, though he was the

[r] See before, 361, in the notes. [s] Ben Uzziel. Yarhi. R. Dav. Ganz in Zemach David. [t] Abu'lfarag. Hist. Dyn. p. 12. [u] Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p. 74. See before, p. 361. in the notes.

(U) Some christian and Mohammedan historians call the most antient kings of the Babylonians, who succeeded Nimrod, Nimâredah, that is, Nimrods (11). Some of the latter say, he reigned in al Sowâd 400 years; and that he was succeeded by a prince of the same family, called Nabat Ebn Köûd, who ruled 100 years (12): and some of the former tell us, that Bokhtanser [or rather Bakht Nasr, which is the name the orientals give to Nebuchaddnezzar king of Babylon] was of his race (13).

(W) They tell the following story, as the occasion of this accident: that the coat, which God made Adam, was with his body in the ark; and that, when Noah and his sons quitted that vessel, Ham took it, by which means it afterwards fell to Nimrod, who putting it on, all kind of beasts and birds came and fell down before him, as thinking him to excel in strength, and made him king over them, according to the text, where he is said to be *a mighty hunter before the Lord.* Esau seeing the coat upon Nimrod, conceived so strong a desire for it, that he slew him, and stripped him of it (14).

(11) Vid. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Nemrod. (12) Abu Mohammed Mustafa apud Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p. 42, 43. (13) Abu'lfarag. Hist. Dyn. p. 72. (14) Eliezer Pirke, cap. 24.

the ſecond ſon of Noah by birth, and by prerogative the eldeſt, the right of primogeniture ſeeming to have been lodged in him. Year of the Flood. 350. Year before Chriſt, 2648.

THE poſterity of Shem are twice recited by Moſes. In the firſt place [w], he only mentions the names of ſuch of his deſcendants as were concerned in the firſt diſperſions. In the other [x], he deduces the genealogy in the line of Arphaxad down to Abraham. But the ſacred writer having been more brief in the hiſtory of theſe patriarchs, than in that of the branch of Ham, relating nothing farther of any of them than their ages, and the year of their lives wherein they begot their ſons (from whence we are enabled to collect the chronology of this period, and no more), for the reſt we muſt have recourſe to the traditions and conjectures of the Jewiſh and chriſtian writers, where we ſhall not want for matter.

SHEM was born ninety eight years before the flood; for two years after it, at the birth of Arphaxad, he was one hundred years old [y]. We ſhall have given the reader all that is to be found in ſcripture concerning this patriarch after the deluge, when we have acquainted him, that he aſſiſted his brother Japhet in covering the nakedneſs of their father [z], and ſhared in his bleſſing for ſo doing: *Bleſſed be the* God of Shem, ſaid Noah, *and* Canaan *ſhall be his ſervant* [a].

IT hath already been obſerved in what manner this prophecy was accompliſhed: but there is one thing peculiar in theſe words of Noah, which ought to be taken notice of; and that is, that he bleſſeth the God of Shem, and ſays nothing of that kind with regard to Japhet; by which circumſtance is plainly intimated, that the knowledge and worſhip of the true God was to be found in the branch of Shem; and that though Japhet himſelf did at that time believe in the true God, yet his poſterity ſhould quickly fall away from the faith, and worſhip ſuch gods as did not deſerve to be bleſſed; and therefore Noah, who foreſaw what would happen, ſuppreſſed that ſhort doxology, in giving his bleſſing to Japhet: however, this prophecy ſeems to have no farther proſpect, than till the coming of the Meſſiah in the line of Shem, which was the prime prerogative of that patriarch; for ſince that time moſt of Japhet's poſterity have received the knowledge of the true God.

THE

[w] Gen. x. 21. [x] Gen. xi. 10. [y] Ibid. [z] Gen. ix. 23. [a] Gen. ix. 26.

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THE Jews suppose the tradition of the theological truths to have passed from Noah to Shem, who communicated them to his children, by which means the true religion was preserved in the world. The Rabbins pretend, that Shem was entrusted with the will of Noah, whereby he divided the earth among his three sons; that he went to school to Methuselah for threescore and eighteen years, and kept one himself, after the deluge, upon mount Tabor, where he taught morality; that he instructed Abraham in the ceremonies relating to sacrifices, which that patriarch afterwards observed. They say farther, that God gave him the spirit of prophecy a hundred years after the flood, and that he discharged the function of a prophet for the space of four hundred years, without reaping much fruit of his labour, mankind being become greatly corrupted. They attribute also to him the invention of astronomy, together with the manner of computing by months and years [a], and of intercalating the former, having learned these secrets from Noah [b]. Those who confound Shem with Melchizedec (X), ascribe to

[a] Scip. Sgambat. Archiv. Vet. Test. lib. 1. p. 165. apud Calmet. Dict. de la Bible Art. Sem. [b] Eliezer Pirke, c. 8.

(X) The Jews, followed by many christian authors antient and modern, are of this opinion, which has nothing to countenance it in scripture: nor is it likely so eminent a patriarch would divest himself, as it were, of the sovereignty which he held over his own branch, to settle in Canaan, and become a petty prince within the dominions of another, who was to be his servant (1), namely Ham. The learned, who were of this opinion, have been led into it by adhering too strictly to the Hebrew computation (2), and perhaps looking on the tradition of the Jews as some authority (3). Yet it is since the time of Josephus, who speaks of Melchizedec only as a Canaanitish king (4), that they have made him the same with Shem; which seems to have been a notion altogether unknown to St. Paul (5). The oriental christians make Melchizedec the son of Phaleg (6); for the Septuagint chronology, which is generally received among them, will not allow him to be the same with Shem. A learned Syrian author, who holds a middle opinion between them and the Jews, will have Melchizedec to be the son of this last mentioned patriarch (7).

(1) Gen. ix. 26. (2) Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 47. (3) Id. ibid. p. 174. (4) Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 11. (5) Heb. vii. 2. (6) Ebn Amîd p. 13. Eutych. Annal. p. 50. (7) Abu'lfarag. Hist. Dynast. p. 10.

to him the 109th Pſalm, and a treatiſe of phyſic [c] (Y). Some make him to have been the firſt king in the world, and to have founded three cities, one in each of the three parts of the earth known to the ancients (Z). Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Chriſt, 2648

THE Eaſtern writers ſay, that Shem, in purſuance of the directions of Adam and Noah [d], together with Melchizedec, the ſon of Phaleg, took Adam's body out of the ark, and, being conducted by an angel, carried it to mount Calvary, where they buried it: after which Shem conſtituteing Melchizedec the prieſt of God, left him behind to attend at the ſepulchre; and pretended on his return that he died by the way, and was buried [e]. Some ſay, Shem interred there no more than the ſkull of Adam, which had been given him by Noah [f].

THOSE who ſeek to reconcile the heathen mythology with the Moſaic hiſtory, are greatly at a loſs to find among the gods, or heroes, one who in name or character hath any reſemblance to Shem; and therefore are reduced to that ridiculous ſhift of making him the god of hell (A).

SHEM

[c] Scip. Sgambat. Archiv. V. T. lib. 1. p. 165. [d] See before, p. 241, in the notes. [e] Ebn Amîd, p. 13. Eutych. Annal. p. 50. [f] See before, p. 241, in the notes.

(Y) The Hebrew manuſcript of this book, we are told, is to be found in the Elector of Bavaria's library (1).

(Z) Theſe three cities are Sebta [or Ceuta] a maritime town in Africa [on the coaſt of Barbary], Salernum in Italy, and Salem in Judea (2). Others ſay, he only laid the foundations of [this laſt, ſuppoſing it to be] Jeruſalem (3).

(A) As thoſe authors, who fancy a reſemblance between Saturn and Noah, have on account of the ſuppoſed ſimilitude of names, made Ham Jupiter, and Japhet Neptune, Shem muſt of conſequence be Pluto (4); but ſuch an hypotheſis, we think, is not for the honour of that patriarch, any more than another, which ſuppoſes him to be Typhon; we ſhould have been glad therefore to have known what reaſons Calmet had to believe, that prophane hiſtorians intend Shem by Typhon, whom he owns to have been a famous giant, or maleficent deity (5); and, indeed, was had

(1) Calmet Dict. de la Bible Art. Sem. (2) Vid. Scip. Sgambat. Arch. Vet. Teſt. l. 1. p. 165. (3) Shalſhh. hakk. p. 93. a. (4) Vid. Bochart Phaleg. lib, 1. cap. 1. (5) See his Dict. de la Bible Art. Sem.

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SHEM, having lived 502 years after the flood, died at the age of 600. He left five sons, Elam, Ashur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram [g]. The more moderate Persian historians say, that their first king Cayumarras was a son of Shem [h], meaning probably Elam, whom Moses makes the founder of that nation.

THE scripture has recorded no one action of any of these sons of Shem, except Ashur; and the passage relating to him is a very material one, as it fixes the true time of the foundation of the Assyrian kingdom. This remarkable fact is related by Moses in these words; *out of that land* [namely *Shinaar*] *went forth* Ashur, *and builded* Niniveh *and the city* Rhehoboth, *and* Calah [i], *and* Resen *between* Niniveh *and* Calah; *the same is a great city* [k]. We are sensible this text is by many applied otherwise, and rendered according to the marginal reading of our translation, He went out into Assyria; as if Nimrod was the person spoken of; but we shall shew hereafter, that such a sense puts a manifest force upon the words. As to the epoch of this Assyrian kingdom, we suppose, it might have been founded about the same

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time with that of Babel, that is, 30 years after the dispersion, in the year of the flood 431.

As to the situation of the cities built by Ashur, in order to determine the extent of this first Assyrian kingdom, we find ourselves more at a loss than we were with regard to those which composed the kingdom of Babel. However, we may venture to draw this inference, that as the number of cities, of which each monarchy consisted, was equal, so it is probable their dimensions were much the same; and that the other three cities lay at no great distance from Niniveh, whose situation has been in some measure preserved by tradition (B).

ARPHAXAD,

[g] Gen x. 22. [h] Vid. D'Herbelot Bibl. Orient. Art. Sam.
[i] Gen. x. 11. [k] Ib. ver. 12.

had in great detestation by the Egyptians, as a monster of wickedness, having embroiled the nation in a rebellious war, and murdered his brother Osiris.

(B) Niniveh is supposed to have stood on the east side of the Dijlat or Tigris, opposite to Mosul; at least, the tradition of the country will have it so: but there are no ruins to be seen there, as there are at old Babel (6). Though a certain traveller pretends to

(6) See Thevenot's Travels, part 2. chap. 11. p. 52. Rauwolf's Travels, part 2. chap. 9. p. 188.

ARPHAXAD, or as the Maſoretes read the name Arpachſhad, the third ſon of Shem, had one advantage above the reſt Year of the Flood, 350 Year before Chriſt, 2643

to have diſcovered and thoroughly viewed ſome remains, by which he judged the city to have been built in form of a long ſquare, in length 150 furlongs, and in breadth 90; which at eight furlongs to an Italian mile, make threeſcore miles in compaſs (7).

The city Rehoboth, is by many ſuppoſed to be Reheboth, on the Euphrates, the ſame probably with that called Rahabat Malek, not many miles below the place where the Khabûr falls into the Euphrates (8); and Reſen to be the Reſania of the antients in Meſopotamia, ſtill in being, and called Ras alain, that is, the head of the fountain, on account of the many ſprings riſing thereabouts; and among the reſt that of the Khabûr; It is alſo called Ain Wardah. But others endeavour to find Rehoboth and Reſen nearer Niniveh, and alſo object, that they cannot be Rahabat and Ras alain, becauſe theſe laſt are not in Aſſyria, which lies to the eaſt of Tigris. They ſuppoſe, that Rehoboth is the ſame with the Birtha of Ptolemy, or Virtha of Ammianus Marcellinus (1), ſituate at the mouth of the river Lycus, from which the preſent ruins of Niniveh are not many miles diſtant to the north; and the reaſon they give is, becauſe Birtha ſignifies in the Chaldee the ſame which Rehoboth does in the Hebrew, that is, ſtreets. And as a confirmation that theſe names are the ſame, Ptolemy alſo places a Birtha on the Euphrates, about the place where we have ſuppoſed the other Rehoboth to have ſtood; nor does his placing it above the confluence of the Rhabûr and Euphrates, inſtead of below it, lay any good objection in the way, ſince Ptolemy is full of ſuch faults. It may rather be objected, that Moſes ſeems to have given all the cities he mentions the names they went by in the country where they ſtood, as near as the Hebrew orthography would allow; but in ſuch doubtful caſes, we muſt always make allowances; ſo that Birtha, or Virtha, may ſtand for Rehoboth, ſince we cannot find a more likely place.

Calah, the next city, is ſuppoſed to be the Calach, ſituate about the ſprings of the river Lycus (2), mentioned by Strabo as the capital of a province called Calachene, which ſeems to be the ſame with Ptolemy's Calacine, above Adiabene towards mount Niphates. Bochart thinks, it is the ſame with Halah, whither the Iſraelites were carried captives (3); the Heth being ſometimes changed into the Kaf, of which that author produces ſome inſtances (4).

Could

(7) See the Preacher's Travels, p. 89. (8) Geog. Nub. Clim. 4. part 6. p. 199. (1) Lib. 29. (2) Geog. lib. 11. (3) 2 Kings xvii. 6, and xviii. 11. (4) Vid. Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 22.

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reſt of his brethren, namely, of having the patriarchal line continued through him. Many derive the name, as well as the nation of the Chaſdìm, or Chaldeans from Arphaxad (C), which opinion ſeems more reaſonable than that which makes

Could we be ſure of being right as to the ſituation of Calah, that of Reſen would be found of courſe; for Moſes ſays it lay between it and Niniveh, which is enough for our purpoſe, without ſuppoſing it to be the Lariſſa of Xenophon, according to whoſe deſcription it was a great city (5), as Reſen is likewiſe ſaid to have been. The difference of the names may be eaſily accounted for, from the uſage of the Greeks; who either could not, or would not, write exotic names properly. But we muſt own Lariſſa ſeems to lie too much out of the way to be Reſen, for it ſtood on the Tigris to the ſouth of Niniveh; whereas it ſhould rather have been ſituate to the northward of that city, and at a diſtance from the river, to lie in the way between Niniveh and Calah. We may, however, ſuppoſe Reſen to have been ſome city in the neighbourhood of thoſe other two, long ſince deſtroyed.

(C) Some Rabbins are of this opinion (6). And if the authority of Joſephus be of any weight, he affirms the ſame: Arphaxad, ſays he, gave name to the Arphaxadæans, at preſent called Chaldeans, whoſe prince he was (7). He certainly does not mean, as Dr. Wells obſerves (8), that the name Chaldeans is derived directly from the name Arphaxad; but perhaps he meant, that the true name Chaſdîm is derived thence, that is to ſay from כשד, the three laſt letters of Arpachſhad (9); and from Chaſdim the Greeks have made Chaldæi inſtead of Chaſdæi, by changing the ſ into l. And this opinion is more probable, becauſe the Chaldeans were not only called Khaſdîm (10) before Cheſed was born (11), but appear to have been a nation when Abraham came out of Ur of the Khaſdim (12); at which time Cheſed was neither old or conſiderable enough to have built towns and founded a nation. And this argument is ſo cogent, that Bochart and others, at the ſame time that they treat this etymology as a chimæra, are obliged to fly to the common ſubterfuge on this occaſion, and ſay, that the city of Ur is called Ur of the Chaldees by a prolepſis (13), which will hardly ſerve in this caſe for the reaſons already alledged. After all, nothing can be determined as to this point, nor will it be repugnant to ſcripture to deny the derivation of the name of Khaſdîm either from Arphaxad, or Cheſed.

Som

(5) Anabaſ. lib. 3. (6) Gedal. in Shalſhel Hakkab, p. 9. (7) Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 7. (8) Geog. of the Old Teſt. vol. I. p. 187. (9) Vid. Lightfoot Oper. vol. I. p. 1. (10) Gen. xv. 7. (11) Gen. xxii 22. (12) Gen. xi. 3. (13) Vid. Phaleg. lib. 2. c. 4. Heideg. Hiſt. Patr. tom. I. 458. § 43.

makes Chesed, the son of Nahor, Abraham's brother, to be the founder of them; though possibly the Chasdîm had another original; for nothing is mentioned in scripture concerning it. Some Mohammedan authors make Arphaxad both a prophet and an apostle, and lodge the chief sovereignty over the nations of the world in his descendants (D). Arphaxad was born in the hundredth year of his father, two years after the flood [l]; and having begat the succeeding patriarch in the 135th year of his age [m], died after he had lived in all 438 years [n]; which is the sum of what the scripture relates concerning him, though writers have added several conjectures of their own (E). Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Christ, 2648. Year before Christ, 2996.

WHO

[l] Gen. xi. 10. [m] Ibid. v. 11. [n] Ibid. v. 12.

Some compound Arphaxad's name of רפא כשד, Rasa Khashed that is, the healer or prelate of Chaldea; supposing it to have been given to Cainan as a name of dignity (14).

(D) According to a curious though fabulous Mohammedan tradition, ascribed to Ebn Abbâs, Shem being called by Noah, at day-break, to assist at morning-prayer, arose and awakened his children, of whom only Arphaxad got up and attended his father to Noah; who gave them his benediction and prayed for them: whereupon God revealed to him, that the gift of prophecy, together with the apostleship, should be granted to the children of Shem, and in an especial manner to the family of Arphaxad his eldest son; which gift should neither be taken from him, nor transferred to any other; and that the same family should also enjoy the prerogative of sovereignty and empire over the other nations, which should be divided successively between the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Arabs, to the end of the world (15).

(E) A certain author makes him one of the Rephaim, (in consequence of the etymology he has given of his name) supposing them to have been believers, and sent by Noah to recal mankind to the worship of God; wherefore they were named Rephaim, that is, healers, and restorers, to wit, of souls. He farther advances, upon no better grounds, that Cainan, or Arphaxad (whom he makes to be the same), was the founder of the empire of China; that the sect of the Bonzes was introduced into Japan by him, or his disciples; and that the Brachmans took their rise in Chaldea soon after the arrival of that patriarch in the country of Etham, (where he was sent with a colony by Noah,) about the year of the deluge

(14) Vid. Bolduc. de Ecclesia ant. legem. lib. 2. cap. 2.
(15) See D'Herbelot Bibl. Orient. Art. Nouh, p. 677.

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WHO this ſon ſo begotten by Arphaxad was, has occaſioned no ſmall diſpute among the learned: according to the Hebrew and the Samaritan, Salah was his ſon; but in the Septuagint verſion we find Cainan put in between the two, as the ſon of the firſt, and father of the latter. This variation not only adds another link to the chain of ſucceſſion, but alters the chronology of this period, making that of the Septuagint to exceed the Samaritan by one hundred and thirty years, the age fixed for Cainan to have begotten his ſon. Thoſe who adhere to the Septuagint, draw their chief argument from St. Luke's [o] mentioning Cainan in his genealogy of Chriſt, which has been already anſwered [p] (F). However, the Septuagint verſion having been received over

[o] Luke iii. 36. [p] Pag. 338.

deluge 68, the chief of which colony was called Yarcha, which in the Hebrew is Rapha, that is a curator, or healer (16).

(F) To the arguments already produced by us on this head (17) may be added; 1. That Cainan was unknown to Onkelos, the Chaldee paraphraſt, Philo, and Joſephus, and to the Syriac, Perſian, and Arab tranſlators, as well as to the author of the Vulgat. Beroſus alſo, placing Abraham in the tenth generation after the flood (18), leaves no room for Cainan. Theophilus Antiochenus, (19) and Doſitheus (who was contemporary with the apoſtles themſelves) do alſo omit him, as do the more correct Greek writers (20). 2. He is wanting in the Roman and Paris editions of the Septuagint, in a place (21) from whence omiſſions of this kind are uſually ſupplied; which would ſcarce have happened in caſe there had been ſuch a perſon. Nor is he to be found in that edition of the Septuagint itſelf, which, having been placed in the Alexandrian library of Cleopatra, and received in Egypt, Paleſtine, and Syria, was inſerted by Origen in his Hexapla; and which, according to Jerom, was formerly reckoned the only faultleſs and uncorrupted copy, the other copy, called the vulgar, having been corrupted at the pleaſure of antient writers (22). It is true Origen mixed Theodotion's verſion with the other, but took care to mark with an aſteriſk what it had leſs, and with an an obeliſk what it had more than the Alexandrian MS. which method we ſee obſerved by Procopius Gazæus (23). 3. The various

(16) Bolduc de Eccleſ. ant. legem, lib. 2. cap. 2. See before, p. 251, in the notes. (17) Pag. 338. (18) Apud Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 8. (19) Lib. 3. ad Autolyc. (20) Vid. Maſſæum lib. 2. Perer. in Geneſ. cap. x. (21) Vid. Maſſæum lib. 2. Perer. in Gen. cap. x. (22) Hieronym. Epiſt. 135. (23) Vid. Procop. in Geneſ. xi.

over a great part of the chriſtian world, Cainan paſſeth for one of the patriarchs, as well as a founder of nations (G), in many countries, and there more traditions concerning him (H) than of Salah, the true ſon and ſucceſſor of Arphaxad. Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Chriſt, 2648

SALAH is the only patriarch concerning whom the chriſtian writers have obſerved an equal ſilence with Moſes. He hath been thought by ſome to have been the ſame with the prophet Saleh, ſent to preach the true religion to the tribe of Thamûd in Arabia Petræa [q]; but this perſon appears to be much later than the patriarch (I).

IT

[q] Hyde de Rel. vet. Perſar. p. 58. D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Art. Salah.

rious readings in the ſeveral Greek copies, as well with regard to the years of Arphaxad after the birth of Cainan, as to thoſe of Cainan after the birth of Salah, are no ſmall evidence of corruption in this point (24).

Some of the moderns, to reconcile St. Luke with the Hebrew, make Cainan and Salah (25), others Arphaxad and Cainan, to be the ſame perſon (26).

(G) The Alexandrian chronicle (27) derives the Samaritans from Cainan; Euſtathius Antiochenus (28) the Saggodians; George Syncellus (29), the Gaſpheni; Epiphanius the Cajani (30); Salianus (31) thinks the river Caina in India takes its name from him.

(H) Beſides the particulars already mentioned, it is ſaid, Cainan was the firſt after the flood who invented aſtronomy, and that his ſons made a god of him and worſhipped his image after his death. The founding of the city of Harran in Meſopotamia is alſo attributed to him, which, it is pretended he ſo called from a ſon he had of that name (32).

(I) An Arab writer makes the prophet Saleh to be ſon of Aſaf, the ſon of Caſſakh, the ſon of Hawer, the ſon of Khaber, the ſon of Thamûd, [the ſon of Gather] the ſon of Aram, the ſon of Sem (33); ſo that he was five generations later than the patriarch Salah, who was the third in deſcent from Noah. Beſides, the deſtruction of the tribe of Thamûd was ſubſequent to that of the tribe

(24) Vid. Heidegg. Hiſt. Patr. tom. 2. ſect. 10. p. 8; (25) Herman. Contract. Joh. Lucidus, Lud. de Dieu. Fr. Gomarus, &c. (26) Bolduc ubi ſup. (27) Pag. 70. Ed. Raderi. (28) Apud Heidegg. tom. 2. exerc. 1. § 12. (29) Chronogr. p. 46. (30) Apud Heidegg. ubi ſupra. (31) Apud eundem, ibid. (32) Abu'lfarag. Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 11. (33) Tarikh Montakhab. apud D'Herbelot Art. Salah p. 740.

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It is the general opinion, that the Hebrews derive their name from the patriarch Eber (K), the ſon of Salah; and many of the Jews (as well as chriſtians) attribute to him the honour of being the founder of their name and nation [r] (L). But there is much more appearance, that the name

[r] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 7. Shalſh. Hakk. p. 803. Eutych. Ann. p. 47.

tribe of Ad, to whom the prophet Hûd, or Eber, was ſent, as we learn, from one of the commentators (34) on the Korân; and conſequently Saleh, the prophet of the Thamûdites, muſt be poſterior to Eber.

(K) The Hebrew word עבר Eber ſignifies beyond, or ſimply, a paſſage; for what reaſon he was ſo called is uncertain; but if the Hebrews were ſo called from him, as moſt imagine, why might it not have been given him prophetically by Salah, to denote the future paſſage of his poſterity over the Euphrates into the land of Canaan, in the ſame manner as many ſuppoſe Eber gave his ſon the name of Peleg, foreſeeing the diviſion of the earth which was to happen towards the middle, or end, of his life; This patriarch's name is in ſome verſions confounded with that of חבר Heber, which both occur in one chapter (35).

(L) The maintainers of this opinion bring many arguments to ſupport it, of which two only ſeem to be of any weight: 1. That a patriarch of that name being found among the anceſtors of the Jews, it is reaſonable to believe they derived their name from him. 2. That Shem is expreſsly ſaid to be the father of all the children of Eber (36).

To the firſt of theſe it is anſwered, that, as Moſes intimates nothing that way, the bare affinity of the name is not ſufficient to determine the point in favour of that opinion. And as for what they alledge, either of the ſuperiour piety and merit of Eber above the other patriarchs, or of the Hebrew language being peculiarly ſpoken, or preſerved, by him and his poſterity, it is not only begging the queſtion, there being no foundation in ſcripture for thoſe ſuppoſitions, but may be preſumed to be falſe as to the firſt (ſince he cannot be ſuppoſed to have been more pious than Shem), as it appears to be with regard to the laſt (37), the Hebrew having been ſpoken by nations which were not of his poſterity.

To the ſecond argument it is replied, that the word Eber, in the before-mentioned text, has not reſpect to a perſon, but to place, and conſequently, that the words do not ſignify the children of the patriarch

(34) Hoſſein. Waedh, apud. D'Herbelot, ibid. p. 741.
(35) 1 Chron. viii. 12, 17, 22. (36) Geneſ. x. 21.
(37) See the next note.

name of Hebrews was given to Abraham and his deſcendants, on account of his paſſing over the rivers in his way from Irâk, or Chaldea, into Syria [s]: ſo that a Hebrew ſhould ſignify nothing elſe in the original ſenſe of the word, than a man from beyond the Euphrates. Year of the Flood, 350. Year before Chriſt, 2648

IN conſequence of the ſame opinion, it has been commonly believed by the antients, as well as moderns, that the Hebrew language alſo took its name from Eber, and that at the confuſion of tongues it remained ſolely in the family of that patriarch and his deſcendants [t] (M): but as the firſt part of this aſſertion hath no better ground than the former opinion, ſo the latter is falſe in fact, the Hebrew language having been common to people who had no affinity with the family of Eber; as the Phœnicians, or Canaanites, who in the time of Abraham ſpoke Hebrew, or a language differing very little from it.

THE

[s] Vid. Abu'lfarag. p. 11. Hyde de Rel. vet. Perſar. p. 47, &c. [t] Vid. Ebn. Amid. p. 14. Shalſh. Hakk. p. 803.

patriarchEber, but the people who dwelt on one ſide, or the other, of the river, meaning thereby either the Euphrates, or Tigris, or both, which parts were the ſeat of Shem's poſterity; to enforce which acceptation, it may be farther obſerved, that if Eber be taken here as a proper name, then under the deſignation of his children muſt be comprehended, not only the Hebrews properly ſo called, deſcended from him by Peleg, and the Arabs, who were Joktan's poſterity, and ſettled on this ſide of the river, but alſo thoſe who remained on the other ſide of the river, either in Meſopotamia, Chaldea, Elymais: but it could never be Moſes's meaning to make Shem the father of Eber's children in this ſenſe, which ſeems to have nothing in view; being too extended to illuſtrate any thing relating particularly to the Hebrews, or Jews; and too limited to reflect any honour on Shem, who was the father of many nations, and of ſome more conſiderable than thoſe deſcended from Eber. Nothing therefore ſeems to favour this opinion, unleſs it may be ſaid, that Moſes in this place had a mind to pay a compliment to all the poſterity of Eber in general, on account of the relation they bore to the Jews, as being collateral branches of the ſame anceſtor. But this point we ſhall more critically examine when we come to the hiſtory of Abraham.

(M) The confuſion of tongues having been conſidered as a puniſhment

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THE building of Babel is properly referred to the time of Eber, juſt before the birth of his ſon Peleg, in the 134th year of his age and of the flood four hundred and one. Some of the rabbins and chriſtian fathers, who refer that event to a ſubſequent part of Peleg's life, ſay Eber gave him that name prophetically, to denote a diviſion of the earth, which was to happen ſome time after, and accordingly reckon Eber a prophet chiefly upon that account [u].

TILL this time all mankind lived in a body together, and ſpoke one language; but God, being offended at the building of that city and tower, confounded their ſpeech, and diſperſed them abroad, in order to people and plant the earth. But what particular language the firſt was, in what manner it was confounded, together with an account of the whole tranſaction relating to the building of Babel and the diſperſion of mankind, muſt hereafter be the ſubject of different ſections.

THE original of idolatry by image-worſhip is by many attributed to the age of Eber (N), though moſt of the fathers place it no higher than that of Serug; which ſeems to be the more probable opinion, conſidering, that for the firſt hundred

[u] Zemach Dav. part 1. p. 6. Seder Olam. cap. 1. p. 2. Yarhi ad Geneſ. x. 25. Hieron. in quæſt. Hebr. in Geneſ. Chryſoſt. Hom. 30. in Geneſ.

puniſhment for the temerity of thoſe who undertook to build Babel, many authors, poſſeſſed with high ſentiments of Eber, have preſumed, that the poſterity of that patriarch, who was deſtined by God to be the ſtock of the holy people, and the depoſitory of the true religion, had no ſhare in that enterprize, nor conſequently in the puniſhment which attended it. But if Eber's children were not concerned in it, it muſt have been becauſe none of them were grown up to an age capable of aſſiſting in that work, the diſperſion having happened at the birth of Peleg, who is by many ſuppoſed to have been Eber's eldeſt ſon: for it ſeems to be inconteſtable, that all the deſcendants of Shem, Ham, and Japhet, were concerned in that building (38). However, it is plain, Eber's poſterity ſhared in the puniſhment, for their language was divided. Witneſs the difference between the Arabic (the language of Joktan's poſterity) and the Hebrew; not to mention the Chaldee.

(N) Dr. Hyde thinks idolatry may by numerous arguments be proved

(38) See ſect. 4.

hundred and thirty four years of Eber's life, all mankind dwelt in a body together, during which time it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe idolatry broke in upon them: then ſome time muſt be allowed after the diſperſion for the ſeveral nations, which were but ſmall at the beginning, to encreaſe and ſettle themſelves: ſo that if idolatry was introduced in Eber's time, it muſt have been towards the end of his life, and could not well have prevailed ſo univerſally, and with that obſtinacy which is imagined by authors. However, the Arabs have a tradition, that Hud (O), who is generally ſuppoſed to have been the ſame perſon with Eber, was ſent to preach to one of their antient tribes, named Ad, who had corrupted themſelves with the worſhip of idols, and were afterwards almoſt totally deſtroyed for not hearkening to him [w]. They alſo ſay, he ended his days in the province of Hadramaut, where they ſtill pretend to ſhew his ſepulchre, near Merbât, and within two miles of Hâſec, a port on the Indian ſea: there is a ſmall town built about it, which is now called Kabr Hûd, or the ſepulchre of Hud [x].

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EBER is ſuppoſed by many to have built Hebron in Canaan, and Tanis in Egypt; but theſe are groundleſs imaginations [y]. Some refer the golden age to the time of him and his ſon Peleg [z]: and indeed, if we can ſuppoſe there ever was ſuch a pacific and innocent ſtate on this ſide of the flood, it is moſt likely to have been in the days of Noah and his three ſons [a], that is, during the time their poſterity continued in their firſt habitation, before their removal to Shinaar, and a while after the diſperſion, which probably gave it a ſhort interruption. EBER

[w] Vid. Pocock. Specim. hiſt. Arab. p. 36. D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Art. Houd. [x] Vid. D' Herbelot, ibid. Art. Cabar Houd. [y] Vid. Heidegg. Hiſt. Patr. tom. 2. p. 11, 13. [z] Vid. Gordon, Chron. lib. 2. chap. 2. [a] Vid. Bochart, Phaleg. lib. 1. chap. 1.

proved to have begun as high as the times of Eber and Salah, who preached to their countrymen, the idolatrous Arab tribes of Ad and Thamûd (39): But we have already obſerved, that the apoſtle of the Thamudites was much latter than the patriarch Salah; and the miſſion of Eber is not an authority to build upon.

(O) It ſeems as if the Arabs had ſome notion of the Hebrews being ſo called from Eber; and therefore from the other name of that nation, viz. Jews, which they pronounce Hûd, and Yehud, they have given this prophet the name of Hûd alſo. Schickard,

(39) Hyde de Rel. vet. Perſ. p. 58.

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EBER had two sons, Peleg and Joktan; Peleg was born just after the dispersion happened, on which occasion that name (P) was given to him. Venerable Bede affirms, that temples were first built in his days, and that several of the chiefs of nations were worshipped for gods. On the death of this patriarch we are told, that contention arose between his sons and those of his brother Joktan, whereupon men began to build castles for their defence [b].

THE scripture mentions only one son of Peleg's, besides which the orientals have given him another mentioned in scripture, though not as Peleg's son, namely, Melchizedec [c]. They say he begat him two hundred and nine years after the birth of his brother [d], which is a more rational opinion, though perhaps no better grounded, than that of the Jews, who make him to be the same with Shem. Of this person we have already related some particulars, and may have occasion to say more hereafter.

JOKTAN is generally supposed to have been Peleg's elder brother, upon a presumption, that he and his thirteen sons were leaders of colonies at the dispersion of Babel. They are indeed mentioned at the same time with the other heads of nations, and are doubtless to be included amongst those *by whom*, it is said, *the nations were divided in the earth after the flood* [e]: but we do not think it follows from thence, that they must have been leaders in that first dispersion, in case their ages would allow it. Besides, by that means we

[b] Abu'lfarag. p. 12. [c] Ebn Amîd. p. 28. Eutych, Annal. p. 48. [d] Ebn Amîd. ibid. [e] Ebn Amîd. p. 28. Eutych. Annal. p. 48. [e] Genes. x. 32.

Schickard, on the credit of two authors, one an Arab, who places Hûd between Salah and Eber; and the other a Turk, who sets him between Arphaxad and Eber, conjectures Hûd is Canaan (40). But this is against the current of Mohammedan writers, who make him the son of Salah (41), and the same with Eber (42).

(P) The name פלג Peleg, or Phaleg, signifies division. The division of the earth and dispersion of mankind was doubtless the same transaction, though several authors, especially those who follow the Hebrew chronology, make two of them, as we shall observe hereafter.

(40) Shickard Tarik regum Persiæ. (41) Tarîkh Montakhah apud D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Art. Houd. (42) Vid. Ebn Amîd, p. 14. Eutych. Annal. p. 46.

we ſhould not only poſtpone the time of that tranſaction, which ſeems to be neceſſarily connected with the birth of Peleg (Q), but introduce five generations in the line of Shem as concerned in it, which are two more than we find of the deſcendants of Ham and Japhet, and therefore we have reſerved them for a ſecond remove or plantation. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597

THE ſcripture gives to Joktan thirteen ſons; whereas the Arabs, who derive their original from Joktan, or, as they more uſually call him, Kahtân, aſſign him one and thirty by the ſame mother, by whom all but two, leaving Arabia (R), went and ſettled in India [f]. Yâarah, the elder of the two ſtaid, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Yaman, or Arabia Felix, and gave his name to that country, as well as to the Arabic language, which he firſt ſpoke [g]. Joram, the younger, founded the kingdom of Hejâz [h], which contained part of Arabia Petræa, and other territories.

WE find little ſaid concerning the three ſucceeding patriarchs, Reu (S), Serug, and Nahor: however, ſome authors refer

[f] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, apud Pocock. Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 40.
[g] Pocock. ibid, p. 40. 55, 151. [h] Idem. ibid. p. 40, 78.

(Q) Thoſe who follow the Hebrew computation are at a great loſs, for an expedient to make Joktan and his thirteen ſons leaders of colonies at the diſperſion, ſuppoſing it to have happened at the birth of Peleg. For Eber having been but thirty four years old when he begat the latter, there cannot reaſonably be allowed above half that ſpace for Joktan's age at that time, granting him to be the elder: ſo that we cannot well conceive him to have been the father of more than one ſon before the diſperſion. Upon which account many poſtpone that tranſaction to a ſucceeding part of Peleg's life, ſuppoſing Eber impoſed that name prophetically (40). But the great Uſher thinks himſelf obliged to refer it to his birth, though he knows not how to get over the difficulty juſt now mentioned (41); which may be ſolved well enough by the Samaritan chronology, according to which time ſufficient may be allowed for Joktan and his ſons to propagate.

(R) D' Herbelot mentions four other ſons of Kahtân, namely, Hadramaut (the ſame with Hazarmaveth) Seba, Ofir, and Khawilah, or Havilah (42).

(S) According to the different pronunciation of the ע, this patriarch's name is variouſly written, Reu, or Ragau; and prefixing an א, ſometimes Eru, and Argu.

(40) See before p. 378. (41) Chronolog. Sacra, part 1. cap. 5, p. 26. (42) D' Herbelot Bibl. Orient. Art. Saba & Hegiaz.

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refer the founding of certain kingdoms and cities (T), the invention of several arts (U), the spreading of idolatry (W) and some other particulars of less moment (X) to

(T) The building of Babel is by some placed in the seventieth year of Reu (43), and the beginning of Nimrod's reign in his hundred and thirtieth (44). About the same time others fix the founding of the kingdom of Egypt, and the city of Memphis, by Mizraim (45); of the city of Saba, in Arabia Felix, by a certain queen (46); of the kingdom of Bohemia, and its metropolis Prague (47); and of the kingdom of the Amazons (48): but these last are idle imaginations of the Jews. With more probability, though perhaps equal foundation, others attribute the building of Rages in Media to Rëû himself (49), as that of Sarûj, the capital of Diyar Modar (50), might be to his son Serug, who is supposed to have dwelt in the place where that city now stands (51). In Nahor's time we are told, that Armûnes, a king of Canaan, built Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Zoar, to the two first of which he gave the names of his two sons, and to the last that of their mother (52).

(U) It is pretended, that the first mint for coining, and the first foundary of gold and silver ornaments, were erected in the days of Rëû (53). Others attribute this invention to Terah (54), as that of coining gold and silver is ascribed to Serug (45). Weights and measures are said to have been invented by Samirus, king of the Chaldeans, in the days of the same patriarch (56), though the use of them seems not to have been instituted till Nahor's time (57). The art of weaving silks, and of dying, is also attributed to the said king (58).

(W) Though the generality of authors, and particularly of the fathers, agree to place the origin of idolatry in the time of Serug (59), whom some suppose to be the introducer of it, erroneously making him (if he be not a different person from the patriarch)

(43) Abu'lfarag. p. 12. (44) Ebn Amid, p. 29 (45) Idem, ibid. Midrash, sect תולדות. (46) Ebn Amîd, ubi sup. (47) R. David Ganz, in Zem. Dav. p. 4. Juchasin, p. 135. (48) Shalshel hakkab. p. 94, 95. (49) Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p. 55. (50) Geogr. Nubiens. p. 203. (51) Hyde ubi sup. p. 57. (52) Abu'lfarag. p. 13. (53) EbnAmîd, p. 30. (54) Shalsh. hakkad. p. 94. a. (55) Abu'lfarag. p. 12. (56) Idem, ibid. (57) Ebn Amîd. p. 30. Eutych. Annales, p. 63. (58) Abu'lfarag. ubi sup. (59) Jon. Damasc. Ephiphan. Panar. l. 1. Chronic. Alex. p. 113. Abu'lfarag. p. 12. Eutych. Annal. p. 56. Vid. etiam Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p. 57. Heideg. Hist. Patr. tom. II. exerc. 1. § 32. Gurtler. Hist. Univ. p. 93.

(X) to their times.

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triarch) of the race of Japhet (60); yet others make it more early (61), and it is ſaid, that in Rëû's days mankind was fallen into various kinds of falſe worſhip; ſome adoring the heaven, others the celeſtial bodies, others animals and plants, others the images of their deceaſed friends (62). About the ſame time alſo the cuſtom of men's ſacrificing their children to devils, is pretended to have been introduced on the following occaſion: A certain rich man dying, his ſon made a golden ſtatue in repreſentation of him, and placed it on his tomb, ſetting a ſervant to watch it. Some time after the ſon was robbed of all he had, and coming to make his complaints at his father's ſepulchre, the devil ſpoke out of the image, and promiſed to reſtore him all he had loſt, if he would offer his youngeſt ſon as a ſacrifice to him, and bath himſelf in his warm blood; which he did, and thereupon the devil coming out of the image entered into the young man, and taught him magic. But at length, this practice of human ſacrifices growing frequent, God ſent a violent earthquake, the firſt of the kind, with a whirlwind, which broke all their idols in pieces, and overthrew their temples (63). The riſe of the Sabian religion is by ſome referred to the age of Nahor (64).

(X) The oriental authors mention a king called Karûn, who reigned in the days of Rëu, but ſay not where. They pretend he was a famous chymiſt, and built a city called Ukîſh (65), or Ukinîn (66), with bricks of gold. But this ſeems to be the ſame perſon whom the Mohammedans make coeval with Moſes, and the Corah of the ſcriptures. We are alſo told, that, in the time of Serug, a king of Egypt, called Afifanus, built a ſhip, and invaded the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſt; and that he was ſucceeded by Pharaoh, the ſon of Sanes, from whom the Pharaohs were denominated (67): that the giants began to increaſe in Nahor's time, of whom one was Ad a famous king of the Arabs (62), and another Hellen, who aſſiſted at the building of the tower of Babel, and was worſhipped by the Greeks (69); and that the troubles of Job happened in the twenty fifth year of the laſt mentioned patriarch (70).

(60) Euſeb. Chron. Græc. p. 13. Cedren. Compend. Hiſt. p. 36. Suidas in voce Σερούχ. Malela Chron. p. 94, &c. (61) See the preceding page. (62) Ebn Amîd, p. 29. Eutych. p. 59. (63) Eutych. p. 53. Ebn Amîd, p. 30. (64) Eutych. p. 63. (65) Ebn Amîd, p. 30. (66) Eutych. Annales, p. 60. (67) Abu'lfarag. p. 12. (68) Ebn Amîd, ubi ſup. Eutych. Annales, p. 69. (69) Suidas in voce Σερούχ. (70) Arudh. Cananæus apud Abu'lfarag. p. 13.

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TERAH, the son of Nahor, was the father of Abraham, the founder of the Hebrew, or Jewish, nation. The scripture informs us, that Terah, after the seventieth year of his age, begat three sons, Abram, Nahor, and Haran [k]. But of these sons, Haran only, who was the eldest, at least much older than Abram, was born in that year; and the other two probably much later [l], and, as is supposed, by a different mother [m]. Haran died in his native country, in Ur of the Chaldees (Y), before his father, leaving a son, named Lot, and two daughters, one named Milcah, and the other Iscah [n]. Nahor married Milcah his niece, and Abram Sarai his half sister [o].

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[k] Genes. xi. 26. [l] See before p. 336. [m] Vid. Heideg. Hist. patr. tom. II. exerc. 3. § 3. [n] Genes. xi. 27, 28, 29. [o] Ibid. ver. 29, and xx. 12.

(Y) Several writers taking Ur, which signifies fire, for an appellative, pretend, that Haran was burnt; some saying, that that accident happened as he endeavoured to take the images of Terah out of the fire, into which Abraham had thrown them (71). Others, as he attempted to quench the flames of an idol temple which Abraham had set on fire (72). A third party say, that Abraham being thrown by Nimrod into a burning furnace, Haran was intent upon the event, resolving to follow the religion which prevailed; and seeing his brother come out unhurt by the flames, upon Nimrod's demanding who he believed in, Haran replied, in the God of Abraham; whereupon he was cast into the furnace, and *died in the presence of his father*, as the Rabbins express (73) what our translation renders *before his father*. It is said, the fire had power over him, because his faith was not so strong as Abraham's, nor was he destined to so great things (74). Epiphanius says, that Terah's surviving Haran was a punishment for his daring to make images of clay; and that before him no father had seen his children die a natural death (75). Josephus affirms, that Haran's sepulchre was to be seen at Ur in his time (76).

(71) Cedrenus apud Bayle Dict. Hist. Art. Abraham, Rem. B. (72) Abu'lfarag. Hist. Dyn. p. 13. (73) Ben Uzziel and Gen. xi. 28. Maimon. Yad Hazzak. & de idololat. cap. 1. Shalshel hakkab. p. 8, (74) Judæi apud Lyranum & Tostatum citante Saliano Annal. tom. I. p. 402. (75) Epiphanius de Hæres. lib. 1. p. 8. (76) Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 6.

TERAH, who is generally ſuppoſed to be the ſame whom the Aſiatics call Azer (Z), is on all hands allowed to have been an idolater; nor can this be denied, ſince he is expreſly ſaid in ſcripture to have ſerved other gods [p]. The Eaſtern authors unanimouſly agree, that he was a ſtatuary, or carver of idols; and he is repreſented as the firſt who made images of clay, pictures only having been in uſe before [q], and taught, that they were to be adored as gods [r]: however, we are told his employment was a very honourable one, and that he was a great man (A); that at length he was

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[p] Joſh. xxiv. 2, 14. [q] Epiphan. Adverſ. Hæreſ. lib. 1. p. 7, 8. [r] Suidas in Lexico, voce Σερούχ.

(Z) Some of the Mohammedan authors write, that Azer was the father of Abraham, and ſon of Terah (77); and D' Herbelot ſays, that the Arabs always diſtinguiſh them in their genealogies as two different perſons; but that becauſe Abraham was the ſon of Terah according to Moſes, it is therefore ſuppoſed [by European writers], that he is the ſame with the Azer of the Arabs(78). How true this obſervation may be in relation to ſome authors, we cannot ſay, but we are ſure, it cannot be true of all; for ſeveral Arab and Turkiſh writers expreſly make Azer and Terah the ſame perſon (79). Azer, in antient times, was the name of the planet Mars, and the month of March was ſo called by the moſt antient Perſians; for the word originally ſignifying fire (as it ſtill does), it was therefore given by them and the Chaldeans to that planet (80), which partaking, as was ſuppoſed, of a fiery nature, was acknowledged by the Chaldeans and Aſſyrians as a god, or planetary deity, whom they antiently worſhipped under the form of a pillar: whence Azer became a name among the nobility, who eſteemed it honourable to be denominated from their gods (81), and is found in the compoſition of ſeveral Babyloniſh names. For theſe reaſons, a learned author ſuppoſes Azer to be the heathen name of Terah, and that the other was given him on his converſion (82).

(A) The Eaſtern authors ſay, Azer was a great lord, and in high favour with Nimrod, whoſe ſon-in-law he was (83), becauſe he made his idols for him, in which art he excelled all others. This

(77) Tarîkh Montakhab apud D'Herbelot Bibl. Orient. Art. Abraham. p. 12. (78) D'Herbelot ibid. (79) Ben Sholhnah, Mirat Kainat. &c. MSS. See alſo Pharhang Gehanghiri apud Hyde de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 68. (80) Hyde ibid. p. 63. (81) Idem, ibid. p. 64. (82) Idem, ibid. p. 62. (83) D'Herbelot Bibl. Orient. Art. Abraham.

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was converted by the earneſt perſwaſions of Abraham (B), and prevailed upon to leave Ur. Joſephus ſays, he quitted Chaldea, being not able to endure the country after the loſs of his ſon Haran [s]. Some would have it, that he did not become an idolater till he was ſettled at Haran [t], which is abſurd [u]; and others ſay, he never was converted [x], any more than his ſon Nahor, who afterwards left Ur to join his father at Haran [y], which ſeems from him to be called the city of Nahor [z]: but there is more probability, that both

[s] Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 7. [t] Toſtat. apud Pererium in Geneſ. cap. 11. [u] Vid. Bayle Dict. Art. Abraham, Rem. C. [x] Chryſoſt. Hom. 31, & 37. [y] St. Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, lib. 16. cap. 13. [z] Compare Gen. xxiv. 10, with Gen. xxvii. 43, and xxviii. 10.

This employment was very honourable among the Chaldeans, the perſon who followed it being conſidered as the maker of gods: for it required profound ſkill in aſtrology to chooſe the proper materials, and fix the proper time for that work, every kind of wood, as well as ſtones and metals, being by the Chaldeans dedicated to its peculiar planet, of whoſe influence it was thereby believed to participate more than any other; and an idol thus formed under a happy poſition of the heavens, and of the matter appropriated to ſuch a planet, was conceived to be rightly prepared and made according to art (84). Some of the Rabbins ſay Terah was a prieſt, and the chief of them (85).

(B) Mohammedan authors relate, that Abraham often adviſed his father to forſake the worſhip of images, aſking how he could worſhip that which neither heard, nor ſaw, nor did him any good (86): that this offending Terah, he was often ready to fall from words to blows; but that at length Abraham got the better of his father's obſtinacy, refuſing to pray for him until he promiſed to become a convert (87); for while he was an enemy to God, he was an enemy alſo to Abraham (88). The Jews ſay he repented (89); and it is thought to have been owing to the merit thereof, as well as of his ſon Abraham, that the chain of the oral law deſcended from Adam to him, and thence to his ſon (90). There is ſome ground to think Terah was converted by Abraham's perſwaſions, becauſe he travelled with him from Ur to Haran, in order to go into Canaan (91).

(84) D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Abraham p. 63. (85) Shalſhel hakkab. p. 64. (86) Shahriſtani ex Alkorano, c. 19. ver. 39. apud Hyde de rel. vet. Perſar. p. 68. (87) Al Koran c. 9. ver. 116. (88) Hyde, ubi ſup. (89) Shalſhel hakkab. p. 94. (90) Zoar apud Hottinger. in Smegm. Orient. lib. 1. p. 280. (91) Hyde ubi ſup. p. 59.

both Nahor and Haran were converted, seeing Lot was bred in the true religion, and Abraham chose Isaac a wife out of the family of Nahor, not caring to marry him to the idolatrous daughters of Canaan [a]: wherefore a learned author supposes Nahor and Haran to have been the names given to those two brothers at the time of their conversion [b]. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Christ, 2597

HOWEVER, Terah, towards the latter part of his life, designing to remove from Chaldea into the land of Canaan, took his son Abram, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, and his grandson Lot, and leaving Ur, came to Haran, a city in the north-west parts of Mesopotamia, where having dwelt for some time he died, being two hundred and five years old.

THUS have we collected, in the best method we could, what we have found worth notice, from writers of various times, religions, and countries, relating to the postdiluvian patriarchs. In the next section we shall proceed to give part of the fragments of a heathen author, whose history is supposed to relate to the earliest times of this period.

SECT. III.

The history of Sanchoniatho, after the flood.

HAVING in a preceding section brought down the Phœnician history of Sanchoniatho to the tenth generation, which probably perished in the flood, though he takes no notice of that great event; we shall here resume the thread of his narration: premising only, that, according to the plausible hypothesis which we have formerly mentioned (C), that writer proceeds to continue the idolatrous line Sanchoniatho's history continued.

[a] Gen. xxiv. 3. [b] Hyde de Rel. vet. Pers. p. 62.

(C) Bishop Cumberland, suspecting the Phœnician records to have been corrupted in this place, has proposed an amendment of them (92): He supposes a dislocation in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth generations, either through neglect in transcribers, or rather purposely made by the Cabiri, who wrote those records, to conceal the great judgment of the flood, which swept away the race of Cain (93), and of which for that reason they have suppressed

(92) Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 43. (93) Ibid. p. 49.

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597.

line of Cain, by perſons taken out of the line of Noah, and ſuppreſſed all mention (94). To ſupport this opinion, he alledges, 1. That Sydyc and Miſor could not be the children of Amynus and Magus, becauſe the tenth generation in the line of Genus, or Cain, wherein thoſe two laſt perſons are placed, muſt have been drowned in the flood, together with ſuch children as might then be born of them (95), anſwering to Shem, Ham, and Japhet. 2. That Sydyc being Melchizedec, whom he takes to be Shem; and Cronus Ham, it was neceſſary to join them both together under the line of Uranus, which Sanchoniatho owns to be diſtinct from that of Genus (96). 3. That Miſor being manifeſtly Mizraïm, the ſon of Ham, or Cronus, there is a neceſſity of placing him one generation lower than he is placed in Sanchoniatho, viz. in the twelfth (97); and that without this change, the beginning of the Egyptian kingdom would be placed too near the flood (98). 4. That Japhet being ſtill wanting to make up the three ſons of Noah, and Nereus being the only perſon in Sanchoniatho's genealogies which anſwers the ſcripture account of him, he has joined him to Sydyc and Cronus in the line of Uranus (99). But the alterations will better appear, by giving the reader a table of Sanchoniatho's genealogies, from the place where the biſhop's corrections begin; referring him for our remarks on the ſcheme itſelf to the ſucceeding notes.

The two Lines as they ſtand in SANCHONIATHO.

	SETH's Line.	CAIN's Line.
9.	Eliun, or Hypſiſtus	Agrus, Agrouerus,
10.	Uranus,	Amynus, Magus,
11.	Cronus,	Myſor, Sydyc,
12.		Thoth. Cabiri, or Dioſcuri,
13.		The ſons of the Dioſcuri.

SETH's Line in SANCHONIATHO, corrected.

9.	Eliun, or Hypſiſtus,		
10.	Uranus,		
11.	Sydyc, or Shem,	Cronus, or Ham,	Nereus, or Japhet,
12.	Cabiri, or Dioſcuri,	Miſor,	Pontus,
13.	The ſons of the Dioſcuri.	Thoyth.	Poſidon, or Neptune.

(94) Ibid. p. 47, 177. (95) Ibid. p. 41, 677. (96) Ibid. p. 47. (97) Ibid. p. 48. (98) Ibid. p 49. (99) Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 257, 258, 259.

and annexing them as ſons to Amynus and Magus, the laſt of that race.

FROM theſe men, ſays he, were begot Miſor (D) and Sydyc (E), i. e. Well-freed and Juſt: theſe found out the uſe of ſalt. Generation XI.

FROM

(D) This perſon Dr. Cumberland takes to be the Mizraïm of the ſcripture, and the Menes of the Egyptians, for theſe reaſons; 1. He ſuppoſes Miſor to be the ſingular of Mizraïm, the firſt king of Egypt according to the Hebrews, as Menes is according to the Egyptians (1). 2. That Eratoſthenes, in Syncellus and Scaliger's Euſebius (2), affirms Menes to be Meſtraïm, as the Greeks write the name of Mizraïm (3). 3. That Thoth was the ſon of Menes as well as of Miſor, and the ſecond king of Egypt (4). 4. That Miſor and Menes lived at the ſame time, and 5. Died the ſame violent death (5). We ſhall conſider this opinion, which we take to be abſolutely untenable, in another place; and ſhall only obſerve at preſent, that we cannot find Eratoſthenes has affirmed any ſuch thing, as that Menes is Meſtraïm; which is the meer imagination of thoſe authors who have tranſcribed him.

As to the tranſlation which Philo gives of the name Miſor, Ἔυλιυτος, or well-freed, Bochart, derives it from the Syriac ܡܫܪܐ Meſro; but biſhop Cumberland rather thinks the notion of freedom to be conſequent to his name, which he ſuppoſes to ſignify a prince from the root עָשַׂר aſar, to rule, or reſtrain, by addition of the ſervile Mim (6); [though to effect this the firſt radical muſt be thrown out] freedom from any coercive power being the conſequent of his dominion and ſuperiority (7).

(E) Sydyc the biſhop ſuppoſes to be Melchizedec, and Melchizedec Shem (8). All the arguments he brings in favour of the firſt ſuppoſition is, that Grotius (9) affirms Melchizedec to be Sydyc (10), probably on account of the ſimilitude of the names, Sydyc, or Sedec ſignifying juſt, and Melchizedec the juſt king. Nor does he bring any proof that Melchizedec is Shem: he only ſays, that he thinks the objections againſt that opinion are ſufficiently anſwered (11) by other authors. So that he produces no reaſon to ſupport theſe two opinions, on which his ſyſtem is chiefly grounded. If it be objected, that Miſor and Sydyc were the ſons of Amynus and Magus, he anſwers, that Sydyc was not the ſon of thoſe perſons, but brother to Ham, or Cronus, and ſon to Noah

(1) Ibid. p. 45, 55. (2) Chron. Græc. p. 17. (3) Cumberl. ibi ſup. p. 54, 185. (4) Ibid. p. 44, 55. (5) Ibid. p. 55. (6) Ibid. p. 98. (7) Ibid. p. 179. (8) Ibid. p. 47, 173. (9) In not. ad Heb. vii. 1. (10) Cumberl. in Sanchon. p. 174. (11) Ibid. p. 175.

Generation XII. FROM Miſor came Taautus (F), who found out the writing of the firſt letters; whom the Egyptians called Thoör, the Alexandrians Thoyth, and the Greeks Hermes: but from Sydyc came the Dioſcuri, or Cabiri (G), called alſo Corybantes, and Samothraces. Theſe firſt invented the building a complete ſhip.

Generation XIII. OF theſe others came, who found out herbs, the cure of bitings, and charms.

URANUS, whoſe parents lived in theſe mens age, as hath been already mentioned, ſucceeding his father Eliun in the kingdom, had by Ge, his ſiſter, four ſons; 1. Ilus, or Cronus; 2. Betylus; 3. Dagon, or Siton; and 4. Atlas (H); beſides

Noah (12); and that the Cabiri, who had corrupted the records by ſuppreſſing all mention of the flood (13), have taken the righteous king Sedec, or Melchizedec (14), with Miſor, and their children the Cabiri, and Thoth, and placed them in Cain's line, being willing to transfer all the honour gained by them to the family in which their falſe religion began; for which Sydyc's [or Melchizedec's] living in Canaan, might furniſh a pretence (15).

(F) Taaut, or Thoth is thought to be Athothes, the ſon of Menes, and the ſecond king of Egypt, according to Eratoſthenes, upon a preſumption that Miſor and Menes are the ſame; and becauſe he was alſo a king of Egypt, and ſon of a king [though it does not appear from Sanchoniatho, that Miſor was a king] as Athothes was (16). It is obſerved alſo, that as Sanchoniatho's line ends with Miſor and Thoth, ſo Eratoſthenes's line of Theban kings begins with Menes and Athothes (17), as does the firſt dynaſty of the Thinites in Manetho. And the difference between the names Thoth and Athoth is no objection, the biſhop producing ſeveral inſtances of proper names in the Eaſtern languages, where the initial A was frequently left out (18).

(G) Of the Dioſcuri, or Cabiri, the ſons of Sydyc, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, when we come to the Græcian mythology. According to Dr. Cumberland's ſcheme, they were a little branch of Sydyc, or Shem's race, that lived with Ham, or near him (19).

(12) Ibid. p. 47. (13) Ibid. p. 47, 177. (14) Ibid. p. 47. (15) Ibid. p. 178. (16) Ibid. p. 44, 54, 186. (17) Ibid. p. 46. (18) Ibid. p. 127. Vid. Bochart Canaan. p. 826. (19) Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 261.

(H); beſides much iſſue by other wives: wherefore Ge, being

(H) We ſhall conſider theſe four ſons of Uranus in their order. 1. Cronus is in all probability the ſame with the Ham of Moſes; the laſt ſeems to have been his proper name, and the other, which may be derived from קרן Keren, a horn, or power, and importing regal dignity, might have been his Phœnician title, as Belus, or בעל Baal, ſignifying a lord, was his Chaldean title (20); for the Babylonians are ſaid to have called the firſt Baal Cronus (21); Moloch and Milcom, names of the ſame ſignification, are alſo frequently uſed to deſign the ſame man (22): and Baal-Berith (23) probably ſignifies this Cronus worſhipped antiently at Berytus (24). That Cronus is the Ham of Moſes appears from the authority of Eupolemus, whoſe words are theſe: πρῶτον γενέσθαι Βῆλον, ὃν εἶναι Κρόνον· ἐκ τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Βῆλον καὶ Χαναὰν, τούτον δὲ τον Χαναὰν γεννῆσαι τον πατέρα τῶν Φοινίκων· τούτου δὲ Χοῦμ υἱὸν γένεσθαι, ὃν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λέγεσθαι Ἄσβολον, πατέρα δὲ Αἰθιόπων, ἀδελφὸν δὲ του Μεσραεὶμ πατέρα [πατρὸς] Αἰγυπτίων (25); which biſhop Cumberland renders thus: There was at firſt Belus, who is Cronus; but of him came another, 1. Belus, and 2. Canaan, who was, or begot, the father of the Phœnicians; his ſon too was 3. Chûm, whom the Greeks call Aſbolos, the father of the Ethiopians, the brother of 4. Meſtraim, the father of the Egyptians. It is eaſy, ſays that author, to adjuſt this tranſlation to the four ſons of Ham (26); for two of their names are plainly the ſame, Canaan and Miſraim; the third Chûm is but ſlightly altered from Cuſh, the ש being changed into מ only to expreſs the accuſative caſe, as Bochart has well noted; [though, by the way, this is an odd manner of accounting for that variation, the Greeks having no accuſative in m, nor indeed any word ending in m]: wherefore it only remains, that Belus, the ſucceſſor of Ham, in his dominions in Africa, be allowed to be the ſame with Phut in Moſes; and it is reaſonable to admit, that he who ſucceeded his father in that large empire, ſhould bear his title among the Babylonians, as he is here called by the Chaldean title of honour Belus, whereas Moſes calls him properly by the name given him at his birth (27). We find ſeveral footſteps of Cronus in that paſſage of the moſaical hiſtory, where Chedorlaomer and his confederates are recorded to have ſmitten the Rephaims in Aſhte-roth

(20) Vid. Ibid. p. 111, &c. (21) Eupolemus in Alex. Polyhiſt. apud Euſeb. de præp. evangelic. lib. 9. cap. 17. (22) Vid. Theophil. Antiochen. ad Autolic. lib. 3. Damaſcium in vita Iſidori, & Suidam in voce Κρόνος. (23) Judg. viii. 33. (24) Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 152. (25) Apud Euſeb. de præp. evangel. lib. 9. cap. 17. p. 419. (26) Geneſ. x. 6. (27 Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 115.

being grieved at it, and jealous, reproached Uranus, so that they parted from each other. But Uranus, though he parted

roth Carnaim, and the Zuzims in Ham. Ashteroth will easily be admitted to be Astarte, and Carnaim being derived from Keren, the root of the name of Cronus, may relate to him. And as Ræphas is acknowledged by the learned to have been a title of Cronus, both from the Coptic name of his Star and from the Septuagint, who translate Chium (Cronus's known name) by Ræphas, written in some copies Remphas, which is the clearest account of that passage in Amos(28), so from him some of his posterity, who were most like him and other Antediluvians, of long life, great strength, and stature, were called Rephaim; especially those who dwelt in his city Ashteroth Carnaim, and seem to have been his children, and their cities to have taken their father's name (29). As to Ilus, or Il, it seems to be no other than אל El, which signifies strong, and is therefore in Hebrew one of the names of God.

2. Betylus bishop Cumberland does not find mentioned by any other writer; his name seems to be of eastern original, from the root בתל Betel, which, though it often signifies dishonourable idleness, yet sometimes denotes that quiet spirit which serves religious duties and study. And in Arabic it signifies a hero, who, by successful wars, procures to himself and subjects rest and peace (30).

3. Dagon is called, agreeably to Philo's skill in the eastern languages, Siton, because he was the inventor of sowing bread-corn; and Jupiter Arotrius, from his contriving of ploughs. He was worshipped by the Philistines in Canaan; and his name, which the bishop supposes was given him at his canonization, suggests to us the reason of the divine honours they gave him (31) [being derived from דגן Dagan, bread-corn].

4. Atlas is also reckoned one of the most celebrated sons of Uranus in the Atlantian theology; the Atlantij in Africa are derived from him. The bishop supposes the reason of his being cruelly buried alive by his brother (as Sanchoniatho tells us presently) was, to secure to him and Thoth the dominion over the western parts of Africa where the Atlantij were seated; though that design was not effected but by Hercules, or Arcles, called Assis (the pastor king of Egypt), in the reign of Antæus the son of Atlas (32). The bishop chooses rather to consider Atlas as the brother, than the son, of Japetus, as the Greeks represent him, because Sanchoniatho reports him to be the brother of Cronus, whom the Greeks also agree to be brother to Japetus.

(28) Chap. v. 26. Vid. etiam Pocock. specim. Hist. Arab. p. ult. (29) Cumberl. ubi sup. p. 120, 121. (30) Idem, ibid. p. 326. (31) Idem, ibid. & p. 327. (32) Cumberl. Sanchon. p. 327, 328.

parted from her, yet by force invading her, and lying with her when he lifted, went away again; and he alſo attempted to kill the children he had by her. Ge alſo defended, or avenged herſelf, gathering auxiliary powers unto her.

BUT when Cronus came to man's age, uſing Hermes Triſmegiſtus as his counſellor and aſſiſtant (for he was his ſecretary), he oppoſed his father Uranus, avenging his mother: but Cronus had children, Perſephone [Proſerpina] and Athena [Minerva]: the former died a virgin, but, by the counſel of Athena and of Hermes, Cronus made of iron a ſcimeter and a ſpear. Then Hermes ſpeaking to the aſſiſtants of Cronus with enchanting words, wrought in them a keen deſire to fight againſt Uranus, in behalf of Ge. And thus Cronus warring againſt Uranus, drove him out of his kingdom, and ſucceeded in the imperial power, or office.

IN the fight was taken a well-beloved concubine of Uranus, big with child. Cronus gave her in marriage to Dagon, and ſhe brought forth, at his houſe, what ſhe had in her womb by Uranus, and called him Demaroon.

AFTER theſe things Cronus builds a wall round about his houſe, and founds Byblus, the firſt city (I) in Phœnicia. Afterwards Cronus ſuſpecting his own brother Atlas, with the advice of Hermes, throwing him into a deep hole of the earth, there buried him.

AT that time the deſcendants of the Dioſcuri, having built ſome tumultuary, and other ſtronger, ſhips, went to ſea, and being caſt on ſhore near mount Caſſius, there conſecrated a temple (K).

THE

(I) It is urged as an objection to the veracity of this fragment, that Byblus is here ſaid to be the firſt city in Phœnicia, after mention has been made of Tyre in the fifth generation (33); but no more can be made of what is ſaid there, than that it was a place inhabited, perhaps by people living in tents, or ſcattered huts; for building with ſun-dried bricks was not found out till three generations after. Beſides, if it had been called a city, the expreſſion would have admitted of an explanation by prolepſis. Byblus ſeems to have been the imperial ſeat of Cronus; as it was of Mizraïm for ſome time, according to the biſhop (34).

(K) Dr. Cumberland obſerves, that this is the firſt navigation we have any account of in hiſtory after the flood (35); and perhaps

(33) See before, p. 258. (34) Cumberl. Orig. Gent. Antiquiſs. p. 174. (35) Ibid. p. 368.

The auxiliaries of Ilus, or Cronus, were called Eloim (L), which is as much as to say Cronij, for so were they named who were under Cronus. But Cronus having a son called Sadid (M), dispatched him with his own sword, having a suspicion of him, and deprived his son of life with his own hand. So also he cut off the head of his own daughter, so that all the gods were amazed at the mind of Cronus.

In process of time, Uranus, being in flight, or banishment, sends his virgin daughter Astarte, with two other of her sisters, Rhea and Dione, to cut off Cronus by deceit, whom Cronus taking, made those sisters his wives. Uranus, understanding this, sent Eimarmene and Hora [Fate and Beauty] with other auxiliaries, to war against him: but Cronus, having gained the affections of these also, kept them with him. Moreover, the god Uranus devised Bætylia, contriving stones that moved, as having life (N).

Cronus

haps this is the first temple founded also; for before they used itinerant temples, carried about on carts (36). Mount Cassius lay on the coast forty miles from Pelusium in Egypt eastward, in the road to Palestine (37).

(L) Eloim is אלהם the plural of אלה Eloah, and signifies the gods, as they are called just after. The bishop renders the word in this place Ilus's men, or those that were for Cronus (38); in which sense it may be understood, considering the persons who assumed it were the auxiliaries of Il, and took their name from him on that account.

(M) شديد Shadîd in Arabic signifies a strong man, and seems to be of kin to Shaddai.

(N) Bochart conceives that by the transposition of a letter by the transciber of Sanchoniatho, writing אנכים נפשים for נשפים, anointed stones, have been transformed into animated stones. Jacob seems to have set up the example of anointing stones, when he poured oil upon the top of the pillar which had been his pillow, calling the place Beth-el (39). The Jews say, the Phœnicians worshipped that pillar of Jacob, withal consecrating, and anointing stones in imitation of it, which they called Bætylia, and Bætyli, in memory of the stone erected at Beth-el. Hesychius says, the stone was so called which Rhea gave Saturn to devour instead of Jupiter. Priscian says, the same stone is called Abadir,

or

(36) See before, p. 261.
(37) Vid. Itiner. Antonini.
(38) Cumberl. Sanchon. p. 31.
(39) Genes. xxviii. 18, 19. and xxxi. 13.

CRONUS begat on Aſtarte ſeven daughters, called Titanides, or Artemides; and he begat on Rhea ſeven ſons, the youngeſt of which, as ſoon as he was born, was conſecrated a god (O). Alſo by Dione he had daughters, and by Aſtarte two ſons, Pothos and Eros [Deſire and Love].

DAGON, after he had found out bread-corn and the plough, was called Zeus Arotrius.

To Sydic, or the juſt, one of the Titanides bare Aſclepius (P).

Cronus

or Abaddir, and that it is the Bætylus of the god Abaddir. But that name, taken for the ſtone, ſeems to be corrupted from the Phœnician אבן דיך Aban dir, ſignifying a ſpherical ſtone, which was the figure of the Bætylus, Damaſcius, a ſuperſtitious heathen writer in Juſtinian's time, ſays he ſaw ſeveral of theſe Bætylia, or Bætyli, of which many wonders were reported, in mount Libanus, near Heliopolis of Syria (40): nay, and pretends, he ſaw one of theſe ſtones moved in the air (41), and deſcribes it to be round, about a ſpan in diameter, and whitiſh, though it often appeared of different colours, (42); which ſhews there was a popular notion in thoſe days of the Bætylia being moving ſtones. They were generally conſecrated to ſome god or other, as Saturn Jupiter, the Sun, &c. (43).

(O) Dr. Cumberland ſuppoſes this ſon of Rhea was Muth, becauſe afterwards mention is made of a conſecrated ſon of Rhea, called Muth; but the laſt ſeems to be a different ſon from him ſpoken of in this place; for Muth was not conſecrated till his death, the other as ſoon as he was born.

(P) He was ſurnamed Eſmunus from שמיני Shemini, which ſignifies the eighth. His mother was one of the daughters of Cronus. This is hard to believe, yet is not impoſſible that Sydyc, in his latter time dwelling in Canaan, might, to ſecure his quiet life, (for we read of no warlike action of Shem) marry a daughter of Ham, and by her have this ſon Aſclepius; whom alone of all the ſons of Sydyc, Sanchoniatho, chiefly regarding his own country, hath taken notice of, probably, becauſe he only might have ſettled in Phœnicia, among the iſſue of Ham (44); and that he did ſettle among them appears from Apuleius's ſaying, that Apollo (whom Sanchoniatho makes Cronus's ſon) gave to Æſculapius, as he calls him, the herb Solanum (45), or night ſhade, called from his Phœnician name, Aſtir Eſmuni in Punic (46). Aſclepius is alſo called Memphites by Clemens Alexandrinus, and paſſed for a god in

Egypt

(40) Apud Photium. Bibl. p. 1047. (41) Vid. Photium. ibid. p. 1062. (42) Ibid. p. 1063. (43) Idem, ibid. Vid. etiam Bochart. Chanaan. lib. 2. cap. 2. (44) Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 200. (45) Apuleius de virtutib. Herbar. (46) In Auctuar. ad Dioſcorid.

Cronus had also in Peræa (Q) three sons: 1. Cronus, of the same name with his father. 2. Zeus Belus, 3. Apollo (R),

Contemporary with these were Pontus and Typhon, and Nereus, the father of Pontus (S). From Pontus came

Egypt (47). And Pausanius (48) mentions a temple to Æsculapius, Apollo, and Hygeia, Egyptians. This is the eldest account the bishop meets with of skill in physic or medicines (49).

(Q) Peræa being the Greek name of the country of Bashan, beyond Jordan, the bishop supposes these three sons of Cronus to have been born at Ashteroth Carnrim (50), a noted city thereof, from the relation already mentioned, which that place hath to Cronus. The name of these sons are well known to belong to heathen deities by antient writers; but it does not appear from such writers, that they were the sons of Cronus; only Eupolemus says something to the purpose in the fragment above-mentioned; though neither Moses, nor Eupolemus, who writes the Babylonian traditions about them, do use, or own the names given them by the Canaanites; and indeed the same man was deified in one place, who was not honoured so in another; and often the same person was worshipped in several places under several names (51).

(R) The first of these sons, Cronus the second, the bishop conjectures to be Mizraïm, from a passage of Nonnus, where Apis, the living image of Osiris, whom he supposes also to be Mizraïm, is said to be likewise called Chronus; Belus, Hammon, and Zeus, all acknowledged to have been names belonging to Ham his father, and therefore he must be the second in them all, (52). By Belus, the bishop supposes Cush, the son of Ham, to be intended by our author (53); and that the third, whom he calls Apollo, was the Phut of Moses, known among the Greeks sometimes by the name of Pythius, which in radical letters agrees with Phut; and sometimes by that of Apollo Carneus, which he takes to signify the elder Apollo, the son of Cronus, from קרן Keren; from which root also his town was called Carnaim (54), or, as it is elsewhere (55) written, Carnion, (56).

(S) Bishop Cumberland has made another alteration here in Sanchoniatho's successions, placing Nereus and his descendants, whose line is uncertain, in the line of Uranus, and supposes Nereus to be Japhet: 1. Because being contemporary with Ham and his issue, and having found Shem under the name of Sydyc, it remains, that he

(47) Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. 1. (48) In Corinthiac.
(49) Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 201. (50) Gen. xiv. 5.
(51) Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 335. (52) Ibid. p. 336.
(53) Ibid. 337. (54) Gen. xiv. 5. (55) Macc. xii. 16.
(56) Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 116. 337.

came Sidon, who, by the exceeding ſweetneſs of her voice, or ſinging, found out firſt the hymns of odes, or praiſes; and Poſidon [or Neptune]. But to Demaröon was born Melicarthus, who is alſo called Hercules (T).

THEN again Uranus makes war againſt Pontus, and being ſeparated from him, joins with Demaröon. Demaröon invades Pontus, but Pontus puts him to flight, and Demaröon vows a ſacrifice for his eſcape.

BUT in the thirty ſecond year of his power and reign, Ilus, who is Cronus, having laid an ambuſcade for his father Uranus in a certain midland place, and having gotten him into his hands, cut off his privities (U) near fountains and rivers. There Uranus was conſecrated, and his ſpirit, or breath, was ſeparated, and the blood of his ſecrets dropped into the fountains and waters of the rivers; and the place is ſhewed unto this day.

THEN our hiſtorian, after ſome things interpoſed, goes on, ſaying: But Aſtarte called the Greateſt, and Demaröon, ſurnamed Zeus, and Adodus, the king of the gods, reigned

he takes Japhet and his iſſue to be here pointed at (57). 2. Becauſe every one knows Nereus, Pontus, and Poſidon, or Neptune, relate to the ſea, its iſles, and ſhores, which in ſcripture fall to Japhet's ſhare (58). 3. Becauſe this author never mentions Japhet and his line if it be not here (59); and it would be ſtrange, if an hiſtorian, writing of that age wherein mankind was repaired, ſhould omit him who peopled a third part of the world (60). 4. Becauſe through Nereus are not ſaid to be deſcended from Uranus, or Noah, yet we know by ſcripture, that they muſt come from him; and there is no other line known, in which they might come from Noah, but Japhet's. 5. Becauſe Sanchoniatho, being a Canaanite, has taken no care to clear other pedigrees, but only that of Ham and Cain (61).

(T) This is the old Phœnician Melcartus, or Hercules (62), whoſe temple at Gadira, or Gades, had no images in it, and continued to the time of Silius Italicus (63). Bochart ſuppoſes this way of worſhip, practiſed in this temple, was taken from the Jews; not conſidering that Hercules Phœnicius was long before the Jewiſh law, and that the patriarchal religion uſed no images (64).

(U) It may be preſumed, that this circumſtance gave occaſion to that notion of ſome, already mentioned (65), that Ham caſtrated Noah.

(57) Ibid. p. 257. (58) Ibid. p. 259. (59) Ibid. p. 257.
(60) Ibid. p. 258. (61) Ibid. p. 259. (62) Ibid. p. 265.
(63) Sil. Ital. lib. 3. (64) Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 265.
(65) See before, p. 355.

reigned over the country by Cronus's consent, or authority (W): and Astarte put on her head, as the mark of her sovereignty, a bull's head. But, travelling about the world, she found a star falling from the air, or sky, which she taking up, consecrated in the holy island Tyre. And the Phœnicians say, that Astarte is she, who is among the Greeks called Aphrodite [or Venus].

Cronus also, going about the world, gave to his own daughter Athena the kingdom of Attica: but when there was a plague and mortality, Cronus made his only son a whole burnt-offering to his father Uranus [c]. This fact our author relates more particularly in another place, saying, that

[c] Sanchoniatho apud Euseb. de præp. ev. lib. 1. cap. 10. p. 36, &c.

(W) It is conceived that Adodus, or Adad, which signifies among the Assyrians, the one, by way of eminence (66), was a title belonging either to Cush the son of Ham, or to Nimrod, who as his kingdom extended even to Assyria, might well have many subordinate kings under him, who are called gods, as Cronus's confederate princes were called Eloim. Agreeably hereto, we find that Hadad was antiently a kingly name in Edom (67) and Syria (68), sometimes written Hadâr (69). Adar, or Adir is the magnificent or mighty potentate, and therefore may also be a title. Adodus reigning over many gods or kings, can only be understood of the large dominion allowed him by Ham (70); and we may see what sort of gods they were, when the king of them seems to have been but a delegate of Cronus, and could not reign without his consent.

This Adodus may possibly be the Adad Josephus mentions, whom, together with Azaël, the Syrians worshipped as gods, boasting much of their antiquity; whereas that author observes, they were no other than Hadad and Hazael, kings of Syria (71), who reigned at Damascus, in the time of Joram king of Israel (72); the first of whom had thirty two kings serving under him in his army (73), from whence he might have acquired the title of king of the gods, kings antiently having been called gods.

(66) Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1, cap. 31. Bochart. Chanaan. lib. 2. cap. 8. (67) Gen. xxxvi. 35. 1 Chron. i. 30. (68) 2 Sam. viii. 5, 6. Vid. etiam Nicol. Damascen. apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. 7. cap. 5. (69) Gen. xxxvi. 39. 1 Chron. xviii. 5, 7. See also Cumberl. Orig. Gent. Antiquiss. p. 171. (70) Ibid. p. 173, 236, 256. (71) 2 Kings viii. 7, &c. (72) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 9. cap. 4. (73) 1 Kings xx. 1. 24.

that it was eſtabliſhed as a cuſtom among the antients, that, in all extraordinary calamities of the public, the rulers of a city or nation ſhould give up their moſt favourite child to be ſlain, as an expiation to appeaſe the avenging dæmons; and the victims, in theſe caſes, were butchered with much myſterious ceremony. Cronus therefore, called by the Phænicians Iſrael, who reigned there, and was after his death conſecrated into the planet Cronus [or Saturn], having an only ſon by a certain nymph of the country named Anobret, and whom therefore he called Jeoud, which in the Phœnician tongue, at this day, ſignifies only begotten; and the country being involved in a dangerous war, he adorned this only ſon with royal attire, and ſacrificed him on an altar, which he had prepared for that purpoſe [d] (X). Cronus was alſo circumciſed in his privities, and

[d] Idem, apud eundem, l. 1. c. 10. p. 40. & l. 4. c. 16. p. 156.

(X) This is thought by ſome men of learning not to be a true account of any ſacrifice really performed, but only a miſrepreſentation of Abraham's intended ſacrifice of his ſon Iſaac, with ſome additions and miſtakes, which the heathen writers frequently made in all their relations (74). The reaſons alledged for this opinion are; 1. Cronus ſacrificed his only ſon; ſo was Abraham reported to have done. 2. That ſon was called Jeoud; and יחיד Yehid, or only ſon, is the epithet given to Iſaac by Moſes (75). 3. The mother of this only ſon is the ſame with Sarah; Anobret, or חן עברת Ann-oberet, ſignifying conceiving by grace, as Sarah did. 4. Cronus and his followers were circumciſed; ſo was Abraham and his houſhold. 5. Cronus was called Iſrael, which name the Canaanites gave to Abraham, from the nation of which he was the father.

To theſe reaſons it is anſwered: 1. That the ſacrificers in Moſes and Sanchoniatho are two different perſons; Cronus being plainly Ham, and here called Iſrael by a miſtake of tranſcribers, who took Il, the name of Cronus, to be an abreviation for Iſrael (76), as the letters אל frequently are. 2. The occaſion of the offerings, and of the circumciſions of Cronus and Abraham were alſo different; Cronus ſacrificed his ſon to remove a war and plague on the country, according to a ſettled cuſtom, and circumciſed himſelf for the ſame purpoſe, to appeaſe an angry deity; but what

(74) Vid. Bochart Chanaan, l. 2. c. 2. Shuckford's Connect. vol. II. p. 30, &c. and Dodwell's Dif. on Sanchon. p. 49.
(75) Gen. xxii. 2.
(76) Vid. Grot. de veritat. rel. Chriſt. l. 1. § 16. not. 50.

and forced his auxiliaries to do the ſame. And not long after he conſecrated, after his death another ſon, which he had by Rhea, called Muth; ſo the Phœnicians call death, or Pluto.

After theſe things Cronus gives the city Byblus to the goddeſs Baaltis, which is Dione; and Berytus he gave to Poſidon, and to the Cabiri, and huſbandmen, and to fiſhermen, who conſecrated the remains (Y) of Pontus in, or unto, Berytus.

But

what Abraham did was by a ſpecial command from God, as an inſtance of his faith and obedience. 3. The perſons to be ſacrificed were different; Cronus's ſon was his only ſon by Anobret a Canaanitiſh concubine; but Abraham's ſon was the only child of his wife Sarah, who was of Chaldea; and the name of Anobret, even according to the above-mentioned derivation, rather ſignifies a paſſing fair one. 4. The deities to whom the two ſacrifices were offered were not the ſame; Abraham certainly offered to none but the true God, Cronus to his father, and the avenging demons (77).

Bochart (78), beſides this notion, that Cronus (whom he elſewhere makes to be Noah) was Abraham, imagines alſo, that the Canaanites, miſunderſtanding that paſſage of Moſes, where Abraham is called a great prince, or as the Hebrew is, אלהים נשיא a prince of God, made a deity of him, dedicating the ſeventh day of the week, and ſacrificing their children to him; which is a meer fancy, and without the leaſt ground. A late writer (79) has endeavoured to prove Cronus, at leaſt the ſecond of that name (which laſt he ſuppoſes to be the perſon that ſacrificed his only ſon, though Sanchoniatho expreſly ſays, it was the ſon of Uranus), was not more antient than Abraham, from the order of Sanchoniatho's genealogies, placing Eliun's birth in the time of the Dioſcuri, who were a generation younger than Miſor, or Miſraim; but, even in this caſe, the elder Cronus could not be later than Reu, who was four generations older than Abraham, and therefore much earlier than that patriarch; notwithſtanding that, according to the Hebrew chronology, they might poſſibly have lived at the ſame time; for the ſame chronology is abſurd enough to make Ham himſelf contemporary with Abraham.

(Y) This is ſuppoſed to be the oldeſt conſecration of relicks to be met with in hiſtory (80).

(77) Vid. Cumb. on Sanchon. p. 134, &c. (78) Ubi ſup. (79) Shuckford ubi ſup. (80) Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 262.

BUT before theſe things, the god Taautus, having formerly imitated or repreſented Uranus, made images of the countenances of the gods Cronus and Dagon, and formed the ſacred characters of the other elements. He contrived alſo for Cronus the enſign of his royal power, four eyes, partly before and partly behind, two of them winking as in ſleep; and upon his ſhoulders four wings, two as flying, and two as let down to reſt. The emblem was, That Cronus when he ſlept yet was watching, and waking yet ſlept: and ſo for his wings, That even reſting he flew about, and flying yet reſted. But the other gods had two wings each of them on their ſhoulders, to intimate, that they flew about with, or under, Cronus. He alſo had two wings on his head, one for the moſt governing part the mind, one for the ſenſe.

BUT Cronus coming into the ſouth country, gave all Egypt to the god Taautus, that it ſhould be his kingdom. Theſe things, ſaith he, the Cabiri, the ſeven ſons of Sydyc, and their eighth brother Aſclepius, firſt of all ſet down in memoirs, as the god Taautus commanded them.

ALL theſe things the ſon of Thabion, who was the firſt hierophant [or director of ſacred rites], that ever was among the Phœnicians, allegorized; and mixing the facts with phyſical and mundane phænomena, he delivered them down to thoſe that celebrated Orgia, and to thoſe prophets who preſided over the myſteries: who always contrived to improve their fables; and ſo delivered them down to their ſucceſſors, and to thoſe that were afterwards introduced among them. One of whom was Iſiris (Z), the inventor

(Z) Iſiris being here called the brother of Chna, or Canaan, the biſhop concludes him to be Miſor, or Mizraïm, the father of Thoth (81). He obſerves alſo, that Hellanicus, an author older than Herodotus, often heard the Egyptian prieſts pronounce the name Oſiris, Hyſiris (82): and ſays, that Sanchoniatho repreſented Iſiris, or Mizraïm, and Thoth, as Phœnicians, to do honour to his country. And the reaſon why our author calls the ſame perſon in his place Iſiris, whom he before called Miſor, was, becauſe in the preceding part of the work he wrote his name as he found it, thinking, he ought not to recede from the

(81) Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 94, 99, &c. (82) Vid. Plutarch. de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 364.

ventor of three letters, the brother of Chna, the first Phœnician; as he was afterwards called [e].

Bishop Cumberland's amendments of Sanchoniatho considered.

THUS we have presented the reader with the small remains which are left of the Phœnician anitiquities, collected by Sanchoniatho: wherein a free and open confession is made of the beginning of idolatry, and their gods ingenuously acknowledged to have been once mortal men; a thing the Greeks were ashamed to do, and therefore turned all the stories of the gods into allegories and physical discourses [f]. A late learned prelate (A) who has endeavoured to explain this fragment, and reconcile it with scripture, has for that purpose made several corrections and alterations therein; supposing, that the records, from which Sanchoniatho extracted his history, were corrupted in those instances by the Cabiri, the first writers of them, who in particular suppressed all mention of the deluge for the reasons already given (B). The principal corruptions which

[e] Idem, apud eund. p. 40, 41:

[f] Stillingfleet Origin. Sacræ, book 1. chap. 2. § 7.

the records; and here he wrote it as it was spoken in his time, thinking he ought to comply with custom (83). To the objection, that Isiris cannot well be Mizraïm, because it is not likely, that he should make the doctrines of religion allegorical, and his son Thoth set them down in a different historical manner; it is answered, Thoth might cause the Cabiri to write this historical account or explanation before he went to reign in Egypt, for a help to his memory, or to shew the Egyptians the Phœnician form of worship was elder than their fabulous representations; and that this was not to abolish, but to explain, the religion established by his father. Lastly, All that allegorical scene of Egyptian solemnities delivered by Plutarch, cannot be so old as Mizraïm's establishment, since much of it relates to his death, and is owned by Plutarch (84) to have been added by Isis (85).

(A) Bishop Cumberland, whose notes on this author we have hitherto given, intermixing very little of our own, having reserved our observations for this place.

(B) But after all, it seems not necessary to suppose, the Cabiri purposely omitted to mention the flood, in order to suppress the memory of that judgment on the idolatrous race of Cain; because they might have retorted the reproach on their adversaries,

(83) Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 101, 102. (84) Ubi supra.
(85) Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 103, &c.

which the biſhop obſerves and would amend, are, 1. That Sanchoniatho and thoſe he tranſcribes have removed ſeveral perſons out of the line of Uranus, and placed them under that of Cain, in order to do honour to it; particularly Miſor and Sydyc, who are placed in the eleventh generation, as ſons of Amynus and Magus, the biſhop takes to be Mizraïm and Shem, both of the line of Uranus; and he accordingly places Sydyc in the ſame generation with Cronus, ſuppoſed to be Ham, and Miſor a generation lower, as the ſon of Cronus. 2. That they have introduced Nereus and his iſſue, as belonging neither to the line of Noah, nor to that of Cain, and as contemporaries with Cronus's children: but the biſhop finding Nereus to anſwer the deſcription of Japhet, better than any of the ſons of Uranus mentioned by Sanchoniatho, he raiſes him two, or three, generations higher, and makes him the ſon of Uranus; in which two alterations this author's ſcheme principally conſiſts. But however plauſible his hypotheſis may be, on a nearer examination it ſeems liable to ſeveral objections.

FOR as to the reaſon given for the Cabiri's making theſe diſlocations, viz. to do honour to the line of Cain, it may be aſked, why they, who were of Uranus's line (for they could be deſcended from no body elſe, ſuppoſing him to be Noah), ſhould deſire to do honour to that of another, by renouncing their anceſtors? why in doing this did they ſeparate Miſor from his father, and deny Cronus the honour which they did his ſon? or rather were they afraid Cronus would diſgrace the line of Cain, and would not have it thought Miſor and Thoth were deſcended from him, whom yet they acknowledge to be the founder of the Phœnician and Egyptian nations? how happened it, when they ſeparated Nereus, or Japhet, from Cronus, that they did not make him the ſame honourable amends as they did

ſaries, and pretended their religion to have been that falſe one for which the world was puniſhed; and this might have been the eaſier, conſidering, the tradition concerning that religion muſt have been much more uncertain than that of the deluge, to which a conſiderable part of mankind then living was able to bear teſtimony. It is more probable, that the writers of thoſe records were entirely ignorant of the deluge; and conſequently that they are not genuine, or of that antiquity which is pretended.

his brother Sydyc (C), but dropt him by the way two, or three, generations lower? was he a reprebate not fit to keep company even with Cronus? to be ſerious, it is not to be imagined, that Thoth, who directed the Cabiri to write theſe records [g], could think it a greater honour to be deſcended from a perſon in another line, who makes no figure in the hiſtory, than from Cronus, ſo renowned in the antient world: nor could he, as the caſe ſtood, have any proſpect of concealing his true pedigree, if he were ſo minded, or the Cabiri be ſuppoſed to have ſo little regard to themſelves, or their father Sydyc, if he were Shem, and in all probability ſtill living, as to place themſelves in the hateful line of Cain. The diſlocation of Miſor is oppoſed by a circumſtance which ſeems to require that he ſhould belong to the generation where he is placed in the hiſtory; for its being ſaid that Cronus, when he came to man's age, uſed the council of Hermes, or Thoth, who was his ſecretary, ſeems to imply, that Thoth was a man of more years and greater experience than Cronus himſelf, and conſequently could not be his grandſon. It is alſo unlikely, that Sydyc, if he were Shem, ſhould marry a daughter of Cronus, or Ham; which the biſhop ſuppoſes he did to ſecure his quiet in Canaan, upon the preſumption, that Shem was Melchizedec [h], which notion we have already ſhewn to be groundleſs [i], and ſhall conſider farther hereafter.

Nor can we approve of another ſuppoſition of the biſhop's, viz. that Iſiris is the ſame with Miſor, becauſe ſaid to be the brother of Chna, or Canaan; for they are certainly deſigned to be two perſons, differing as well in age as other circumſtances. Thoth was king of Egypt when the Cabiri wrote theſe records at his command; which ſhews that his father Miſor, whom the biſhop ſuppoſes to have been Menes, the firſt king of Egypt, who reigned but ſixty two years, was dead; as the biſhop himſelf confeſſes [k]:

[g] Cumberl, on Sanchon. p. 104. [h] Ibid. p. 200.
[i] See before, p. 368.

(C) The firſt writers of theſe memoirs ſeems to have nothing more in view, by the particulars relating to Sydyc and Nereus, and their deſcendants, than to account for the original of the Cabiri, and of navigation, and to do honour to Berytus, a Phœnician city, by making it the prime ſeat of their religion and trade.

ſes [k]: the ſon of Thabion, who turned the hiſtory into allegory, and mixed it with phyſical matters, came after the Cabiri, and delivered it in the new form he had given it to thoſe who preſided over the ſacred myſteries, from whom it paſſed to their ſucceſſors, and to thoſe that were afterwards introduced among them, of whom Iſiris was one. So that Iſiris ſeems not only to have been ſome generations later than the Cabiri and Thoth, who reigned but ſixty two years; but alſo to have been no more than one of the Phœnician prieſts, and not a king of Egypt. Nor is this in the leaſt repugnant to the ſcripture account; it being very probable, that the nation properly called Canaanites, or Phœnicians, did not take their name immediately from Canaan the ſon of Ham, but from ſome later deſcendant of his of the ſame name, ſince we do not find the Canaanites among his children, or deſcendants, in the place ſet apart for giving an account of them [l]; nor do we hear of them, or the Perizzites, another branch deſcended from Canaan, before Abraham's arrival in the land of promiſe [m].

MANY more objections ariſe againſt the biſhop's ſcheme, but we think it enough to have conſidered the fundamentals of it, leaving the reader to make his farther remarks from the hints we have given. Upon the whole, we think the hiſtory of Sanchoniatho will in no wiſe admit of the corrections the biſhop has made; it may be confuted by ſcripture, but it can never be reconciled with it; the plan is quite different from that of Moſes, and ſeems to be grounded upon a very different tradition relating to the firſt ages; if it be not rather a hiſtory framed long after the facts ſpoken of happened, by mixing fable, or invention, with ſome vulgar notions and glimmerings of antient tranſactions, which ſtill remained in the time of the author, or editor, when the genuine and more perfect tradition of things had been loſt.

BUT, before we cloſe this ſection, we muſt not omit mentioning a word concerning the chronology of this hiſtory of Sanchoniatho, in which the biſhop ſeems to vary from himſelf. In one place he ſays, it is bounded within the three firſt centuries after the flood, as ending with the beginning of Thoth's reign in Egypt [n]: in another, that it

[k] Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 95. [l] Gen. x. 15. [m] Gen. xii. 6. and xiii. 7. [n] Cumberl, on Sanchon. p. 95.

ends within four, or five, hundred years after the event [o]. But the repugnancy is more obvious with regard to Cronus, or Ham. The biſhop allows in ſeveral places, and thinks it but reaſonable, that Ham and the other children of Noah ſhould live to near about the ſame age, though he thinks Ham did not live altogether ſo long as Shem [p]. He ſays, it appears plain enough from Sanchoniatho, as in fact it does, that Cronus, or Ham, out-lived his father Uranus, or Noah [q]: and as Noah's death is determined in ſcripture to have happened three hundred and fifty years after the flood, he concludes the life of Ham muſt be above four hundred and fifty years [r]. And elſewhere, from the circumſtance of Chedorlaomer's invaſion of Canaan [s], concluding Ham to be then dead, he fixes his death in the fifth year before Abraham's entrance into Canaan, A. M. 2078; that is, in the year of the flood 422 [t]. Notwithſtanding all which, in another place, ſpeaking of the age of Ham, he ſuppoſes him and his deſcendants to have ſhortened their days by debauchery, and that he only lived about three hundred years after the flood; and this, ſays the biſhop, may well be granted, becauſe his father lived fifty years longer, as it is certain his brother Shem outlived him two hundred years [u]. Such contradictions and miſtakes may the greateſt men run into when they have ſet their minds on an hypotheſis; notwithſtanding which, to do this learned writer juſtice, he has, in his remarks on our author, given great light into the hiſtory of thoſe ancient times, and made many valuable obſervations.

[o] Ibid. p. 119.
[p] Ibid. p. 103, 119, 120, 123.
[q] Ibid. p. 119.
[r] Ibid. p. 104.
[s] Geneſ. xiv.
[t] Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 123.
[u] Idem, Orig. Gent. Antiquiſſ. p. 172.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Of the removal of mankind, from about mount Ararat, to the plain of Shinaar; and of the building of Babel.

AS there fall two or three very remarkable events within this period, namely, the building of Babel by the posterity of Noah, the confusion of languages, and the dispersion of mankind; it is incumbent upon us to give the reader some account of those important facts, the effects of which are felt to this day, and were doubtless of great benefit to mankind. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Christ, 2597

AFTER the death of Noah, his sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, thought fit to remove, with their families, from the plains near Ararat, where we suppose they till then continued, and, *travelling from the east*, *found a plain in the land of* Shinaar, *and dwelt there* [w]. The wording of this passage has occasioned some doubt, whether by Ararat could be meant Armenia, since then their journeying would have been from the north-west. Wherefore others, instead of *from the east*, render it *eastward*. But there is no need to strain the text to explain a geographical difficulty. Moses spoke according to the best of his knowledge, or perhaps with reference to the wilderness where he wrote; from which Shinaar lying eastward, he might judge Ararat lay eastward too, as lying farther off: or the difficulty may be easily solved, by supposing with Kircher [x] and others, that as mankind multiplied they spread themselves in the country south eastward of Ararat, and made small removes between the times of their descending from Ararat, and their coming to the place from whence they are mentioned to have removed towards Shinaar, which might have lain westward of that place. But after all, the mistake seems to lie on the side of the critics, and not of Moses; for even the mountain, which at present passes with us for Ararat, lies above two degrees more east than the city of Shinaar, or Senjâr, from whence the plain in all probability took the name, and if the sons of Noah entered Shinaar on the north side, they must of necessity have *journeyed from the east*, or, which is the same thing, The first migration of the sons of Noah to Shinaar.

[w] Genes. ix. 2.

[x] Turris Babel. p. 12.

Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Christ, 2597

thing, have travelled westward, in order to arrive there; though at the same time they must have travelled southward too; for Ararat lies about north-east-by-north of Senjâr; but all the geographers (De Lisle excepted) having drawn that mountain a good way out of its place to the westward, the commentators, and historians who relied upon them, have been embarassed to reconcile the words of scripture with what they took for certain fact, viz. that Ararat lay to the westward, and not at all to the eastward of Senjâr.

The extent and situation of the land of Shinaar.

It is hard to determine what were the limits of the land of Shinaar (D) in the early times. We are informed from scripture, that the city and tower of Babel were built in a plain within that province [y], and that Nebuchadnezzar carried the vessels of the temple into the land of Shinaar into the house of his God [z], which in all probability was the temple of Belus in Babylon. Besides Babel there are three other cities mentioned in scripture to have been situate in Shinaar, viz. Erec, Accad, and Calneh [a]; but as all the four seem to have stood at no great distance from each other [b], we cannot thence judge of the extent of the country. Thus far in general may be presumed, that it took in no more to the north of Babel than to the south, and that it lay for the most part, though not entirely, between the Euphrates and Tigris; for Babylon, if it was the same with Babel, stood on the east side of the Euphrates (E), which passed along the west

[y] Genes. xi. 2, &c. x. 10. [z] Dan. i. 2. [a] Genes. x. 10. [b] See before, p. 363. in the notes.

(D) The name in Hebrew is שִׁנְעָר Shinaar, or Sennaar, in Arabic سنجار Senjâr. Bochart says, it is derived from נָעַר naar, which signifies to scatter, and dissipate (86); and if so, it could not have been imposed by the Noachidæ on the plain where they first fixed, as Josephus affirms (87), without supposing them to have foreseen the dispersion; to which that etymology, if it be right, plainly alludes.

(E) Among other circumstances it may be observed, that the modern travellers represent the Euphrates a mile and half broad in those parts; whereas Strabo says the breadth of the branch of that river which passed through Babylon was but a furlong (88), or the eighth part of a mile; though the bridge according to

(86) Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 5. (87) Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 4. (88) Lib. 16.

west side of it, before Nebuchadnezzar built the new city on this side that river, which thenceforth ran though the middle of the whole. Year of the World, 401. Year before Christ, 2597

WE meet with footsteps of the name of Shinaar in those parts, both in ancient and modern authors; Sennaar of Babylon is mentioned by Hestiæus the Milesian [c], and the city of Singara in Mesopotamia by several [d]. Some speak of a territory of that name in the same quarters [e]; Ptolemy places both the city and mountain of Singara there [f]: all which seem to be the same city, mountain (F), and territory, which still bear the name of Senjâr in the east [g]. The part of Mesopotamia chosen out by the astronomers in the time of the Khalîfah al Mamûn, for measuring the content of a degree of a great circle, was the desart of Senjâr [h]; which the nature of the experiment shews to have been large, as well as a level country: and this we take to have been at least a part of the antient plain of Shinaar.

THE city of Senjâr stands, or stood, in the northern borders (as we conjecture) of its territory, in the desart, at the foot of a certain mountain (perhaps that of the same name), twenty one miles from Balad, and twenty seven from Mûsol

[c] Apud Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 5. & Euseb. de pr. ev. l. 9. c. 15. [d] Plinius, Hist. Nat. Ammian. Marcellinus, Eutropius, Athanasius, in Epist. ad solitar. Vit. agent. [e] Sext. Rufus, Pomp. Lætus. [f] Tab. 4. Asiæ. [g] Geogr. Nub. p. 201. Thevenot. Voyages, part 2. c. 10. [h] Vid. Gol. Not. adAlfragan. p. 72.

to Diodorus (89), was five furlongs in length, if he does not mistake, but supposing the river as broad as the bridge was long, it will be but little more than one third of the present breadth of the Euphrates: which yet lower down, at Hella, becomes more narrow.

(F) Haitho the Armenian writes, that in Mesopotamia there are two mountains of great length, abounding with fruit trees, the more easterly of which is called Sinjâr, the other Lesson (90); probably the desart, or plain, of Senjâr lay between these two ridges of hills. We cannot conceive upon what ground Heidegger charges Haitho with a mistake, as if he made Sinjâr a mountain of Chaldea (91): on the contrary, that author seems to have mistaken Haitho, and placed what he found in the chapter concerning Mesopotamia, as belonging to the foregoing chapter which treats of Chaldea.

(89) Lib. 2. (90) Haitho de Tartaris, cap. 12. apud Grinæum, nov. orb. p. 373. (91) Heidegg. Hist. Patr. tom. I. p. 419.

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ſol, which two laſt are ſituate on the Tigris twenty one miles aſunder [i]. It is ſaid to lie to the ſouthward of Niſibîn, almoſt three ſtages weſt of the Tigris [k], or more particularly of Mûſol [l]; ſo that Ptolemy is in the wrong to place Singara on that river. As for the difference between the words Shinaar and Singar it is very ſmall, conſidering, in the Hebrew the ſame character ſtands for the Ain and the Gnain (G). We find Senjâr called alſo by another name, viz. al Sâmara [m], which ſeems to be the contraction of Sarra-man-rai, a city on the eaſt of the Tigris, three ſtages above Baghdâd, and for a time the ſeat of the Khalîfah [n].

The building of Babel began.

THE ſons of Noah, upon their arrival in this plain, began to think of building a city and tower. The learned are divided in their opinions about the ſenſe of the paſſage which gives an account of this enterprize: *And they ſaid go to, let us build us a city and tower, whoſe top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a name, leſt we be ſcattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth* [n]. Many imagine, that the motive which induced them to undertake this building was, their apprehenſion of a ſecond deluge, and therefore they reſolved to raiſe a ſtructure of ſufficient height to fly to in caſe of danger [o]. Others think, there is no room for this ſuggeſtion, for in that caſe they would rather have built it on an eminence than a plain, and ſcripture expreſly aſſigns the reaſon of their ſetting about it, viz. to make them a name, or leave a memorial of themſelves, leſt they ſhould be ſcattered, or, as it is otherwiſe rendered (perhaps to ſerve the purpoſe), *before they ſhould be ſcattered abroad* [p]; which implies, they knew they ſhould be diſperſed before they begun to build, being warned by God, according to ſome, to ſeparate

[i] Geogr. Nub. p. 201. [k] Golius ubi ſupra. [l] Hyde de Rel. vet. perſ. p. 64. [m] Abu'lfarag. Hiſt. Dyn. p. 18. [n] Vid. Gol. ubi ſupra, p. 130. Geogr. Nubiens, p. 203. [n] Gen. xi. 4. [o] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 5. Eutych. Annal. p. 50. Baſnage, Antiq. Judaiques. tom. II. cap. 2. § 27. p. 410. [p] Vid. the vulgat. tranſlat.

(G) Thus עמרה may be written either Gomorrah, or Amorrah: עזה, either Gazah, or Azzah, as we find it in the margin of our Bibles (92).

(92) Geneſ. x. 19.

parate themſelves into colonies [q]. But a third ſort, to whom the text appears altogether unintelligible, as it now ſtands in the ſeveral tranſlations will have it, that the word שם ſhem ſhould not be rendred name, but ſign; and ſo the paſſage will run, *let us make us a ſign, leſt we be ſcattered*; that is, as Perizonius explains it, the tower was to ſerve them as beacon, or mark, by the ſight of which, or of a ſignal made from the top of it, they might avoid ſtraying in the open plains with their flocks (the firſt men being ſhepherds), and be brought back to the city which they had built for a place of abode, being unwilling to diſperſe themſelves [r]. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597

BUT whatever the motives of the chiefs were, which ſeems to be dubiouſly expreſſed in the text, the effect of their conſultation was, that they ſet on foot the building of the city and tower of Babel. But this enterprize being diſpleaſing in the eyes of God, as tending to fruſtrate or delay the execution of his deſign, which was, that mankind ſhould always continue together in one place, he obliged them to give over their project before they had finiſhed it (H), by confounding their language, ſo that one could not underſtand what another ſaid; from whence the city took the name of Babel [s], which ſignifies confuſion: whereupon the diſperſion and planting of nations enſued. Their deſign fruſtrated.

THIS great event happened before the birth of Peleg, in the year of the flood four hundred and one, when the work, according to ſome, had been carried on twenty two years [t], and according to others forty [u]; ſo that the foundation muſt have been laid ten, or at moſt, but twenty eight years after Noah's death. The time of their enterprize.

MANY, conſidering the confuſion of tongues and the diſperſion of mankind thereupon as a divine judgment, have deemed Whether ſinful. A deſcription of Babel.

[q] Uſher's Annals in Engliſh, ad ann. mundi, 1757.
[r] Vid. Perizon. Origin. Babylon. cap. 11. p. 193. [s] Gen. xi. 7, 8, 9. [t] Torniellus, Salianus. Pererius, &c.
[u] Syncell. Chronogr. p. 82. Eutychius Annal. p. 53.

(H) Some pretend, that the tower was thrown down by tempeſtuous winds, on the builders heads; and that the city of Babylon was built out of the ruins (93).

(93) Abyden. apud Euſeb. de præp. ev. l. 9. c. 14. & Sibylla, apud Joſeph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 4.

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deemed the building of Babel an evil attempt (I); and being concerned for the honour of Shem and his race, will not allow them to have been present at it, supposing that undertaking to be set on foot wholly by the unbelieving part of mankind [w], in which sense they understood the words *the children of men* [x]. On the contrary, others will have it, that not only Shem, but Noah and Abraham (who, according to one way of computing the Hebrew chronology, were contemporary) assisted in the raising of that structure [y], while some say Nimrod, who is generally looked on as the chief prompter of that work [z], retired into Assyria, because he would not give his assent to it [a].

That the building of Babel was a thing indifferent in itself and no way sinful, seems evident from the silence of scripture, which does not condemn that attempt as bold or presumptuous, or intimate any revelation of a previous command to the contrary, which only could make it criminal. And that the family of Shem were concerned in the work as well as the rest, appears from their sharing in the punishment, if it be a punishment, that is, the confusion of tongues; though this is denied by several [b]: for the lan-

[w] Morin. Exercit. de Ling. cap. 8. p. 47. Scotanus Hist. Sacr. p. 48, &c. Marsham Chron. Canon. secul. 17. p. 478. Von der Hart Ephemer. Philol. Disc. 3. Usher. Chronol, Sacra, part 1. cap 5. p. 26. Gurtler. Hist. Universal. cap. 9. p. 93. Bochart. Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 10. August. de civit. Dei, lib. 17. cap. 5, [x] Genes. xi. 6. [y] Aben Ezra apud R. Gedal. in Shalsh. hakkab. p. 7. b. [z] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 5. Von der Hart ubi supra. August. de civit. Dei, lib. 17. cap. 4. Constant. Manass. Annal. p. 14.
[a] See before p. 363. [b] Buxtorf. in Dissertat. Philologico-theolog. p. 70. Chrysostom. Homil. 30 in Genes. Fuller. Miscell. Sacr. lib. 4. Scotanus, Bibl. Ætat. sec. p. 91. Heidegger. Hist. Patriarch. tom. I. exercit. 16. § 16. Steph. Morin. ubi sup. p. 44. & 68.

(I) A learned divine of our nation, being of this opinion, supposes, that this tower (whose pyramidal form, he says, resembles fire, or the conic shape of its flame) was a monument erected to the honour of the sun, as the most probable cause of drying up the flood (94). But of this there is not the least footstep in scripture.

(94) Tenison of idolatry.

languages of Elam, or Perſia, and of Aſſyria, and Meſopotamia, were different, as were alſo thoſe even of the deſcendants of Eber, the Arabs, and Jews, whatever others [c] may pretend; and if ſpeaking the Hebrew language be a proof, then the Canaanites were not concerned in the building of Babel, any more than Eber and his deſcendants, for their language was the ſame with the Hebrew. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597

BUT this ſuppoſed abſence of the Shemites, as alſo another common opinion, current amongſt thoſe who adhere to the Hebrew chronology, that ſeveral nations were planted before the diſperſion, are overthrown by the authority of ſcripture, which ſtrongly intimates, that all mankind then in being, without exception, were aſſembled in the plain of Shinaar (H); and it is probable, that after the buildings

[c] Epiphan. apud. Glycam, Annal. p. 3. Conſtant. Manaſſ. Annal. p. 14.

(H) There is not a fact in all the Moſaical hiſtory which ſeems to be more firmly eſtabliſhed than this. As ſoon as Moſes hath brought the three ſons of Noah out of the ark, he takes care to inform us, that *of them was the whole Earth overſpread* (93). And, after giving us the name of their deſcendants at the time of the diſperſion, he ſubjoins, *and by theſe were the nations divided in the earth after the flood* (94). Then, proceeding to give an account of that memorable tranſaction, he tells us, That *the whole earth was of one language, and of one ſpeech* (95). *That as they, namely, the whole earth, journeyed from the Eaſt, They found a plain in the land of Shinaar, and dwelt there; and they ſaid, let us make bricks, and build a city and a tower; and the Lord came down to ſee the city and the tower which the children of men builded, and ſaid, behold the people is one, and they have all one language* (96). Theſe ſeem to be convertible terms, and import, that as all mankind collected there in one body, had but one language, ſo all thoſe who had but one laugnage, were aſſembled in one body; which argument is the more cogent, becauſe it is allowed on all hands, that there was but one language in the world at the time of the building of Babel, which city was ſo called, *becauſe the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth, and from thence did ſcatter them abroad upon the face of the earth* (97).

From

(93) Geneſ. ix. 10. (94) Gen. x. 32. (95) Gen. xi. 1. (96) Ibid. v. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. (97) Ibid v. 8, 9.

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building of Babel, Shem and his descendants chose, or accepted of, the adjacent country for their settlement [d]. So that the most we can allow, with Buxtorf [e] and others, is, that they dissuaded the rest from that enterprize.

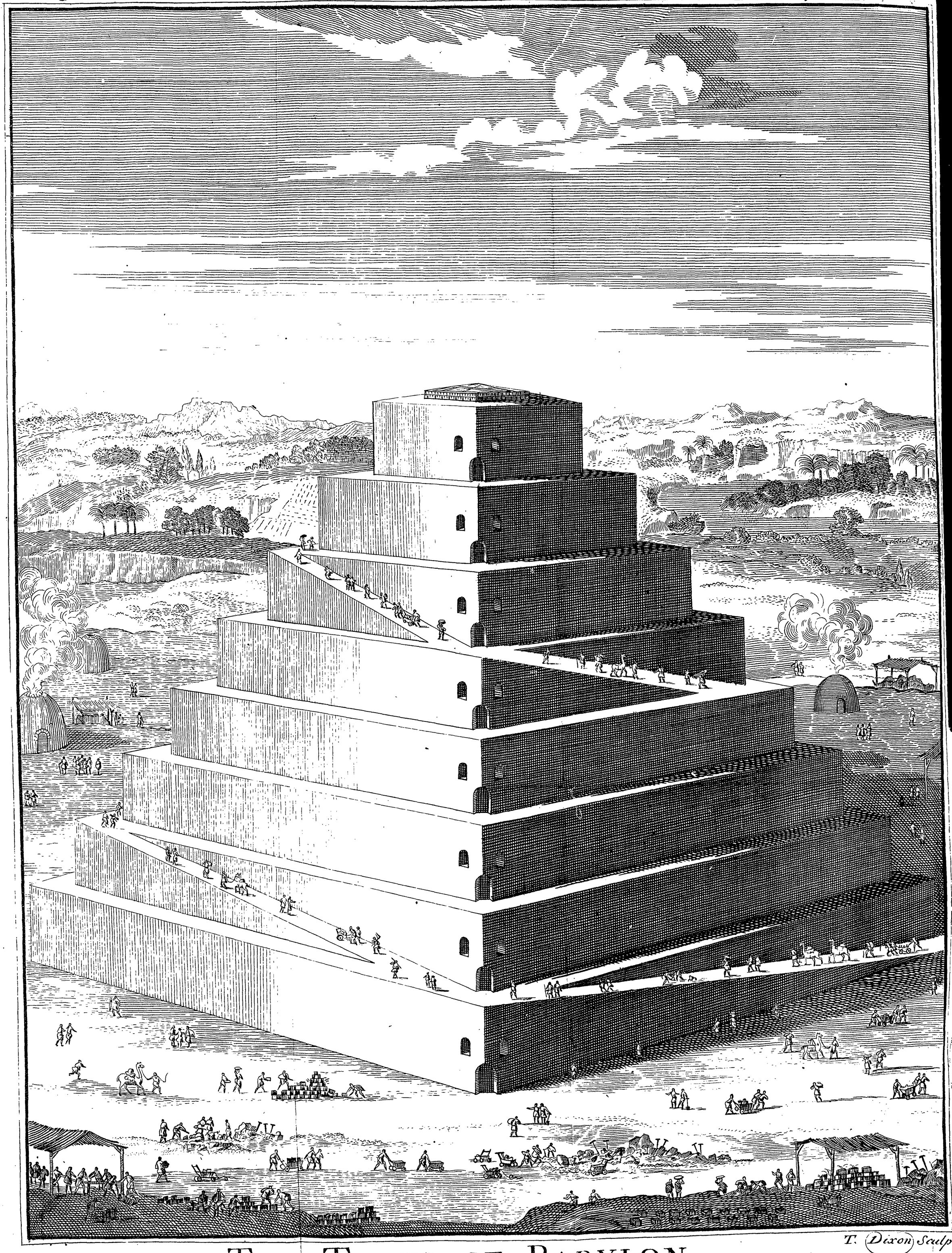
A description of Babel.

THE reader must needs have a curiosity to see some account of a city and tower, which employed all the men in the world for so many years in building them. The scripture informs us, that they made use of burnt bricks instead of stone, and slime instead of mortar [f]. According to an eastern tradition, they were three years employed in making and burning those bricks, each of which was thirteen cubits long, ten broad, and five thick [g]. The slime with which these bricks were cemented was a pitchy substance, or bitumen [h], brought from a city, in the neighbourhood of Bablyon,

[d] See § 6. [e] Dissertat. Philologico-theol. p. 70.
[f] Gen. xi. 3. [g] Ebn Amîd. p. 14. Eutych. Annal. p. 53. [h] Josephus Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 4.

From the beginning to the end of this narration, the connection is so well preserved between the antecedent and the relative, that there is no room to suppose, that any less than all mankind were gathered together in the plain of Shinaar, and assisted in the building of Babel; and Moses seems to have made those unusual repetitions to inculcate the certainty of that fact, and take away all ground for supposing any branch of Noah's posterity were in any other part of the earth at that time. Wherefore the arguments used by some, that the phrase, all the earth, is often taken, in a restrained and improper sense elsewhere in scripture, to signify only a part of the earth (98), and sometimes no more than the land of promise (99); as also that the expression, the children of men, confines the builders to the unbelieving part of mankind only, because that phrase is also used in such a sense in other places of scripture (1), are of no force here; the sense of the whole (by which that of a part is always to be governed) being directly against such a meaning, and this last expression being evidently used only to vary the diction: besides those who urge this last argument, do not seem to consider, that before the dispersion, infidelity could not well have crept in amongst mankind; who, it is but reasonable to conclude, while they kept together, were united in one faith, as well as government.

(98) Jerem. li. 7. 49. Dan. ii. 39. (99) Judg. vi 37. 1 Sam. xvii. 46. Isai. x. 14. (1) Sam. xxvi. 19 2 Sam. vii. 14. Psal. xii. 1.



T. Dixon Sculp.

THE TOWER OF BABYLON.

Babylon, called Is [i], or Hît (I). The oriental authors say, that the city, built by the sons of Noah, was three hundred and thirteen fathoms in length, and one hundred and fifty one in breadth, that the walls of it were five thousand five hundred and thirty three fathoms high, and thirty three broad, and the tower ten thousand fathom, or twelve miles high [k]; which dimensions bear no manner of proportion to each other. Even Jerom affirms, from the testimony of eye-witnesses who examined the remains of the tower carefully, that it was four miles high [l]; but Ado raises the height to no less than five thousand miles [m]; but these are shameful extravagancies. The only account we can depend upon, as to the dimensions of this tower, supposing it to be same tower with that which stood in

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[i] Herodotus Clio, p. 32. [k] Ebn Amîd & Eutych, ubi supra. [l] Hieron. lib. 5. Comment. in Esaiam. [m] In Chronica.

(I) It is much no modern author, that we know of, excepting Bochart (2), out of the many who have occasionally, or professedly, spoken of Babylon, have taken notice of this nice circumstance in Herodotus. That prince of historians observes, that by the city Is, eight days journey from Babylon, there runs a small river of the same name into Euphrates, whose waters carry along with them many lumps of bitumen, which are conveyed thence to the wall of Babylon. Diodorus says, the quantity of bitumen in those parts is so great, that it suffices the inhabitants not only for their buildings, but for fewel, being dryed and burned like wood (3). Hît is called Æliopolis by Isidore of Charax (4), who mentions the springs of bitumen near it, and places it on the Euphrates, about two hundred and fifteen miles west of Seleucia on the Tigris, which agrees better with Herodotus than the account of modern authors, who place Hît thirty one parasangs, or about one hunred twenty eight miles west of Baghdâd, (supposed to stand near, if not in the place of, Seleucia) and twenty one parasangs west of Ambâr, once a famous city, on the Euphrates (5), not far north from Felujiah, and eight to the north of Kadesiah, a town no less remarkable for the battle, wherein the Arabs gained the victory which decided the fate of Persia (6).

These

(2) Phaleg. lib, 1. cap. 11. (3) Lib. 2. p. 100. (4) Inter Geog. Vet. Græc. Ed. Hudsoni, v. II. (5) Vid. Golii. Not. ad Alfragan. p. 124, 125. Geogr. Nubiens. 199. (6) D' Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Hît. Anbar, & Cadessia.

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in the midst of the temple of Belus, afterwards built round it

These springs of bitumen are called Oyûn Hît, the fountains of Hît, and are much celebrated by the Arabs and Persians, the latter call it Cheshmeh kîr, the fountain of pitch. This liquid bitumen they call nafta, and the Turks, to distinguish it from pitch, give it the name of kara sakiz, or black mastic. A Persian geographer says, that nafta issues out of the springs of the earth, as ambergreese issues out of the sea (7). All the modern travellers, except Rauwolf, who went to Persia and the Indies by the way of the Euphrates, before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, mention this fountain of liquid bitumen as a strange thing. Some of them take notice of the river (8) mentioned by Herodotus, and assures us, that the people of the country have a tradition, that when the tower of Babel was building, they brought the bitumen from hence (9), which is confirmed by the Arab and Persian historians (10).

Hît, Heit, (11), Eit (12), Ait (13), or Idt (14), as it is variously written by travellers, is a great Turkish town (15), situate upon the right, or west, side of the Euphrates (16); and has a castle, to the south-west of which (17), and three miles from the town, in a valley, are many springs of this black substance (18), each of which makes a noise like a smith's forge, incessantly puffing and blowing out the matter so loud, that it may be heard a mile off; wherefore the Moors [Arabs] call it Bâb al jehennam, that is heil gate (19). It swallows up all heavy things, and many camels from time to time fall into the pits and are irrecoverably lost (20). It issues from a certain lake, sending forth a filthy smoke, and continually boiling over with the pitch, which spreads itself over a great field that is always full of it. It is free for every one to take; they used it to caulk or pitch their boats, laying

(7) Apud eundem, ibid. Art. Hit. (8) Eldred. See Hackluit's Collection of Voyages. vol. I. (9) Vid. le Voyage de Perse es ann. 1598 & 1599, per un Gentilhomme de la suitte du Seigneur Sherley, a la p. 110. des Relations veritables & curieuses. (10) Vid. D'Herbelot ubi sup. (11) Newberry. (12) Balbi. Viaggio dell' Indie Orientale, cap. 4. Vid. eundem, apud de Brie, India Orientalis, vol. VII. (13) Cartwright & Fitch. (14) Rauwolf. (15) Idem, in his Travels, part 2. chap. 6. p. 163. (16) Eldred, Balbi, &c. ubi sup. (17) Newberry's Travels. See Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. II. p. 1412. (18) Eldred ubi supra. (19) Cartwright's, or the Preacher's Travels, p. 105. Eldred ubi sup. Fitch's Travels. See Purchas ubi sup. p. 1730. (20) Eldred & Newberry ubi supra.

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it by Nebuchadnezzar, muſt be taken from prophane authors. Herodotus tells us, it was a furlong in length, and as much in breadth [n] (K); and Strabo determines the height to have been a furlong [o], that is, the eighth part of a mile, or ſix hundred and ſixty foot, which is itſelf prodigious; for thereby it appears to have exceeded the greateſt of the Egyptian pyramids in height one hundred and ſeventy nine foot, though it fell ſhort of it at the baſis by thirty three [p]. It conſiſted of eight ſquare towers one above another, gradually decreaſing in breadth; which, with the winding of the ſtairs from the top to the bottom on the outſide, gave it the reſemblance of a pyramid, as Strabo calls it [q]. This antique form, joined to the extraordinary height of the ſtructure, eaſily induces us to believe it to be the ſame tower mentioned by Moſes; Nebuchadnezzar finiſhing the deſign, which the ſons of Noah were obliged, by the confuſion of tongues, to leave unexecuted.

WHAT

[n] Lib. 1. p. 33. [o] Lib. 16. p. 1073. [p] See Greaves Deſcr. of the Pyramids. p. 68, 69. [q] Lib. 16.

laying it on two, or three, inches thick, which keeps out the water (21); with it alſo they pitch their houſes made of palm-tree branches: if it was not that the inundations of the Euphrates carry away the pitch, which covers all the ſands from the place where it riſes to the river, there would have been mountains of it long ſince (22). The very ground and ſtones thereabouts afford bitumen, and the fields abundance of ſalt-petre (23)

(K) The words of Herodotus are; Ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς ὁικοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρις οὗ ὀκτὼ πύργων. *In the midſt of the temple a ſolid tower is built, of a furlong in length and as much in breadth; and upon this tower another tower is erected, and another again upon that, and ſo on to the number of eight towers.* It is true, the word μῆκος, which we here tranſlate length, may alſo ſignify height; but ſome authors having thence ſuppoſed, as the conſtruction ſeems to require, that the firſt tower was a furlong high, and concluding the other ſeven to be of equal height, have made the whole a mile high; to avoid which extravagant conſequence, it ſeems more reaſonable to underſtand Herodotus as we have rendered the paſſage, unleſs the furlong be taken for the height of all the eight towers.

(21) Fitch & Balbi, ubi ſup. (22) Balbi, ibid. (23) Voyage de Perſe, ubi ſupra.

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WHAT this moſt wonderful city was in its flouriſhing ſtate, and the ſeveral changes of fortune which befel it till at length it was totally deſtroyed, the reader will find remarked in the courſe of this hiſtory. In the mean time, we would willingly gratify his curioſity with ſome account of the ruins of this celebrated antiquity, which are ſo defaced, that the people of the country are not certain of their ſituation; and this has occaſioned travellers to differ concerning it. Moſt of them, led by a tradition of the inhabitants, have judged a place about eight or nine miles to the weſt, or north-weſt, of Baghdâd, to be the tower of Babel (L). Rauwolf

(L) The name of this monument is variouſly written by travellers, Carcuftate Nemeru (24), Karkûf (25), Agarcuf (26); all who mention it call it the tower of Nimrod, and we are told, that the common people of the country believe it to be ſuch (27), and that it is at preſent called the remains of the tower of Babel (28). It is ſituate, according to ſome ſeven, or eight, miles from Baghdâd (29), according to others nine miles (30) towards the weſt north-weſt (31): it is conſpicuous at a vaſt diſtance (32), ſtanding by itſelf in a wide plain between the Euphrates and Tigris, with nothing great or high about it; which is the reaſon that, contrary to what is generally obſerved in other objects, it appears greater at a diſtance than when one draws near it (33). It is fallen to ruin on all ſides, and hath thereby made, as it were, a little ſhapeleſs mountain (34), which it reſembles more than a tower (35), only it is rather ſquare than round (36).

It is built of ſun-burnt bricks, each a foot ſquare and ſix inches thick (37); ſome ſay three quarters of a yard long and a quarter thick (38); others but ten inches ſquare and three thick (39). Authors differ as to the manner in which theſe bricks are ranged, and the

(24) Balbi Viaggio della Ind. Orient. cap. 5. p. 22. (25) Teixeira Voiage de la India haſta Italia, p. 130. (26) Tavernier Voyage de Perſe, l. 2. c. 7. (27) Idem, ibid. The Preacher's Travels, p. 99, 100. (28) Ibid. (29) Cæſar Frederic. See Hackluit, vol. II. p. 25, & 269. Fitch's Travels. See Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. II. p. 1730. Balbi ubi ſup. cap. 7. p. 26. (30) Teixeira ubi ſup. La Boullaye le Gouze Voyage, chap. 55. p. 312. (31) La Boullaye le Gouze, ibid. (32) Tavernier ubi ſup. (33) Balbi ubi ſupra. (34) Fitch & Balbi ubi ſupra. (35) La Boullaye ubi ſup. p. 314. (36) Tavern. ubi ſup. (37) La Boullaye ubi ſup. (38) Cæſar Frederic, & Eldred, apud Hackluit ubi ſup. Cartwright ubi ſup. (39) Tavernier ubi ſup.

Rauwolf ſuppoſes he found the ruins of Babylon upon the Euphrates

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the materials made uſe of for ſetting and binding them together: they obſerve firſt, that there is laid a bed conſiſting of canes, or reeds bruiſed to pieces, mixed with wheat-ſtraw, and ſpread an inch and half thick (40); ſome call them matts made of canes and palm-trees leaves (41); others ſay only ſtraw the thickneſs of three inches (42), which appears as yellow and freſh as if they were but newly laid (43), and are ſtill very durable (44). Upon this bed lie ſeven ranges of bricks; then another bed of reeds and ſix rows of bricks; then a third bed with five rows of bricks, decreaſing in that manner till you come to the top (45). Some ſay the ranges of bricks are interchangeably ſix and ſeven upon a bed (46); and others place a bed betwixt every courſe of bricks (47); but that is probably a miſtake, though between each courſe of bricks there is laid a little ſtraw (48), or rather they are ſet in bituminous mortar (49), conſiſting of pitch and earth, for which an inch may be allowed; which is at preſent the faſhion of building at Baghdâd, there being not far off a great lake of pitch (50), probably that of Hit before mentioned. There are fifty of theſe ranges of ſeven and ſix bricks, inſomuch, that the whole height may amount to one hundred and thirty eight feet (51): others ſay, 'tis reduced to one hundred and eight, or one hundred and twenty feet (52). This heap is in compaſs a quarter of a mile (53), or at moſt three hundred paces (54), not a mile, as one writes (55), the rains having waſhed it away on all ſides. It has no entrance (56), being a ſolid maſs, only at the foot of it one ſees a maghâra or lion's cave; and towards the middle there is an opening, which paſſes quite through the building about a foot and a half ſquare, beſides a great window towards the top, into which our author threw a grapple in order to aſcend it, but the bricks giving way, had like to have killed him with their fall (57).

Travellers diſagree in their ſentiments of this tower: one ſays, it has been ſo well deſcribed by Moſes, that the ſight of the remains and ruins, would make one admire the veracity with which

(40) Idem, ibid. (41) Cartwright. (42) La Boullaye ubi ſup. (43) Idem, ibid. (44) Balbi ubi ſupra. (45) Tavernier ubi ſupra. (46) Boullaye ubi ſup. (47) Cartwright ubi ſupra. (48) Tavernier ubi ſupra. (49) Cartwright ubi ſup. (50) Boullaye ubi ſup. (51) Idem, ibid. (52) Tavernier ubi ſup. (53) Cartwright ubi ſup. (54) Boullaye & Tavernier ubi ſupra. (55) Balbi ubi ſup. (56) Fitch ubi ſup. (57) Boullaye ubi ſup.

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Euphrates, near Felujia (M), about thirty six miles to the south-

which the writings of that great prophet are penned (58); but another declares, that, according to Moses's description, there is no likelyhood, that this should be the tower of Babel; and therefore, rejecting the vulgar opinion of the country, he looks upon that of the Arabs to be more probable, who say, it was built by one of their princes for a beacon to assemble his subjects in time of war (59); and this seems to be the truth of the matter.

(M) Rauwolf, a German physician, who in the year 1574 passed down the Euphrates in his way to Baghdâd, being come to a village by him called Elugo, and by others, more properly, Felugia, which was the landing place for that city, writes thus; "The village of Elugo is situated where formerly Babylon "stood; but at present, there is not an house to be seen for the "shelter of passengers. The country is so dry and barren that "it cannot be tilled; and so bare, that I should have doubted "very much, whether this potent city (which once was the most "stately and famous in the world, seated in the pleasant and "fruitful country of Shinaar) did stand there, if I had not "known it by its situation and several delicate antiquities; which "still are standing in great desolation; first by the old bridge "over Euphrates, whereof there are some pieces and arches "still remaining a little above where he landed, built of "brick, and of wonderful firmness. It is admirable also how "they could build a bridge here, where the river is so deep, "and at least half a league broad; yet in all the way from Bir "[near Aleppo], where the river is much narrower, we saw no "bridge. Near the bridge are heaps of Babyloniſh pitch to pay "vessels withal; and just before the village is the hill whereon "the castle did stand, in a plain, whereon may still be seen some "remains of the fortification, which is quite demolished and un-"inhabited. Not far off, behind it, stood the tower of Babel, "still to be seen, half a league in diameter; but so entirely "ruined, so low, and so full of venomous beasts, that have made "holes through it, that one dare not approach within half a "mile of it, excepting two months of the year, when those "animals do not stir out (60).

"In the way to Baghdâd the road at first was very rough "and full of large and stately buildings, arches, and "turrets standing in the sand, whereof many were decayed "and lay in ruins; others pretty entire, very strong, and "adorned

(58) Idem, ibid. (59) Tavernier ubi sup. (60) See his Travels, part 2. chap. 7. p. 164.

south-west of Baghdâd. And della Valle was directed, by another tradition, to look for it about two days journey lower (N), near an ancient city called Hella, situate upon

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" adorned with artificial work, well deserving a more exact in-
" spection. The steeple of Daniel is entire, built of black stone,
" and still inhabited. It hath some resemblance for height and
" building to that of the Holy Cross Church, or St. Maurice in
" Augsburg: from it may be viewed all the ruins of the old
" Babylonian tower, the castle hill, together with the stately
" buildings and the whole situation of the old town very exactly.
" We rested, after twelve hours march, near two ascents one be-
" hind the other, extending themselves like two parallel walls
" with openings in some places, which I take to have been the
" gates of the old town (61), and the rather, because I saw
" in some places, under the sand, wherewith the two ascents
" were almost covered, the old wall plainly appear—Our author saw several other antiquities afterwards; but night coming on, in which he groped his way to Baghdâd he lost them (62); and, in all probability, among the rest, the tower of Nimrod, described in the preceding note, which lies in this road. A late author has given some account of these ruins, but is much out as to the situation of them, as he generally is in his geography (63).

(N) Della Valle, who was at Baghdâd in the year 1616, was above five days travelling between that city and the ruins of Babel, which he went to see, taking the way, by the river side through Ruswania, a village in Thevenot's time the landing place for Baghdâd (64) instead of Felugia, which is not far off; though in his return, taking a short cut through the plain, he arrived at Baghdâd in two days, from which city this ruin lies south-westward, or more to the south. " In the middle of a vast
" and level plain, says that excellent traveller, about a quarter
" of a league from Euphrates, which in that place runs westward,
" appears a heap of ruined buildings like a huge mountain, the
" materials of which are so confounded together that one knows
" not what to make of it. Its figure is square, and rises in form of a
" tower or pyramid, with four fronts which answer to the four
" quarters of the compass; but it seems longer from north to
" south than from east to west, and is, as far as I could judge by
" my pacing it, a large quarter of a league. Its situation and form
" corresponds with that pyramid which Strabo calls the tower
" of Belus, and is in all likelihood the tower of Nimrod in Baby-
" lon, or Babel, as that place is still called. In that author's

(61) Ibid. p. 166. (62) Ibid. p. 167. (63) Mac Gregory, in his Sepulchres of the antients, p. 48. (64) See Thevenot's travels, part 2. book 1. chap 9. p. 40.

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upon the ſame river. Here alſo muſt be placed the ruins deſcribed

" time, it had nothing remaining of the ſtairs and other orna-
" ments mentioned by Herodotus, the greateſt part of it having
" been ruined by Xerxes; and Alexander, who deſigned to
" have reſtored it to its former luſtre, was prevented by death.
" There appear no marks of ruins, without the compaſs of that
" huge maſs, to convince one ſo great a city as Babylon had ever
" ſtood there; all one diſcovers within fifty or ſixty paces of it,
" being only the remains here and there of ſome foundations of
" buildings, and the country round about it ſo flat and level,
" that one can hardly believe it ſhould be choſen for the ſituation
" of ſo great and noble a city as Babylon, or that there were
" ever any remarkable buildings on it: but for my part I am a-
" ſtoniſhed, there appears ſo much as there does, conſidering,
" it is at leaſt four thouſand years ſince that city was built, and
" that Diodorus Siculus tells us, it was reduced almoſt to nothing
" in his time. The height of this mountain of ruins is not in
" every part equal, but exceeds the higheſt palace in Naples;
" it is a miſhapen maſs, wherein there is no appearance of regula-
" rity; in ſome places it riſes in points, is craggy and inacceſſible,
" in others it is ſmoother and is of eaſier aſcent; there are
" alſo tracks of torrents from the top to the bottom cauſed by
" the rains, and both within ſide and upon it one ſees parts, ſome
" higher and ſome lower. It is not to be diſcovered whether ever
" there were any ſteps to aſcend it, or any doors to enter into
" it; whence one may eaſily judge, that the ſtairs ran winding
" about on the outſide, and that being the leſs ſolid parts, they
" were ſooneſt demoliſhed, ſo that not the leaſt ſign of any appears
" at preſent.

" Withinſide one finds ſome grottos, but ſo ruined that one can
" make nothing of them; and it is a doubt, with regard to ſome
" of them, whether they were built at the ſame time with that
" work, or made ſince by the peaſants for ſhelter, which laſt
" ſeems to me the moſt likely. The Mohammedans believe, that
" theſe caverns were appointed by God, as places of puniſhment
" to Harut and Marut, two angels, who, they ſuppoſe, were
" ſent from heaven to judge the crimes of men, but did not ex-
" ecute their commiſſions as they ought. It is evident from theſe
" ruins, that the tower of Nimrod was built with great and thick
" bricks, as I carefully obſerved, cauſing holes to be dug in ſeveral
" places for the purpoſe; but they do not appear to have been
" burnt, but dried in the ſun, which is extream hot in thoſe
" parts. In laying theſe bricks neither lime nor ſand was em-
" ployed, but only earth tempered and petrified; and in thoſe
" parts which made the floors, there had been mingled with that
" earth,

described by a late traveller (*) into these parts. We have

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" earth, which served instead of lime, bruised reeds or hard
" straw, such as large mats are made of, to strengthen the work.
" Afterwards one perceives at certain distances in divers places,
" especially where the strongest buttresses were to be, several o-
" ther bricks of the same size, but more solid and burnt in a kiln,
" and set in good lime, or bitumen; nevertheless, the greater
" number consists of those which are only dried in the sun. I
" make no doubt, but this ruin was the antient Babel and the
" tower of Nimrod; for besides the evidence of its situation, it
" is acknowledged to be such by the people of the country, being
" vulgarly called Babil by the Arabs (65).

This is the account of that curious traveller, whose painter, by his directions, had drawn the plan and several prospects of the ruins, which we do not find were ever published in any edition of his works; but Kircher, in his Turris Babel, has given two of them. However, after all, this seems to be only such another modern structure, built by the Arabs for a watch tower, as that already described.

(*) This gentleman (66) hath, by his penetration, made something of this rude mass, and discovered a great resemblance between it and the tower of Belus, as described by Herodotus, though it does not answer in dimensions. He distinguishes between the first original design upon which it was antiently begun, and the second different design upon which it was continued; it being built partly after one design, and partly after another. The original design our author describes to be a high tower, exactly square, in form of a pyramid; the length of one of whose sides at the base being two hundred and forty three Babylonish foot, each of which is equal to a London foot and two inches, it must be in compass two hundred and twenty six geometrical paces and four foot, or a little more than the fifth part of an English mile. The perpendicular height was intended to be likewise two hundred and forty three foot, equal to the root of the square, and the oblique height 271½ foot. The whole being a mass, or heap of brick and bitumen-work, incloising a solid hill or rock. The execution of this first design (so far as it was executed) is in this manner: it is divided into nine parts, which are, as it were, so many square towers, in form of parallelopipeds, or flat cubes, one raised above another pyramidically, each twenty seven foot in height, but gradually diminishing in breadth as many foot, so

(65) Vid. Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, part. 2. Lett. 17.
(66) Mac Gregory in his sepulchres of the antients, p. 35, &c.

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have inserted in the notes abstracts of the several accounts; but as to make a gallery, or walk, quite round on the top of the tower below, and by the sides of the other above, 13½ foot broad. The last and highest tower was to have been an exact cube twenty seven foot square, and as many high.

This structure is built with bricks of earth hardened with fire, each nine Babylonish inches square, and three thick, laid in bitumen mixed with straw, or reeds, to the thickness sometimes of three quarters of an inch, and sometimes of three inches, in the following order: first there is a bed of bitumen mixed with reeds three inches thick, then a row of so many bricks as make up the square likewise three inches thick: next is another bed of bitumen mixed with straw, three quarters of an inch thick, then a row of bricks as before; and so alternately a bed of bitumen and straw, and a range of bricks seven times more, so as to make up in all from the base the height of three foot: then a new bed of bitumen mixed with reeds three inches thick being laid, the whole is repeated in the same order eight tirnes more, so as to compleat twenty seven foot, which is the height of the first tower. The next five towers are raised in the same manner; the structure so far, being one hundred and sixty two foot high, or two thirds of the whole, was built by Nimrod; but it was afterwards continued by Ninus Belus upon a second and different design, which was that of a tower, exactly round, in form of a cone, or round pyramid, of the same dimensions with the former, divided likewise into nine towers gradually diminishing in the above mentioned proportions, of which the last and highest would be a cylinder, or round tower, twenty seven foot in diameter, and as many in height. In pursuance of this second design, two round towers were built on the sixth square tower; the second of which round towers (the diameter of whose base is fifty four foot) or eighth of the whole, has a temple practised, or contrived in its solidity along along with the execution; which temple is likewise round twenty seven foot in diameter, and the same in height; with an entry, or door, made in the [west] side towards Babylon nine foot square, and thirteen and a half long, and a round opening, or, as it were, a window in the top nine foot diameter; the floor both of the temple and entry being plain, the sides perpendicular, and the roof arched; the arching being contrived in the uppermost third part of the height. This was built by Ninus Belus, who died before it was finished, when the structure was raised to the height of two hundred and sixteen foot, or just eight ninth parts of the whole: and though it wanted only one ninth part, which was the last and smallest of all, the compleating of it was never afterwards thought on more by any of his successors, so that it ended with a round

but muſt acquaint the reader, that they do not any of them ſeem to us to be the remains of the original tower, but rather ſome later ſtructures of the Arabs.

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a round flat of fifty four foot diameter, with the aforeſaid window of the temple in the middle, and ſtill continues ſo. And this tower as well as the temple, has ſerved as a model ever ſince for all nations to imitate, eſpecially the temple, which has conſtantly been followed by thoſe of all religions, who have always built their temples round with an overture at the top, except the Goths, who introduced the figure of Noah's ark in their churches. Though as to the overture, or window, it is a difficult queſtion among the architects, whether it was deſigned, or happened by the tower being left unfiniſhed, and wanting the laſt ninth part which according to the original deſign was to terminate it; and if ſo, would have ſtopped or covered that overture. It is commonly ſaid to have been deſigned ſo, and Moſes ſeems to have been of that mind, when giving an account of what followed upon the confuſion of Babel, he ſays, the further building of the city was given over, but is ſilent as to that of the tower, becauſe perhaps he reckoned it had been completed. Yet it is certain, from the knowledge of the deſign, that it never was completed, and that the overture happened by chance, as before obſerved: beſides, there are ſome temples of the ſame times to be ſeen in, and about, the ruins of Babylon, particularly that of Ninus Aſſur, done by his wife Semiramis, where there is no ſuch thing; which makes it more probable that it was not deſigned: though the greateſt part of the Babylonian temples of thoſe times, we ſee, have it, which renders the matter again ſomething doubtful.

Before Ninus Belus began the before-mentioned temple, he made a ſepulchre for his father Nimrod at the bottom of the the tower, cut out of the rock, at the bottom of the little hill which is incloſed by the tower. This burying place is a double grot, conſiſting of two ante-grots one within another, and ſix ſepulchres, or ſmall grots, in each, two on each inner ſide (67): the ſepulchres being eight foot long, ſix foot broad, and as many high; and their doors, or entries, cut upon the ſame level, four foot long, three broad, and three foot high. Within the ſepulchres, on the right hand, is a levée, or ſeat, the whole length of the ſepulchre, three foot broad, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ high, left uncut of the rock for laying the dead body on (68). The ſepulchre was made by hollowing a paſſage into the tower after it was built, as appears by the face of the opening, which is irregular, and the

(67) Ibid, p. 18. (68) Ibid. 14, 15.

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SECT. V.

Of the confuſion of tongues.

Of the original of ſpeech.

BEING in this ſection to give ſome account of the confuſion of tongues, it may be expected, we ſhould firſt ſay ſomething about the origin of ſpeech: one of the moſt diſtinguiſhing differences between us and the animal creation; the great bonds which holds ſociety together, and the common conduit whereby the improvements of knowledge are conveyed from one man, and one generation to another.

IF

the bricks and earth broken. This overture was made through the brick-work and earth of the one, to ſerve as an avenue, or paſſage, leading to the entry of the other, made through the rock on the ſame ſide towards Babylon (69).

This antiquity is defaced ſomewhat on all the four ſides, eſpecially on the north and weſt, where the corners and edges of the parts are much decayed, and the body of the bricks worn away into a channel, or hollow, between the beds of bitumen, which, with the reeds and ſtraw incorporated with them, continue firm and entire; neither time, weather, nor any other accident having been able to make an impreſſion on them. The people of the country having dug caves in it to retire to, and thoſe who conduct paſſengers from Baghdâd to ſee it, break off pieces in one place to add to another, in order to make ſteps and hand-grips to render the going up and down it ſafe. So that the face of the antiquity is now very much changed from what it was, the lowermoſt ninth part [or tower] being entirely hid under ground by the earth and ruins: in ſhort, it is ſo diſfigured, that one muſt be at a great deal of pains to find out the architecture of it; and travellers, for want of being properly qualified, not knowing what to make of it, have given imperfect and confuſed accounts of it (70). As to the ſituation of this ruin, which ſeems to be the ſame with that already deſcribed by della Valle, whom he mentions (71), he is very much out in it, ſince he places it twenty ſeven miles to the ſouth-weſt of Baghdâd, and but twenty nine to the north-weſt from the caſtle of Corn, at the confluence of the Euphrates and the Tigris (72), whereas Corna is at leaſt one hundred and eighty miles diſtant from that city.

(69) Ibid. p. 28. (70) Ibid. p. 42, 43. 44. (71) Ibid. p. 35. (72) Ibid. p. 28.

IF the authority of Moſes be concluſive, it ſeems not to be denied, but that ſpeech was the immediate gift of God to the firſt man: not that we ſuppoſe God really inſpired him with any diſtinct, or primitive language; but that he made him ſenſible of the power with which he was endued, of forming articulate ſounds (O), and the uſe he might make of them as ſigns of his ideas, and then left the arbitrary impoſition of them to Adam himſelf (P), as is intimated by God's bringing the beaſts and birds to him *to ſee what he would call them: and whatever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof* [r]. So that excepting the firſt impulſe of the Almighty, informing Adam of his natural power, we are inclined to think, that ſpeech

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[r] Geneſ. ii. 19.

(O) We cannot conceive, that inarticulate ſounds were ever made uſe of by any nation to communicate their thoughts; nor that there are any inſtances thereof to be found, notwithſtanding what ſome travellers have related concerning ſeveral remote people. We are told, the Samoyedes, inhabiting the coaſts of Siberia and the icy ſea, have nothing human about them, except their outward form; and that the uncertain ſound they utter has no more the reſemblance of ſpeech than the chattering of apes (73): that the natives of Greenland uſe a ſound like beaſts, ſo uncouth, that no Dane or Dutchman could ever yet imitate it (74); and that the ſpeech of the Hottentots comes nearer the gobbling of turkies than a human voice, though perhaps it may be intelligible among themſelves (75). But it may be queſtioned, whether theſe authors were proper judges in the caſe, as not being acquainted with the languages of thoſe nations: and the rather, becauſe upon enquiry, we are credibly informed, that the language of theſe laſt, though commonly thought to be the moſt inarticulate of all others, is not a deſpicable one; and that thoſe of the Dutch ſettlement at the Cape of Good Hope underſtand, and ſpeak it tolerably well.

(P) Mohammed in his Korân ſuppoſes Adam came by the names of things no otherwiſe than by revelation. That book pretends, that the angels at the creation of man expreſſing ſome contempt of him, God taught Adam the names of things, and then demanded of the angels how thoſe things were called; which they confeſſing to be above their knowledge, God ordered Adam to name them to them, which he did; and the angels afterwards, at God's command, paid their homage to Adam as their ſuperior (76).

(73) Ides, p. 94. (74) Ten Rhyne, p: 844. (75) Nieuhoff, p. 188. (76) Al Korân, c. 2. ver. 30, &c.

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speech was attained by gradual invention of arbitrary sounds, to denote first the most obvious things, and after the less obvious, as they came to be taken notice of. That it is possible Adam might attain the use of speech by this method, we presume none will deny; and, if it be possible, we are sure, it must be the most reasonable and probable to all, but those who are for multiplying of miracles needlessly.

We cannot therefore approve of the opinion of those who imagine, that God himself formed the body of a language, and then infused it into Adam (Q). Besides, the much greater part of the primitive tongue, whatever that was; and the names of many things and operations must have been imposed several ages after Adam's creation, as mankind became acquainted with them, and arts and conveniences of life were invented. The birds and beasts indeed it is natural to suppose Adam might immediately name, the kinds not being many; but we do not think, he went so far as to name every species of them, much less all the reptiles, trees, or plants, though some of the most familiar to him no doubt he did. The fish we presume no body will imagine were brought to him to be named; and if they had by miracle appeared before Adam, no doubt Moses would have mentioned it, the fish of the sea being the first part of

(Q) The words which are generally translated, *man became a living soul* (77), the Chaldee paraphrasts render it, viz. *the breath breathed into him by God, became in man a speaking soul.* Most of the Jews suppose the first tongue (which they all imagine was their own) was formed and created by God himself, and so communicated to Adam (78). Some of them think this was done by generally acquainting him with the roots and fundamental parts of the tongue only (79); others in a more special and particular manner, by revealing to him the whole extent and propriety of the language, even the letters, points, and accents (80).

The notion, which some christians embraced, and particularly Eunomius, who, because God is introduced by Moses as speaking before the creation, held, that there was in words a certain eternal and immutable nature, was strenuously opposed by Gregory of Nyssa, who declared it a silly, ridiculous, and blasphemous opinion to imagine, the great God would condescend to turn grammarian, and set himself down subtilly to invent names for things (81).

(77) Genes. ii. 7. (78) Sepher Cozri. (79) R. Is. Abravanel. (80) R. Juda Hallevi Muscat. Ephodius, &c. (81) Greg. Nyssen. contra Eunom. l. 21.

of the creation, the dominion of which was given by God to man [s]

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IT has, however, been thought by great numbers, that the firſt language was of divine formation; and of this ſentiment Plato himſelf ſeems to have been, who ſuppoſed, that the names of things originally had ſome natural connection or congruity with the things themſelves, and that the firſt names muſt have been juſtly impoſed, becauſe they were impoſed by the gods (R) [t]. And partly from this notion, in all probability, aroſe thoſe ſuperſtitious pretences of the holineſs of one tongue above the reſt, as being formed by God.

AS we cannot ſee any neceſſity for ſuppoſing the inſpiration of a language, ſo neither can we imagine, that Adam could attain the uſe of ſpeech ſo ſoon as is repreſented to us by Moſes, without divine aſſiſtance. We might ſuppoſe indeed, that mankind might of themſelves, by degrees, form a perfect language: for when men wanted ſigns to expreſs their ideas, and convey them to the underſtanding of others, they could find none more fit for that purpoſe, or which required leſs difficulty to invent, or labour to form, than articulate ſounds; but to frame a number of them ſufficient even for the few occaſions of the firſt men, muſt neceſſarily have taken up a conſiderable time; for which reaſon thoſe who were unacquainted with the Moſaical writings, have imagined, that men were at firſt no better than mute animals, till at length convenience taught them the uſe of ſpeech (S). Several of the antients were of

[s] Geneſ. i. 26, 28.

[t] Plato in Cratylo: Vid. eund. in Protagora.

(R) The words of this philoſpher are; Ὀνόματος ὀρθότητα εἶναι ἑκάστῳ τῶν ὄντων φύσει πεφυκυῖαν (82). And after; ὅτι τὰ πρῶτα ὀνόματα οἱ θεοὶ ἔθεσαν, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς ἔχει (83).

(S) This notion Horace has expreſſed in the following lines:

Quum prorepſerunt primis animalia terris,
Mutum ac turpe pecus,———
Donec verba, quibus voces ſenſuſque notarent,
Nominaque invenere (84).

Whe

(82) In Cratyl. p. 383. Ed. Serrani. (83) Ibid. p. 425.
(84) Horat. Serm. l. 1. Sat. 3. ver. 99, &c.

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of opinion, that men, in the beginning of the world, expressed their thoughts by dumb signs, or gesticulation only, or else by confused sounds of no signification; and afterwards endeavoured at a language, by imposing distinct names on things, which was not brought to any tolerable perfection but by a long course of time [u].

The first language consisted of few words.

If we consider the primitive state of Adam, and the few things he had occasion to name, it cannot be conceived, that his language at first was very extensive; for were we to expunge out of our lexicons all words introduced by the gradual invention of arts to serve the convenience of life, by accurate distinctions of the several species of creatures, and metaphysical conceptions about the operations of the mind, we should find the remainder contained in a very small compass; so that it must necessarily be several ages before a language could be completed to any degree, in comparison to our modern tongues. Scaliger, agreeably to this notion, divides speech into three sorts or degrees, as formed either for necessity, use, or delight: the first is that imperfect speech, or rather essay towards speech, above-mentioned, serving as the means of necessary intercourse between man and man. The second was somewhat more refined and polished, by being adapted and made fit for use and convenience, and by applying certain dimensions, bounds, and lineaments to the first rude sketch; whence arose

[u] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 8. Vid. Lactant. de vero cultu, l. 10.

When animals crawl'd forth from parent earth,
A vile dumb herd they were ———
'Till words were found, to utter what they thought,
And names were set on things.———

And Lucretius to the same purpose:

At varios linguæ sonitus natura subegit
Mittere, & utilitas expressit nomina rerum (85).

Kind nature pow'r of framing sounds affords
To man; and then convenience taught us words. Creech.

The latter also ridicule those who suppose speech the invention of one man (86).

(85) Lucret. de rerum nat. l. 5. ver. 1027, &c. (86) Ibid. ver. 1040, &c.

aroſe a certain rule of ſpeaking. The third ſort was yet more polite, there being added to the former the ornament of elegance as its dreſs [w].

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WHETHER there was more than one language before the flood is a thing about which we are perfectly in the dark; though it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe that there was but one, in which it is poſſible there might be ſome difference in dialect, but none conſiderable; for the few ages between the creation and the flood, and the long lives of the antediluvians, would effectually prevent any great alteration. However that be, it is probable only one language, and that the primitive, was preſerved by Noah, or at leaſt was ſpoken by his deſcendants till the confuſion of tongues at Babel (T).

Whether more tongues than one before the flood.

IT may be expected that we ſhould here enter into a formal enquiry concerning the primitive tongue, and endeavour to determine what particular language it was, that the firſt progenitors of mankind ſpoke. But as this is an enquiry rather of curioſity than uſe, and we cannot be certain whether that language, whatever it was, be now in being; the moſt we can do will be to ſhew the vanity of the pretenſions of thoſe languages which have laid claim to this honour, as a great number have done; each nation being fond of it, as an undeniable evidence of their own antiquity (U); though they generally argue in a circle, and urge their antiquity as a proof of the former.

Enquiry concerning the primitive tongue.

BESIDES

[w] Scaliger in Poetic. l. 1. c. 1. [x] Vid. Grot. in Geneſ. xi. 1. & Cluver. Germ. Antiq. l. 1. c. 8. p. 59, 60.

(T) Suppoſing there were more tongues than one before the flood, and that Noah and his three ſons could ſpeak them all, it is moſt reaſonable to believe, that they taught but one common tongue to their children, who propagated the ſame among their deſcendants; ſo that, the reſt expiring with thoſe firſt patriarchs, there remained but one language amongſt mankind at the building of Babel.

(U) Pſammetichus, a king of Egypt, appears to have been of this opinion; for wanting to know who were the moſt antient people in the world, after ſeveral fruitleſs experiments, he at laſt hit on the following expedients. He took two infants newly born, and gave them to a ſhepherd to be brought up, commanding him not to ſuffer any perſon to ſpeak a word in their hearing, but to nurſe them in a ſolitary cottage, by bringing them goats to ſuck, till they could take other food. Pſammetichus's intention herein

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Several languages claim this honour.

BESIDES those kindred languages, we commonly call the oriental tongues; the Armenian, the Celtic, the Coptic, the Greek, the Teutonic, and the Chineſe have aſpired to the preference in this reſpect. The Armenian, Celtic, and Coptic have little evidence to produce beſides the antiquity of their nations; though the former inſiſt, that as the ark reſted in their country, and Noah and his children muſt have continued there for ſome time, before the lower and marſhy country of Chaldea could be fit to receive them, it is therefore reaſonable to ſuppoſe they left their language there. The Greek ſome writes have fancied to be moſt antient, becauſe of its great extent and copiouſneſs [y]. The Teutonic, or the dialect of it which is ſpoken in lower Germany and Brabant, has found a ſtrenuous patron [z], who has endeavoured to derive even the Hebrew itſelf from that tongue. And the pretenſions of the Chineſe have been ſupported [a], not only from the great antiquity of that nation, their early acquaintance with arts and ſciences, and their having preſerved themſelves ſo many ages from any conſiderable

y Eutych. Annal. p. 50. z Goropius Becanus, in Origin. Antverp. a Vid. Webb's Eſſay towards the primitive language.

herein, was to find out what word the children would firſt utter when they began to articulate; imagining as others have ſince done, that they would naturally ſpeak the primitive language, if not taught otherwiſe. At two years end, as the ſhepherd one day entred the cottage, he had no ſooner opened the door, than the children ran to him, and, holding out their hands, cried Beccos. Of this the ſhepherd at firſt took no notice, but afterwards obſerving they frequently repeated this word at his coming in, he acquainted the king with it, and by his order brought the children into his preſence. Pſammetichus having himſelf heard them pronounce the ſame word, inquired whether any nation made uſe of it; and finding the Phrygians called bread by that name, he and his ſubjects allowed this to be a proof that the Phrygians were the more antient people. Herodotus remarks, that the Greeks, among other ridiculous things, reported, that theſe children were brought up by women, whoſe tongues had been cut out by the king's order for that purpoſe (87). The Scholiaſt of Ariſtophanes (88) tells the ſame ſtory of another king of Egypt, named Seſonchoſis.

(87) Herodot. Euterp. in initio. Vid. Suidam, in voce Βεκκος ἄρτος. (88) In Nubes, p. 149, 150.

rable mixture or intercourſe with other nations; but alſo from the nature and ſingularity of the tongue itſelf, which conſiſts of few words, all monoſyllables, is moſt ſimple in its conſtruction, having no variety of declenſions, conjugations, or grammatical rules; and ſo modeſt, that it is ſaid, they have no character to expreſs thoſe parts which we induſtriouſly conceal [b]: all which are conceived to be ſtrong marks of its being the firſt language of mankind: beſides the preſumption formerly mentioned, of Noah's being the founder of the Chineſe nation [c]. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597

As to the oriental languages, though they have each of them their partiſans, yet the generality of eaſtern authors allow the preference to the Syriac, or that dialect of it which was ſpoken in Meſopotamia, Chaldea, and Aſſyria, in which countries mankind made their firſt ſettlements after the flood; and where it is preſumed the language of Noah and his ſons remained. For which reaſon the more judicious Arab writers acknowledge Yarah, the ſon of Kahtân (or Jerah, the ſon of Joktan) to be the firſt whoſe ſpeech deviated from the Syriac, to the Arabic; and little regard the pretences of ſome of their countrymen, that their language was ſpoken by Adam before the fall, and then changed into the Syriac, but reſtored again upon his repentance; that notwithſtanding in time it degenerated again into the ſame language, and would have been utterly loſt, had it not been preſerved by the elder Jorham, who eſcaped with Noah in the ark, and propagated it among his poſterity [d].

THE patrons of the Syriac tongue have, as another evidence of its right to the precedency, endeavoured to derive the names of perſons and places mentioned by Moſes from that language [e], and generally with better ſucceſs than ſome writers will allow (X): but this argument, though commonly

[b] Semedo Rel de la Cina, parte 1. c. 11. [c] See before pag. 344, &c. [d] Vid. Pocock. Orat. præf. in Carmen Tograi, & Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p. 38, 40. [e] Vid. Theodoret. quæſt. 51. in Geneſ.

(X) It is ſaid in particular, that the paronomaſia, in this paſſage, he ſhall be called woman [אִישָׁה Iſhiſhäh], becauſe ſhe was taken [מֵאִישׁ

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commonly looked upon as concluſive, yet proves nothing of itſelf, as will be hereafter obſerved. However, thus much we muſt in juſtice acknowledge, that if any of theſe tongues in particular may claim to be the original or mother of the reſt, it ſeems to be the Syriac; which was probably ſpoken by all the patriarchs from Noah to Abraham, that being, after the confuſion, the tongue of the country where they were born and lived; though, it muſt be confeſſed, it will not thence follow, that it was in uſe there before the confuſion.

The pretenſions of the Hebrew tongue conſidered.

But the Jews are they who aſſert the antiquity of their tongue with the greateſt warmth. They pretend, that it was immediately framed by God; that he ſpake it himſelf, for which reaſon it is called the holy tongue; that it is the only language underſtood by the angels, and wherein we can pray and be heard with effect [f]. And ſeveral chriſtian writers [g], abating theſe ſuperſtitious fancies of the Jews, have

[f] Vid. Buxtorf. de ling. Hebr. orig. [g] Chryſoſt. Homil. xxx. in Geneſ. xi. Auguſt. de civit. Dei, l. 17. c. 11. Origen. in Numer. Hom. xi. Hieron. Comment in Sophon. Vid. etiam Selden. de Synedriis vet. Hebræor. l. II, c. 9. Bochart Phaleg. l. 1. c. 15. Heidegg. Hiſt. Patriarch. tom. I. exerc. 16. & alios pæne innumeros.

[מאיש me-iſh] out of man (89), is not preſerved in the Chaldee and Syriac tranſlations, which inſtead of Iſh and Iſhſhah, uſe the words בעל Baal and אתתא Itta, or ܓܒܪܐ Gabro and ܐܢܬܬܐ Atto: whence ſome have concluded, that the tranſlators were not able to expreſs the alluſion in the Syriac tongue (90); but this is a miſtake, for the Syrians from the maſculine ܓܒܪܐ regularly form the fæminine ܓܒܪܬܐ Gbarto; which word is to be found in their lexicons and grammars, though it be antiquated, and therefore not made uſe of by the tranſlators. It is likewiſe objected (91) with as little foundation, that Adam does not ſignify man, nor Cain poſſeſſion, in that tongue. We may obſerve hereafter, that ſome names in Moſes are more happily derived from the Syriac than the Hebrew.

(89) Geneſ. ii. 23. (90) Vid. Heideg. Hiſt. Patr. tom. I. exercit. 16. § 13. Nicholſon Diſſert. philologic. de univ. totius orbis linguis, p. 4. (91) Heidegg. ubi ſup.

have acknowledged and maintained, that the Hebrew tongue is the moſt antient in the world; the very ſame which was ſpoken by Adam and Noah, and preſerved in the family of Eber, who were not concerned in the building of Babel, nor conſequently ſhared in the puniſhment inflicted on thoſe that were. But, as we have already ſhewn this to be a groundleſs imagination, we ſhall proceed to conſider their principal argument, and indeed the only one which deſerves any conſideration, drawn from the etymologies of the names in Moſes; ſome of which that inſpired writer himſelf derives from the Hebrew, and the reſt are generally ſuppoſed to have been taken thence likewiſe. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597

AND here it cannot be denied, that ſeveral proper names of perſons and places, before the confuſion of tongues, may be very regularly derived from the Hebrew; and that there are ſome very pertinent reaſons given, and alluſions made by the ſacred hiſtorian to evince their propriety, and the relation they have to the perſon, or place deſigned by them: and this is the moſt that can be allowed; for though all the names in general, mentioned by Moſes before the diviſion, may poſſibly be forced from ſome Hebrew root or other, yet much the greater part of them ſeem to be inſignificant, at leaſt to have no congruity with the ſubject; nor can it be expected they ſhould, unleſs we either imagine all ſuch names as ſeem to relate to a future part of a perſon's life were given by the ſpirit of prophecy; or elſe allow them to be impoſed after the events which occaſioned them happened, and ſo to be rather ſurnames than proper names; a conceſſion which manifeſtly weakens the argument drawn from them.

THUS much being premiſed, it will be eaſy to ſhew, that this demonſtrative argument, as it is called [l], will not bear examination. For, 1. It is not certain, that the names uſed by Moſes were the very original names themſelves, and not tranſlated by him from the primitive tongue into Hebrew, or at leaſt ſomewhat altered, to accommodate what he wrote to the underſtandings of the Jews. And how inconſiſtent ſoever ſome may think this method with hiſtorical veracity, it has been frequently practiſed by prophane as well as ſacred hiſtorians, as has been undeniably proved [m]: and Moſes him-

[l] Abravanel. [m] Vid. Platon. in Critica. Grot. in Geneſ. xi. 1. & de veritate rel. Chriſt. lib. 1. Huet. in Demonſtr. Evang. prop. iv. c. 13. § 4. Cleric. differt. de Lingua Heb.

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himself has given a plain instance of his approbation of such changes, in altering his own name, which was of Egyptian original, to adapt it to a Hebrew etymology (H). 2. Supposing the names given by Moses were the true original ones, it would not be strange at all, if some of them might by accident aptly admit of a Hebrew derivation; such casual conformities sometimes happening in words which are certainly known to be of different origins. 3. Several of those names are more pertinently derived from some other of the oriental tongues than from the Hebrew(I): and not a few of the etymologies which Moses himself gives us, are deduced without any regard at least to the present rules of analogy (K). 4. A few lucky Paronomasiæ, or allusions, are no proof

(H) The original name is Moüse, or (as it is in the Coptic version) Moüses, with the Greek termination, and composed of two Coptic, or old Egyptian, words, Moü, Water, and se, to preserve. But Moses finding the Hebrew verb משה Masha, to draw out, bore some resemblance in sound to his name, and in signification to the occasion of it, writes it משה Mosheh; and introduces Pharaoh's daughter giving this reason for her imposing it, because משיתיהו Mashitihu, I drew him out of the waters (1).

(I) Thus Abel, or Hebel, which in Hebrew signifies Vanity, or a Vapour, seems a name not very apposite to Adam's second son, and therefore Moses has given no reason for this imposition. But if it be derived from the Syriac יהב איל Yhab îl, which answers to the Latin name Deus dedit, it is very proper; and accordingly in the margin of a manuscript copy of Abu'lfaragius, we find the name of Abel interpreted in Arabic by that of هبة الله Hebatallah, the Gift of God.

The name of Babel itself, which the Hebrew text tells us was so called because God did there בלל Balal, i. e. Confound the language of all the earth (2), may likewise more naturally be derived from Syriac, in which tongue Balbel is to confound, and Boblo, or Bobel, Confusion.

(K) We shall instance in the name of Noah and Abraham. The former was so called, because, said his father ינחמנו Yenahamenu, he shall comfort us, &c. (3) But if his name were derived from the root נחם Niham, to comfort, it should have been Nohem, or Menahem, not Noah, which can regularly come from no other verb than נוח nuah, to Rest; and the Septuagint have therefore, instead of he shall comfort us, rendered

(1) Exod. ii. 10. (2) Genes. xi. 9. (3) Genes. v. 29.

proof in this caſe, becauſe they may happen by accident; and in fact, ſome of thoſe mentioned by Moſes may be expreſſed in other tongues as well as the Hebrew (L).

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THIS argument has been farther enforced from the ſignificancy of the names of ſeveral animals in the Hebrew tongue, which were thought to have been impoſed by Adam, becauſe of ſome peculiar qualities in the animal to which they were given, correſpondent to their reſpective roots [n]: but ſince the ſame may be as juſtly aſſerted of moſt other languages as the Hebrew, it will conclude nothing. Beſides, we are much deceived if we imagine (as has been yet generally ſuppoſed), that the verbs were really the original roots of the Hebrew tongue; on the contrary, the greateſt part of them, at leaſt, were themſelves at firſt derived from nouns, though they be now for grammatical convenience conſidered as the

[n] Vid. Bochart. Hierozoic & Heidegg. Hiſt. Patr. tom. 1. exerc. 16. § 16.

ed it διαναπάυσει he ſhall cauſe to reſt, &c. which has induced ſome learned men (4) to think the antient and true reading was יְנִיחֵנוּ Yanihenu. And Philo Judæus and St. Jerome tranſlate the name Noah, Reſt.

The name of Abraham was changed from Abram, which ſignifies High Father, by inſerting only the letter H, becauſe he was to be made אַב הָמוֹן Ab haman the father of a multitude of nations (5): according to which etymon he ſhould rather have been called Abhamon, or Abham (though we know ſome fancy the letter ה was inſerted from the word הֲרֵבּ Rab, many). But the names of theſe two perſons, eſpecially the latter, being too famous and well known in the eaſt to admit any conſiderable change, Moſes was therefore obliged to retain them, and give the beſt etymology he could from the Hebrew tongue. We might offer a more plauſible one of the name of Abraham from the Arabic, wherein ابو رهام Abu rohâm ſignifies the father of a multitude, did we not conſider, that it is one of thoſe caſual reſemblances we have already mentioned, and moſt certainly falſe.

(L) As Adam, which name is an appellative, common to all the ſpecies, was ſo called from Adamah the earth, ſo the Latins called man Homo, which the beſt etymologiſts derive from Humus the Ground (6). Yet we cannot think any body ever dreamed from hence that the Latin was the primitive tongue.

(4) Grotius ad loc. & Lud. Cappel. Critic. Sacr. l. 4. c. 8.
(5) Geneſ. xvii. 5. (6) Vid. Voſſii Etymol. ling Lat.

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roots (M). On the whole it must be acknowledged, that no conclusive argument for the antiquity of any language can be drawn from etymologies, which ought, on all occasions, to be urged with great caution, being for the most part uncertain and precarious.

Whether all other tongues may be derived from the Hebrew.

Some learned men, however, have endeavoured to derive all languages in general from the Hebrew, which they imagine to be the parent of all others[o]. That they should succeed very well in finding a great conformity between that and the other oriental tongues is no wonder, since they are manifestly sprung from one common original; though it be difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish the mother from the daughters. That they have also given tolerable satisfaction in deducing from the same tongue several words not only of Greek and Latin, but in some other European languages, is not matter of much surprize, considering the great intercourse several nations of our continent had with the Phœnicians, whose mother tongue was the Hebrew. But when these writers venture out of their depth, and pretend to reduce the more remote languages from the same fountain, they only shew their ignorance, and make themselves ridiculous to all who have but a moderate skill in those tongues; for a proof of which we could produce a multitude of examples from a celebrated and laborious work of that kind[p]. As to the peculiar excellencies found in the Hebrew tongue by some of its patrons, and which they imagine to be an aditional proof of the justness of its pretensions, we may say something hereafter, when we come to give an account of this language.

If the Hebrew tongue therefore cannot make good its claim, we may, without taking the pains to refute what has been said in favour of the other pretenders, conclude, that the primitive language was entirely lost at Babel, at least, that no one can now tell where it was preserved, which is much the same thing.

The

[o] Vid. Heidegg. ibid. § 18. [p] Thomasini Glossar. Universal. Hebr.

(M) Many examples might be given of the verb's being manifesty derived from, and posterior to, the noun, in all the oriental tongues: so in English, Dog, Duck, &c. were certainly first imposed as names, and afterwards used as verbs, to express actions proper to those creatures.

The ſpeaking one common language (though it might be of advantage to mankind in other reſpects) yet being the great obſtacle to that diviſion of them into diſtinct nations, which God had for moſt wiſe purpoſes reſolved on [q], he thought fit to break this bond which held them ſo ſtrictly together, and confound their language, that they ſhould not underſtand one another's ſpeech; the natural conſequence of which was, that they were ſcattered abroad upon the face of all the earth [r]. This event is mentioned by prophane hiſtorians, who write, that mankind uſed one and the ſame language, till the overthrow of the tower of Babylon; at which time a multiplicity of tongues was introduced by the gods: whereupon wars enſued, and thoſe whoſe ſpeech happened to be intelligible to each other, joined company, and ſeized ſuch countries as they chanced to light upon [s]. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597. The confuſion of tongues.

As to the degree of this Babyloniſh confuſion, and the manner wherein it was effected, there is great diverſity of ſentiments. Several learned men, prepoſſeſſed with an opinion, that all the different idioms now in the world did at firſt ariſe from one original language, to which they may be reduced *, and that the variety which we find among them is no more than muſt naturally have happened in ſo long a courſe of time, ſuppoſing the bare ſeparation of the builders of Babel [t], have been induced to believe, that there were no new languages formed at the confuſion, but that the moſt that was done was, only to ſet thoſe builders at variance, by creating a miſunderſtanding among them (N). This How effected

ſome

[q] Geneſ. xi. 6. [r] Ibid. ver. 7, 8. [s] Abydenus Euſeb. de præp. ev. l. 9. c. 14. Sibylla & Heſtiæus, apud eund. ib. c. 15 & apud Joſeph. Ant. l. 1. c. 4. * Stiernhielmius præfat. in Evang. Ulfilæ. p. 4. [t] Vid. Heidegg. ubi ſup. exerc. 21. § 21.

(N) To ſupport this opinion it is ſaid, that the Hebrew word שפה Shaphah, Lip, which we render Language and Speech (7), rather ſignifies Agreement, or unanimity, and is equivalent to פה אחד Phe ehhad, i, e. One Mouth (8), which is juſtly tranſlated, With one Accord. But this latter is an adverbial expreſſion, which the other is not: nor does it follow, that One Lip muſt import the ſame thing as One Mouth; the only paſſage that has been produced as an inſtance of its being uſed in that ſenſe.

(7) Geneſ. xi. 1, 6, 7. (8) Joſh. ix. 2. 1. Kings xxii. 13.

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some think to have been affected without any immediate influence on their language [u], which seems contrary to the words and obvious intent of the sacred historian: others have imagined it brought about by a temporary confusion of their speech, or rather of their apprehensions, causing them while they continued together, though they spake the same language, yet to understand the words differently [w]. A third opinion is, that a variety of inflexions was introduced, and perhaps some new words, which disturbed and perverted the former manner of expression: and this might occasion different dialects, yet could not create new languages [x]. But none of these explications seem fully to answer the apparent design of Moses, which was not only to inform us how mankind were at first dispersed and broken into so many different nations, but to account for the diversity of their languages; a thing very difficult, if not impossible to do, without having recourse to some extraordinary interposition of the divine power. For though time, intercourse with foreign nations, commerce, the invention and improvement of arts and sciences, and the difference of climates (O) cause very considerable alterations in languages,

[u] Cleric. Comment. in loc. Vid. Pere Simon, Hist. Crit. du vieux Test. l. 1. c. 14. [w] Judæi apud J. C. Scaliger. exercit. in Cardan. 259. § 1. [x] Is. Casaub. Diatribe de ling. Heb. Vid, M. Casaub. de quatuor ling. p. 17, & sub initio.

sense (9), being far from proving any such thing (10). Another text has been alledged which seems to favour this interpretation much more; it is where David, praying against his enemies, begs of God to divide their tongues (11), that is, to set them at variance. But this cannot be Moses's meaning here, because he immediately explains what he means by One Lip, by adding, and of One Speech, or more literally, Of the same Words (12).

(O) It has been thought by several, that the air or clime of some countries disposes the inhabitants to a particular pronunciation, and renders them unapt for the uttering certain sounds or letters: whence, as they imagine, it come to pass, that some languages are so full of gutturals, or of consonants, while others have scarce any of the former, and comparatively few of the latter; that the Ephramimites could not pronounce the letter Shin

(9) Isai. xix. 18. (10) See Dr. Wotton's Disc. on the confusion of languages, p. 9. (11) Psal. lv. 10. (12) Gen. xi. 1.

languages, yet the utmoſt effect we can imagine them to have will not come up to the queſtion [y]. We cannot conceive a language can thereby be ſo much diſfigured, that all the general marks and characteriſtics ſhould diſappear. It is not eaſy to apprehend how all the words of a language ſhould be entirely changed for others; nor is there any one inſtance to be given of any ſuch total change: but it is next to impoſſible to conceive, that ſo great a diverſity as we find in the frame and conſtitution of languages, wherein the grand and eſſential differences between them conſiſt, rather than in the words which compoſe them, (as may be obſerved in the accounts we ſhall hereafter give of the ſeveral languages of which we have any knowledge) could ever have been occaſioned by the cauſes aſſigned above. The preſent diverſity of tongues in the world is prodigious [z]; and conſidering the time that has elapſed ſince the building of Babel, and the alterations made in ſome known languages in the courſe of one, two, and three thouſand years, (which alterations we conſtantly find greater or leſs

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[y] See Dr Wotton's Diſc. concerning the conf. of languages, p. 57. Dr. Brett's Eſſay on the conf. of lang. p. 62, &c.
[z] Vid. Calvin. in Geneſ. xi. 1, 2.

Shin (13); and that the Chineſe find ſo much difficulty in the letter R, and the Arabs in P, &c. But we are far from being ſatisfied, that this difference is cauſed by any quality of the climate; on the contrary, it is much more reaſonable to believe, that ſuch varieties in tongues and dialects are perfectly caſual, no one language comprehending all the ſeveral ſounds, ſome making greater uſe of one ſound, and ſome of another; and that a man accuſtomed from his infancy to a peculiar pronunciation, for that reaſon and no other, muſt needs find it hard to imitate even the eaſieſt and ſeemingly moſt natural ſound that is not agreeable thereto. Thus the Hurons in America, who have no labials at all in their language, and therefore when they ſpeak have no occaſion ever to ſhut their lips (14), would not ſoon be brought to pronounce any one letter of that organ: yet experience ſhews us how readily and perfectly a child, whoſe organs are free and not ſtiffened by long habitude to a peculiar utterance, learns to form ſtrange ſounds, which a grown perſon is not perhaps able to do with the utmoſt pains and application.

(13) Judges xii. 6.

(14) Reland. Differ. de ling. Americanis, p. 219.

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in proportion to the intercourse the nation has had with foreigners) and considering that there are many tongues, which when compared with others have not the least affinity, so that a man must be the greatest visionary in the world to imagine them the offspring of the same parent, it seems to us, that the variety of idioms now spoken can be no way possibly accounted for, without either approving the preadamite system, or allowing a formation of new languages at Babel [a]. A very learned man, who warmly espouses the notion of deducing all languages from one, is yet so sensible that exceptions must be made, that he himself excludes the languages of America and of the Indian islands, out of the number; adding, that some have thence rashly imagined, that the men who speak those tongues are of a distinct species, and not the descendants of Adam [b]: which concession is enough to overthrow the hypothesis he would maintain.

Another argument against the formation of new languages at Babel, which has been thought to be of some weight, is, that if such a division of tongues be understood, no good reason can be given, why those colonies, which spoke languages that were near a-kin, were not removed to the greatest distances, and those whose languages were entirely different, placed next one another [c]? To this it may easily be answered, that there is no necessity of supposing every family had a distinct language, or that the several dialects of the mother tongues were formed at the confusion. The dispersion might at first be effected without such an absolute separation of families derived from the same stock: mankind was not then so numerous, but that it would be sufficient to cut off the communication between the three great branches and their prime families by the introduction of new tongues, which alone we contend was the work of God; for dialects we allow might, and necessarily would, be formed by time.

Upon the whole, we think we may reasonably conclude, with a very learned person, whose sentiments on this head we entirely approve, that upon the confusion of Babel there were new languages framed; which languages have been the roots and originals

[a] Vid. Dr. Wotton, ubi sup. p. 36. Dr. Brett, ubi sup. & Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 8. [b] Stiernhielm. ubi sup. [c] Reland apud Wotton, ubi sup. p. 61. See also Stillingfl. Origi. Sacr. l. 3. c, 5. § 3.

originals from which the ſeveral dialects that are, or have been, or will be, ſpoken as long as this earth ſhall laſt (P), have ariſen, and to which they may with eaſe be reduced [d]. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597

IN what manner theſe new languages were formed is a queſtion hard to be determined; it ſeems by the Moſaical account, which is ſo ſolemn, and repreſents God as coming down in perſon to view the work of theſe builders [e], that it was the immediate act of God; and ſome have thence concluded, that he effected it by inducing an oblivion of their former tongue, and inſtantaneouſly infuſing others into their minds, according to their ſeveral nations [f]. The Jews imagine this was done by the miniſtry of angels, ſeventy of whom deſcended with God, and were each of them ſet over a nation to which they taught a peculiar language; but Iſrael fell to the lot of his own inheritance, *the Lord's portion being his people* [g], and therefore, they ſay, they retained the primitive tongue [h]. Others have ſuppoſed, that God did no more then cauſe them to forget their firſt language, leaving them to form new ones as they could [i]; but this muſt have taken up ſome time, and could not anſwer the immediate occaſions of mankind. As it would be to little purpoſe to enquire ſo curiouſly into this matter, as ſome have done [k], the beſt we can do is to conclude, that it was effected inſtantly, in a way and manner of which we can give no account [l].

The number of languages formed at Babel, and the conſequence of the confuſion.

It would be of as little uſe to collect the ſeveral opinions in relation to the number of languages formed at Babel: we may as well allow the number of ſeventy, juſt mentioned, as any other. We only know from Moſes, that the Canaanitiſh, or Hebrew, the Syriac, and Egyptian languages were formed ſo ſoon as the time of Jacob [m]. It is moſt probable,

[d] Wotton, ubi ſup. p. 29. [e] Geneſ. xi. 5, &c. [f] Pererius in Geneſ. lib. 16. diſp. 9. [g] Deut xxxii. 9. [h] Eliezer Pirke, c. 24. Shalſhel. Hakkab. p. 93, &c. [i] Vid. Heideg. Hiſt. Patr. tom. I. exerc. 21 § 19. [k] Vid. Buxtorf. Diſſert. de Ling. Hebr. confuſione & plurium lingg. origine. [l] Mercer. in loc. [m] Vid. Geneſ. xxxi. 47. xlii. 23.

(P) Perhaps we ſhould except thoſe languages, which, it is ſaid, have been invented and made by mutual agreement, ſuch as the Chineſe, and that of the Yncas of Peru; of which more in a proper place.

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probable, that the languages of the chief families were fundamentally different from each other, and that the sub-languages, or dialects within each branch, for the sake of immediate intercourse, had a mutual affinity, some more, some less, according as they settled near, or farther from, each other. And this was sufficient to bring about the designs of God to divide mankind into distinct societies, kingdoms, and common-wealths, and thereby to occasion the making of wholsome laws, the keeping of strict discipline, the encouragement of labour and industry, of liberal arts, and all social virtues, and the suppression of such vices as weaken government, and introduce a corruption of morals. All which opened a new scene of providence, with a surprizing variety of wisdom, in the government of the world [n].

SECT VI.

Of the dispersion of mankind, and the planting of nations in the two first general migrations.

Of the dispersion.

COMING now to speak of the dispersion of mankind, which was the consequence of that confusion of tongues we considered in the last section, we beg leave to premise something as to the time, order, and other circumstances of that event.

THE primitive fathers distinguish between the division of the earth and the dispersion of mankind, and made them two different transactions. They suppose, that Noah to whom the earth was well known before the flood, a proprietor of the whole world, divided it among his three sons (A), before any of their posterity removed to Shinaar

[n] See Stackhouse's Body of Divinity, p. 332.

(A) The opinion of Epiphanius (1) on this occasion is very singular; he maintained, that they cast lots for their shares in the city of Rhinocorura, or Rhinocolura, in the confines of Egypt an

(1) In Ancorat. c. 114. Hæres. 66. §. 83. Syncell. p. 45. b.

naar (B), from whence they were afterwards disperſed to take poſſeſſion of their reſpective ſhares [a]. This Noachical diviſion, as groundleſs as it is, was ſo firmly believed, that one author condemns the contrary opinion as heretical [b]. Salianus [c], according to this diſtinction of the fathers, makes the diſperſion happen about the middle of Peleg's life, though he places the diviſion in his firſt year.

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Not different from the diviſion in the days of Peleg

OTHER writers have ſuppoſed a double diſperſion, one at the birth of Peleg, and the other of the builders of Babel [d]; and an hiſtorian of ſome antiquity ſeems to have imagined, that mankind increaſed ſo very faſt, that they had peopled ſeveral countries and iſlands, and built ſeveral towns before they laid the foundation of Babel; abſurdly bringing them together again at that place, on purpoſe to be diſperſed a ſecond time according to the Noachical partition [e]. But the more

[a] Vid. Heidegg. Hiſt. Patr. t. I. exerc. 22. § 9. [b] Philaſtrius Brixiens. Hæreſ. 11. 8. [c] Annal. Eccleſ. [d] Spanheim. Hiſt. Eccleſ. col. 291, 292. [e] Sulpic. Sever. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. Vid. Hornium in eundem.

and Paleſtine. He ſeems to have been led into this notion by the Septuagint tranſlation, where the words נחל מצרים nahal Mizraim (2), which ſignify the torrent of Egypt, are rendered Rhinocolura, expreſſing (as Jerom obſerves) not ſo much the words of the ſcripture, as the ſenſe of the words. Whence he concluded Rhinocolura was in Hebrew called Nahal, which he interprets a Lot; as if that city had taken its name from Noah's dividing the earth by lot among his ſons at that place. But he is miſtaken in the ſignification of that word, as a learned man has ſhewn (3).

(B) What gave occaſion chiefly to this notion, was alſo a wrong underſtanding of the Hebrew text (4), which the Septuagint, inſtead of leaſt we be diſperſed, have rendered before we be diſperſed; from whence the fathers imagined, that Noah not only gave orders to the families ſprung from him to ſeparate, but actually gave to each of them a certain portion of the earth; and that before they obeyed his commands, they undertook to build the tower of Babel, as a monument of their having once dwelt together.

(2) Iſaiah xxvii. 12. (3) Heidegg. Hiſt. Patr. t. I. exerc. 22. § 10. (4) Geneſ. xi. 4.

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more received opinion [f], and the most agreeable to scripture is, that the division of the earth in the days of Peleg, and the dispersion of mankind at Babel were one and the same transaction.

The time of the dispersion fixed.

THOSE who follow the Hebrew chronology, are driven to great straits to fix the time of this event. Some, in order to reconcile the sacred history with the prophane, or led by some fancies of their own, hold a dispersion or plantation of countries, even before the birth of Peleg. Sir John Marsham is of this number; he, to reconcile the Hebrew and Egyptian chronologies, will have Menes to be the same with Ham, who, in the earliest times after the deluge, travelled, as he supposes, into Egypt, settled there with his children, and was the first king of that country [g]. Others, on the contrary, place the dispersion at Babel towards the end of Peleg's life; for, being unable by any fair calaculation to find people enough to furnish colonies for a plantation of nations at his birth, which according to the Hebrew falls in the year of the flood 101, they are obliged to maintain, that his name was given him prophetically long before the dispersion began, in order to make it fall in such a part of his life as would allow time for propagating a sufficient number of mankind for the purpose. The Jews place it in the last year of his life [h], wherein they are followed by St. Jerom and several of the christian chronologers. Others fix it at various periods towards the middle of his age [i]; Petau about his 52d year, or 153 years after the flood; Cumberland about the 79th year, or the 180th after the flood [k]; Salianus and Kircher [l] in the year of the flood 275; and Usher in one passage seems to place it after the birth of Reu [m], which fell out in the 30th year of Peleg's age, or 131st of the flood, without mentioning the precise time; though elsewhere he is of opinion it ought to be referred to the time of Peleg's birth [n]. Thus those who follow the Hebrew account, seem to be agreed only in not connecting the dispersion of Babel with the birth of Peleg; which yet the scripture requires to be

[f] Vid. Usser, Petav. Cocceium. Natal. Alex. &c. [g] Marsh. Canon Chron. Secul. 1, p. 23. [h] R. David Ganz. ad ann. 1996. Seder Olam Rabba in ipso initio. Shalshel. Hakkab. p. 7. [i] Cornel. a Lapide, Torniellus, Abu'lfarag. p. 11. [k] Orig. gent. ant. p. 150. [l] See his Turris Babel, cap. 8. p. 20. [m] Ad ann. mund. 1757, & 1787. [n] Chronol. Sacr. part 1. cap. 5. p. 26.

be placed at that juncture [o]. For by the days of Peleg are to be underſtood the whole life of the man, or the middle, or the latter end of it, then Peleg will have nothing peculiar to deſerve the name; becauſe in that ſenſe the diviſion happened in the days of all his progenitors, and even of Noah himſelf: therefore it muſt have been peculiar to Peleg alone, of all the family of Eber or Shem, to be born juſt at the very time of the diviſion, or diſperſion of Babel; from whence, with very good reaſon, he had that name given him by his father [p]. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597

PERIZONIUS, who finds himſelf obliged, by the authority both of ſcripture and reaſon, to place the Babyloniſh diſperſion at the time of Peleg's birth, to ſolve the difficulty, endeavours to prove, that neither the ſcripture ſuppoſes any great number of people in being at that juncture; nor did the nature of the tranſaction require it; the firſt plantations being made with only a few, and thoſe ſmall families, which removed no farther than the countries in the neighbourbood of Shinaar [q]. But after all, though he thinks theHebrew copy ought to be followed, yet he acknowledges, that the interval between the flood and the age of Abraham ſeems to be too ſhort according to that chronology [r]; and that is the only interval wherein it differs from the Samaritan after the flood.

IN a word, the diſperſion is the Scylla and Charybdis of thoſe who adhere to the Hebrew chronology: according to which, if any regard be had to prophane hiſtory, that event muſt be carried higher than the birth of Peleg; and if a proper number of people be required for planting nations, it muſt be brought down a good way below his birth, if not to the time of his death; which happened within ſixty years of the time wherein the Samaritan chronology places his birth (the true epocha of the diſperſion): a plain demonſtration of the defect of the one, and the truth of the other, computation.

HAVING ſettled the time of the diſperſion at Babel, let us next inquire into the number of mankind then in the world. Of the number of mankind at the diſperſion.

[o] Vid. Joſeph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. Auguſt. de Civit. Dei lib. 16. cap. 2. Mercerum & Thuſculum in Geneſ. Poſtell. de orig. c. 20. Beroald. Perkins, Broughton, Perer. & Uſſer. Chron. Sacr. ubi. ſup. [p] Vid. Perizon. Orig. Babylon. cap. 14. p. 314. [q] Vid. eund. ibid. p. 309, 310. [r] Ibid. p. 316.

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world. Some authors, imagining that a greater part of the earth was planted in this first dispersion, than we are obliged, either by scripture or reason, to believe; have endeavoured to swell their calculations, as much as ever they can; and several as if the whole earth was to be peopled at once; whilst others would reduce the number of mankind to a smaller sum than the occasion seems to have required: but a medium is to be observed between these two extreams.

In this enquiry no computation can be made from the number of persons mentioned in scripture as concerned in this first dispersion, which are but fifty three, excluding Noah and his three sons; and if we have recourse to the number of generations, we shall meet with less satisfaction still from that quarter, for they were but three at most; Eber, the father of Peleg, (who could not be a leader in this dispersion, because it happened at his birth) being but the third from Shem: there are likewise only three generations mentioned in the line of Ham, and but two in that of Japhet: so that if we were to confine our calculation to that standard, it would fall vastly short. But as there were certainly many more generations procreated between the flood and the dispersion, the time that intervened ought therefore to be considered, as well as the longevity of those who lived in the first ages after the flood.

The chronologers (who have drawn this enquiry into their own province) have suited their calculations according to their different hypotheses. Some, relying too much on the prophane historians, have taken such a method as might account for the early beginning of monarchies, and the great armies set on foot by Ctesias and his followers in the time of Ninus, whom many take to be Nimrod, or at least his son. But the Hebrew chronology lays them under a difficulty which they cannot get over, by contracting the space between the flood and the birth of Peleg to 101 years; for if the calculation produces at that period such a number of men as they judge necessary, the world will be overstocked with the inhabitants, by the natural increase of the first planters, in a very few ages after; and if it be proportioned to the number of mankind in the succeeding ages, the number procreated at the dispersion must be excessive small: wherefore most of them, as have been observed, agree, contrary to the plain sense of the scripture, to remove that event towards the middle or end of that patriarch's life, according as it suited their purpose.

It

It is an eaſy thing when a man is determined upon the number, to find out a way to help himſelf to it. Petau has made a computation, which in 285 years after the flood (or within ſeven years of the birth of Abraham, according to his computation) fills the world with above 155 times the number of inhabitants which are ſuppoſed to be at preſent exiſting in it; and yet he cannot make them riſe at the birth of Peleg to many above 32,768 ſouls [s]. Dr. Cumberland, who hath alſo ſtrained the calculation to an extravagant height, can yet bring little more than 30,000 men upon the ſtage in the year of the flood 101; though 40 years after he encreaſes them to above 300,000; and in 40 years more to 3,000,000 [t]. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597

HOWEVER, others have been much more moderate: Mr. Mede allows there could not be above 7000 men, beſides women and children, in the year of the flood 101 [u]; a late writer, who ſtrenuouſly defends the Hebrew chronology, and has taken a great deal of pains in his calculations of Noah's iſſue by his three ſons, cannot raiſe above 1416 males of 20 years old, at the birth of Peleg [w]; and Mr. Whiſton, whoſe principles ſeem more to be depended on than any of the others, produces by his computation about 2389, and no more, at that time [x]; the largeſt of which numbers muſt be allowed to be much too ſmall for the purpoſe: an evident demonſtration of the inconſiſtency of the Hebrew chronology with the circumſtances of this firſt plantation of the earth (C).

[s] Vid. Petavii doctrin. temp. lib. 9. c. 14. [t] Cumberl. Orig. gent. antiq. p. 150. [u] See Mede's works, book 1. diſc. 49. [w] See Bedford's Script. Chronol. p. 205, &c. [x] Whiſton's ſhort view of the Chron. of the old Teſtament, p. 65, &c.

(C) For the readers ſatisfaction we ſhall inſert tables of the gradual increaſe of mankind after the flood, according to the calculations of three of the above-mentioned authors; with the principles on which they are framed.

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I. The Calculation of Father Petau (5).

Years of the Flood.	Number of Sons born.
8	8
31	64
54	512
77	4,096
100	32,768
123	262,144
146	2,097,152
169	16,777,216
192	134,217,728
215	1,065,741,824
238	8,525,934,592
262	68,207,476,736
285	545,659,813,888
	Total — 623,612,358,728
	The double — 1,247,224,717,456

This table shews the number of the male descendants of one only of Noah's sons, in so many years after the flood, and is formed on the supposition that they began to generate at the age of 17, and consequently between that and 24 might each have 8 sons; so that the 8 sons, which a son of Noah might have had by the 8th year of the flood, might by the 24th year of the flood have each 8 sons more. Thus adding continually 23 to the number of the years of the flood, and multiplying the next preceding number of sons by 8, you have the number of sons born in each interval. By this scheme one at least of the other two sons of Noah is to supply wives for the males. And because the parents were long lived, and saw many generations of their own off-spring, whereby an exceeding great number of persons multiplied, and were found alive together out of one stock, therefore the whole may be allowed to be cast up into one sum; and if another son of Noah be taken in to propagate males, the third being reserved to furnish wives for both, we shall have double the number which was found by the first calculation. This supputation was made to account for the number of mankind in the times of Ninus and Abraham. The method seems plausible at first sight; but the access of its production is a plain argument against it.

II. Bishop

(5) Doctrin. tempor. l. 9. c. 14.

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II. Biſhop Cumberland's Calculation.

Years after the Flood.	Couples born in the 1ſt Vicennium after the Flood; and the couples which deſcended from them.
20	30
60	300
100	3,000
140	30,000
180	300,000
220	3,000,000
260	30,000,000
300	300,000,000
340	3,000,000,000
The ſum ——	3,333,333,330

It muſt be obſerved, that this computation exhibits not quite a tenth part of the inhabitants which are ſuppoſed to have been in the world in the 340th year of the flood, which is that of Peleg's death, being only the iſſue of the 3 ſons of Noah, for the firſt of the 17 vicennia, or ſpaces of 20 years, into which that period of time is diviſible (6); and is grounded on the gradual ſhortning of mens lives recorded in ſcripture, and a ſuppoſition, that the male iſſue of thoſe 3 brothers began to generate ſoon after they were 20 years old; the biſhop maintaining againſt Voſſius, that they were no longer in thoſe early ages before they came to puberty, than men now are (7). But experience ſeems to be in favour of Voſſius in this point; for the more robuſt and long lived creatures are longeſt rearing; and we perceive that generally among brutes, the time of generation is proportioned to the length of their lives; and the births of all the patriarchs before, and a good while after, the flood, being much later in the fathers lives than the time in which men now a-days begin to generate, is ſome argument, that they did not propagate quite ſo early as they do now.

This calculation was made, like the former, to account for the founding of certain kingdoms, which according to the Hebrew chronology began very early after the flood. Ten times the ſum in this table, gives the number of inhabitants upon earth at the birth of Abraham (8), viz. 33,333,333,300, which is a ſum 8 times greater than its inhabitants are at preſent computed at.

(6) See his Orig. gent. antiq. p. 142, 154. (7) Ibid. p. 147.
(8) Ibid. p. 154.

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III. Mr. Whiston's Calculation (9).

Number of mankind.	Years after the Flood.	Years of doubling.	Series.
16	4	4	(1)
32	9	5	(2)
64	15	6	(3)
128	23	8	(4)
256	35	12	(5)
512	50	15	(6)
1,024	70	20	(7)
2,048	95	25	(8)
4,096	125	30	(9)
8,192	160	35	(10)
16,384	200	40	(11)
32,768	245	45	(12)
65,536	295	50	(13)
131,072	350	55	(14)
262,144	410	60	(15)
524,288	475	65	(16)
1,048,576	545	70	(17)
2,097,152	620	75	(18)
4,194,304	700	80	(19)
8,388,608	800	100	(20)
16,777,216	1,000	200	(21)
33,554,432	1,300	300	(22)
67,108,864	1,700	400	(23)
134,217,728	2,100	400	(24)
268,435,446	2,500	400	(25)
536,870,912	2,900	400	(26)
1,073,741,824	3,300	400	(27)
2,147,483,648	3,700	400	(28)
4,294,967,296	4,100	400	(29)

This

(9) See his short View of the Chronol. of the old Test. p. 65.

This calculation of Mr. Whiſton's is leſs hypothetical than either of the former. It is now generally owned, that the number of ſouls upon the face of the whole earth, at preſent, does not exceed four thouſand millions, though our author imagines, it may come nearer to that ſum than many ſuppoſe (10). It is alſo now generally owned, and this from good obſervations, that mankind do double themſelves, at the longeſt, in four hundred years (11); which therefore is to be ſuppoſed the proportion ever ſince the preſent period of human life was fixed in the days of David. Mr. Whiſton thinks it alſo evident, that from the deluge till the days of David the lives of men were ſix, if not ſeven times as long as they have been ſince (though much more and leſs than that proportion at the earlieſt and lateſt times of that interval), whence he concludes, that the period of the doubling of mankind from the deluge till the days of David, in a mean, muſt have been, at the leaſt, ſix or ſeven times ſhorter than that which has ſince obtained, by reaſon of their ancient longer lives in that proportion (though ſtill this period of doubling muſt have been much ſhorter and longer in the earlieſt and lateſt times of the ſaid interval). Upon theſe grounds he has compoſed the preceding table, taking a ſeries of numbers beginning at eight (for ſo many ſouls ſurvived the deluge) and doubling themſelves in ſixty years at a mean, from the flood till David, i. e. for about 1300 years (according to the Hebrew account) and thence forward to our own times in four hundred years, i. e. for about two thouſand ſeven hundred years (12).

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On this table Mr. Whiſton makes an obſervation, of which we are concerned to take ſome notice. He ſays, "We thereby ſee, "that the number of years, according to the Hebrew chronology, will very naturally account for the preſent number of ſouls "upon the face of the earth, and afford as many in every age "preceding, as any authentic accounts of ancient times do require. But if, inſtead of one thouſand three hundred years, in "the firſt interval, we take, with the Septuagint, above one "thouſand nine hundred, this addition of above ſix hundred "years, at a time when mankind, at a mean, doubled in ſixty "years, will produce above a thouſand times as many as this "table, or the earth for certain does contain at preſent. So that "if that longer chronology were allowed, the earth in all probability muſt have had many more inhabitants in the days of "David, than it has in our days, contrary to the certain obſervations of the increaſe of mankind. And the like is to be ſaid "in due proportion of the Samaritan, or any other chronology, "which lengthens the ſpace ſince the deluge (13).

However

(10) See Dr. Nicholl's Conference, part 1. p. 75, 76. (11) See before, p. 310. in not. (12) Whiſton's Chronol. of the Teſt. p. 65. (13) Ibid. p. 68.

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But if we follow the Samaritan computation, which allows us 300 years more in the interval between the flood and the birth of Peleg than the Hebrew, these difficulties, which are otherwise insuperable, vanish at once; and we may venture to take even the lowest calculation. According to

However, Mr. Whiston having, since he wrote this, rejected the Hebrew chronology, and declared in favour of the Samaritan, it is to be presumed, he has changed his opinion in this respect also, and found a way to get over the objection, though he has taken no notice of it, as it might have been expected, in a later work, where he has made a calculation of the number of inhabitants before the flood (14). We shall therefore ourselves endeavour to solve the difficulty, which we imagine may be done, by observing only, that the space of sixty years, which he takes for the mean period of mankind's doubling from the flood to David, is much too short, and the least that can be allowed, even for the first 500 or 609 years after the flood, aceording to his own principles, the age of Shem himself being little more than 7 times, and that of Peleg, the 4th in descent from him, but 3 times as long as the present standard; whereas he reckons mens lives to be 6 or 7 times as long, quite down to the time of David. So that we cannot but think, that for the last 800 years, at least, of that interval, from the time of Abraham to David, the increase of mankind by the table, is above twice as great as it ought to be; allowance being made for which miscomputation, we doubt not, but the years added by the Samaritan Pentateuch will be thought requisite, instead of excessive.

That the reader may judge whether our objection to so much of Mr. Whiston's calculation be well grounded or not, we shall annex his own table of the ages of all the persons which are mentioned in, or can be collected from, scripture, from the flood to the death of David (15).

Gen. xi.	10, 11.	Shem	600
	12, 13.	Arphaxad	438
	14, 15.	Salah	433
	16, 17.	Heber	464
	18, 19.	Phaleg	239
	20, 21.	Reu	239
	22, 23.	Serug	230
	24, 25.	Nahor	148
	32.	Terah	205

Chap.

(14) See his Theory of the earth, p. 249; and this work in the place above quoted. (15) Whiston's Chronol. of the old Test. p. 13, and Theory of the Earth, p. 274.

to that of the gentleman we laſt mentioned, the number of mankind, in the year of the flood 401, will be above 240,000; which we think may reaſonably be allowed ſufficient to begin the diſperſion, and furniſh fifty three leaders with people enough to form as many colonies. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597

IT is to be conſidered alſo, that each of theſe colonies increaſed in proportion as they removed farther from the the

Chap. xxv. 7.	Abraham	175
xxi. 1.	Sarah	127
xxxv. 28.	Iſaac	180
xxv. 17.	Iſmael	137
xlvii. 28.	Jacob	147
l. 26.	Joſeph	110
Exod. vi. 16.	Levi	137
18.	Kohath	133
Job i. 1—4. with xlii. 16.	Hefron about	133
	Job about	180
	Amram	137
	Segub about	137
	Izhar about	137
	Pallu about	137
	Jochebed about	137
	Miriam about	130
Num. xxxiii. 39. Deut. xxxiv. 7.	Aaron	123
	Moſes	120
	Corah about	125
	Dathan about	125
	Abiram about	125
Joſh. xxiv. 29.	Joſhua	110
	Rahab bout	135
	Booz about	125
	Obed about	110
1 Sam. iv. 15.	Eli	98
	Jeſſe about	95
2 Sam. xix. 32.	Barzillai above	80
(16) Chap. v. 4.	David	70

Mr. Whiſton obſerves from this table, that the gradual decreaſe of the length of mens lives did not ſtop, nor was the age of man reduced to the preſent ſtandard of ſeventy, or eighty years till

(16) See Uſſer. Chronol. Sacr. c. 8. and 12, & Annal. A. M. 2552.

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the center of their migrations, before they arrived at the countries in which they finally settled; for the earth was not planted at once, but by degrees; so that there is the less occasion for straining to inlarge the number of mankind at the time of the dispersion, as some have done.

Of the order of the first plantations.

As to the order, or method, wherein these first plantations of the earth were made, some have imagined there was little or none, but that each colony settled where they did by mere chance [y], every one seizing on such countries as he casually light upon [z]. Yet if we attentively consider the account given of this transaction by the sacred historian, we shall find nothing more foreign to his intention, than a precipitate and confused dissipation: for first we are told, with regard to the sons of Japhet, the eldest branch of Noah's posterity, that *by these were the isles of the* Gentiles *divided in their lands*; *every one after his tongue*, *after their families*, *in their nations* [a]; in like manner Moses concludes the account he gives us of the sons of Ham, the youngest branch of Noah's posterity, with these words: *These are the sons of* Ham, *after their families*, *after their tongues*, *in their countries*, *in their nations* [b]; and that of the descendants of Shem ends thus: *These are the sons of* Shem, *after their families*, *after their tongues*, *in their lands*, *after their nations* [c]. From which texts may well be inferred (as the learned Mede [d] has

[y] Heidegg. Hist. Patr. t. 1. exerc. 22. § 11. [z] Hestiæus Milesius apud Euseb. de præp. evang. l. 9. c. 15. [a] Genes. x. 5. [b] Ibid. ver. 20. [c] Ibid. ver. 31. [d] See his works, Book 1. Disc. 49 and 50.

till the days of king David; and that the 90th psalm, where the lives of the Israelites seem to be stated, if it was composed by Moses, as the title informs us, had regard only to the shortening the lives of the murmurers in the wilderness (17), by a divine judgment (when all those were to perish in the space of forty years who were grown men at the Exodus), without any respect to the common period of human life at that time. Barzillai in the days of David is the first mentioned in scripture who was reckoned so old, as not likely to live long at eighty years of age (18); and David himself is the first who is said to have died, and that in a good old age, and full of days (19), so soon as seventy years, which are the particular numbers mentioned in that psalm, and the standard of human life in all succeeding ages (20).

(17) Numb xiv. 29, 35. (18) 2 Sam. xix. 35. (19) 1 Chron. xxix. 28. (20) Whiston's Chron. of the old Test. p. 9 and 11.

has obſerved) that this great diviſion of the earth we are ſpeaking of was performed orderly, and was not a confuſed and irregular diſperſion, wherein every one went whither he liſted and ſeated himſelf where he liked beſt [e]. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597

WE ſee a twofold order in theſe firſt plantations. Firſt they were ranged according to their nations, and then every nation was ranked after their families; ſo that every nation dwelt, and had his lot by himſelf, and in every nation the families alſo dwelt, and had their lots by themſelves; for the true import of the before-cited texts ſeems to be, that the land, or peculiar lot of each family, did lie within the general lot of each nation.

Of the firſt plantation of the earth.

THOSE who have undertaken to give an account of theſe firſt ſettlements of the children of Noah, having founded their conjectures chiefly on the ſimilitude of names, a guide too deceitful to be truſted ſo far as it has been by ſome, who on emergencies have ranſacked the whole world for names of people, countries, rivers, mountains, and cities, which had but the leaſt affinity with thoſe of the planters they were at a loſs to fix; others have therefore taken the precaution to lay down ſome rules [f] for the more ſure proceeding in this enquiry, and which we may reduce to two; 1. To ſuffer ourſelves to be directed chiefly by ſcripture, not neglecting, however, the light which may be had from prophane authors. 2. To ſeek for the original plantations within a reaſonable compaſs of the earth, and in an orderly diſpoſition; looking for the families where we find the nation, and for the nation where we find the families: and theſe rules, we think, may be admitted; but another, viz. that thoſe nations whoſe families are named by Moſes, are chiefly to be ſought for in the neighbourhood of Judæa, we conceive liable to too many exceptions to deſerve the name of a rule; for it was plainly the deſign of that hiſtorian to give us an account of the original of all nations in the world, as far as he had knowledge of them, and not only of ſuch as had to deal with the Jews, or were their neighbours.

BUT after all, this is one of thoſe enquiries about which we ought not to be over ſolicitous, for the originals of very few nations can be traced ſo high as the diſperſion of Babel, much the greater part being ſubject to the utmoſt uncertainty.

[e] Well's Geog. of the old Teſt. vol. 1. p. 93. [f] See Mede's works, and Wells's Geogr. of the old Teſt. ubi ſup.

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tainty. Since the first migrations of mankind, countries have often changed their names, and people their countries, without being observed by historians (D). We may form conjectures, and please ourselves with the plausibleness of our schemes, but who can be sure that the principles on which they are built have any foundation? most of the arguments, in enquiries of this nature, result from the identity or similitude of the names of people and countries; but, for ought we know, the nations we take to be very ancient, are modern in respect of the times next after the flood; and the names we suppose to have been retained by cities from antiquity, are of late original as well as themselves: perhaps also many of the names of people and countries mentioned in scripture were peculiar to the Jews, since we find them nowhere else. And it must be observed, that that nation, by having lost the remembrance of the greatest part of their antiquities, are become as bad guides in matters of this nature as the Greeks, who began too late to keep records for us to expect any great assistance from them.

We shall from these considerations be the shorter in our account of this matter, which we shall begin, as the migrations of the colonies did, from Shinaar; about which we find the branch of Shem placed, inclosed by that of Japhet on the north, and Ham on the south. And it is observable, that, generally speaking, the nations and families in each of these great divisions took their stations according to seniority, the eldest remaining neareſt the center, and the youngest removing outermost.

The countries planted by the descendants of Shem.

Shem may be supposed for the few years, viz. eleven, which according to the Samaritan chronology, he lived after the dispersion of mankind, to have dwelt in Shinaar: his descendants seem to have settled from Media westward to the sea-coast of Aram, or Syria. The number of chiefs of his line concerned in the dispersion were seven, Elam, Ashur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram, the sons of Shem; Salah, the son of Arphaxad; and Eber, the son of Salah.

(D) Quotidie aliquid in hoc magno orbe mutatur, nova urbium fundamenta jaciuntur, nova gentium nomina, extinctis nominibus prioribus, oriuntur (21).

(21) Senec. de consol. ad Albin.

1. ELAM ſettled in the country of Elam, lying to the ſouth-eaſt of Shinaar; in the time of Daniel Suſiana, or Khuzeſtân, ſeems to have been part of it [g], and before the captivity it does not appear that the Jews called Perſia by any other name. Elymæ and Elymaïs are often mentioned by the ancients: Ptolemy, though he makes Elymaïs a province of Media, yet he places the Elymæi (for which the maps corruptly read Eldemæi) in Suſiana near the ſea-coaſt [h]. Stephanus [i] takes it to be a part of Aſſyria, but Pliny [j] and Joſephus [k] more properly, of Perſia, whoſe inhabitants, this latter tells us, ſprang from the Elamites [l]; and this ſeems to have been the moſt eaſterly bounds of the poſterity of Shem; for adjoining on the eaſt was Media, ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed by Madai, the third ſon of Japhet. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597 Elam.

2. As Aſhur was the ſecond ſon of Shem, ſo we find his country lying next to Elam's on the weſt, or north-weſt, called likewiſe after him Aſhur, and by the Greeks Aſſyria, at preſent Curdeſtân or the country of the Curds. Pezron ſuppoſes he was driven out of Shinaar by Nimrod, Ham's grandſon [m], which indeed ſeems to be the caſe, though it may be objected, that if he had not ſettled there originally, he would not have found room in that part, which muſt have been poſſeſſed by ſome other family. However that be, it was Aſhur [n], and not Nimrod, who went out of Shinaarinto Aſſyria, and built Niniveh and other cities, as Perizonius has clearly proved that text is to be underſtood [o], and circumſtances require. Aſhur.

3. ARPHAXAD is placed by ſome in Arrapachitis, a province of Aſſyria towards the north part of that country; but others ſettle him with his family in Chaldea, where indeed we find his deſcendants till the time of Abraham. And could it be proved, that the Chaſdîm, or Chaldeans, derive their name as well as deſcent from that patriarch, as Joſephus affirms [p], there would be no doubt of this laſt being the true opinion. Some who make but one and the ſame perſon of Arphaxad and Cainan, who is inſerted between him Arphaxad

[g] Dan. viii. 2. [h] Vid. Tab. 5. Aſiæ, & Bochart. Phaleg. l. 2. c. 2. [i] De urb. voce Ἐλύμαι. [j] Nat. Hiſt. l. 6. c. 25, &c. Vid. Strab. l. 16. [k] Antiq. l. 12. c. 13. [l] Ibid. l. 1. c. 7. See before, p. 370. [m] Antiquité des tems retablie, p. 148. [n] Geneſ. x. 11. [o] Orig. Babylon. cap. 4. [p] Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 7. See before, p. 372.

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him and Salah in the Septuagint version, suppose him to be the founder of the monarchy of China [q].

Salah.

Where Salah, the son of Arphaxad, settled, is very uncertain; some suppose it to have been in Susiana, or Khuzestân, in Persia, because they find a town there formerly called Sala; but Morocco, Spain, Phrygia, Armenia, and Hyrcania may claim this patriarch for their planter upon the same ground; having had each of them a town of the same name; and in Colchis we find a nation called Salæ [r], which seems to have the best pretensions to him of all, since he ought to be considered rather as the founder of a nation than of a town. But as affinity of names weighs very little with us, except backed by some other proof, we shall not remove him out of Chaldea, where we suppose room enough for all his descendants in the right line till Abraham; for which reason we settle Eber also in the same country.

Eber.

Lud.

4. We can see no more reason than Sir Walter Raleigh [s], why Lud, Shem's fourth son, should straggle so far from his friends as Lydia, where Josephus fixes him: besides there is a strong objection against this opinion, the Lydians having been first called Mæones, as all the ancients agree, and Lydians from Lydus, the son of Atys [t], except we suppose the Greeks were deceived, and that, the name of Mæones ceasing, they resumed their old name of Lydians, which often has happened. But even in that case we ought perhaps to consider Lydia as possessed by the Ludîm, or posterity of Lud, on a second, or third, remove, and to look for his first settlement nearer his brothers; but here the very similitude of names, which are generally upon these occasions ready at hand to help out at a dead lift, seems to fail us.

Aram.

5. Mesopotamia and Syria comprehending the countries westward of Assyria as far as the mediterranean sea, seem wholly (if we except Phænicia and Palestine) to have fallen to the share of Aram, Shem's fifth and youngest son, whose name is given both to the whole and the several regions thereof in scripture.

Uz.

Within, or bordering on, this country of Aram, it is likely the four sons of Aram settled. It is generally agreed, that Uz the eldest built Damascus, and gave name to the country

[q] Vid. Bolduc. de Eccles. ante leg. lib. 2. cap. 2. [r] Vid. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 6. c. 4. [s] Book 1 cap. 8. § 15. [t] Herod. lib. 1. Strabo, lib. 13. Plinius, lib. 5. cap. 29.

country about that city [u], which seems to be different from the land of Uz, where Job dwelt, lying towards Edom. 2. Bochart supposes Hul to have settled in Cholobetene, a part of the greater Armenia, where he finds several places whose names begin with Chol, or Col [w]. 3. Gether, according to Josephus, was prince of the Bactrians [x], but Bactria lay out of Shem's lot, as well as too far for the first plantation; and if we allow him a seat about the river Centrites, between Armenia and the Carduchi, it is not that we think there is the least affinity in the two names to induce us to it, as Bochart does. 4. Mash, or Meshek, Aram's fourth son, is supposed to fix in Armenia about the mountain Masius, the same with that commonly held to be Ararat, and called by the Armenians Masîs. The people who dwelt near this mountain are by Stephanus named Masieni. Bochart [y] refutes the notion of Josephus [z], who derives the Mesanæans near the mouth of the Tigris from them, not considering that they took their name from their situation between the rivers. However, the Armenians themselves do not lay claim to any of Shem's line as their progenitor, but say, they are descended from Togarmah of Japhet's posterity, as will be seen by and by.

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Hul.
Gether.
Mash.

HAM probably removed from Shinaar. Supposing him to be the Cronus of Sanchoniatho [a], he reigned in Phœnicia. According to others, who make him to be the same with Menes, he must have settled in Egypt [b], which indeed in scripture is often called the land of Ham; and some from the similitude of Ammon, and other words of the like sound, would infer, that he at least dwelt there for some time; but nothing can be concluded from such weak evidence.

The nations descended from Ham.

1. CUSH, his eldest son, according to Josephus and the antients, was the father of the Ethiopians, who, he says, were in his time called Cushæans, not only by themselves, but all Asia over [c]. But it is not likely, that if Mizraim and Canaan settled themselves in the lands betwixt him and Shinaar, that his son Nimrod would be found erecting a monarchy so early in that country. It is more probable, that he seated himself in the south-eastern part of Babylonia, and in the adjoining part of Susiana, still called Khuze-

Cush.

[u] Bochart, Geogr. Sacr. lib. 2. cap. 8. Joseph. lib. 1 cap. 7.
[w] Phaleg. lib. 2. cap. 9. [x] Joseph. ubi supr. [y] Ubi supr.
[z] Ubi supr. [a] Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 111. [b] Marsham Chron. Canon. p. 18, 23. [c] Antiquit. lib. 1. cap. 7.

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Khuzeſtân, or the country of Chuz; from whence his poſterity in the ſucceeding generations might have paſſed into other countries. That a part of Arabia near the red ſea was named Cuſh, appears from ſcripture. Cuſhan and Midian are joined together as the ſame, or neighbouring people, dwelling in tents [d]; and in another place [e] the Arabs are made to border on the Cuſhites, which therefore cannot be the Ethiopians; to which may be added other ſcriptural proofs [f]; in a word, by Cuſh in ſcripture is always to be underſtood Arabia. As for thoſe texts which are alledged to prove Cuſh is ſometimes taken for Ethiopia, they may alſo be expounded of Arabia [g]. Cuſh, according to the Arab and Perſian traditions, which name him Cutha, was king of the territory of Babel, and reſided in Erâk [h], where there were two cities of his name [i]; from whence among other reaſons, Dr. Hyde is of opinion, that Cuſh reigned in Babylonia, and that his deſcendants removed into Arabia [k], though it is hard to fix the quarters of any of them; which has given occaſion to thoſe who ſuppoſe Cuſh to be Ethiopia, to ſpread them all along the coaſt of Africa to the end of Mauritania [l].

THOSE who place them in Arabia are divided about their ſituations. To follow therefore the rules we have laid down, we will ſuppoſe, 1. That Seba ſeated himſelf ſomewhere in the ſouth of Chaldea, or the Arabian Erâk: becauſe, 2. His ſecond brother Havilah's country lay thereabouts, watered by the Piſon, as we have formerly obſerved. 3. Sabtah's ſeat perhaps lay more to the ſouth, where we find a city called Saphthah by Ptolemy, not far from the Perſian gulph, and another named Sabatha, lower down in Arabia Felix, which comes much nearer Sabtah. 4. Raamah or Rhegma may find a place more ſouthward ſtill, about a city called Rhegama by Ptolemy, on the ſame gulph. Some moderns mention a city not far from it called Daden [m], which Dr. Wells does not doubt was the reſidence of his ſon Dedan [n]. Though others will have

Seba.

Havilah.

Sabtah.

Raamah.

Sheba and Dedan.

[d] Habak. iii. 7. [e] 2 Chron. xxi. 16. [f] Ezek. xxix. 10. 2 Kings xix. 9. 2 Chron. xiv. 9. [g] Iſaiah xviii. 1. Zeph. iii. 10. 2 Chron. xii. 3. Jerem. xiii. 23. [h] Altabari in cap. de morte Saræ, apud Hyde de Relig. Vet. Perſ. p. 40. [i] Hyde, ibid. p. 80, &c. [k] Idem ibid. p. 39, 40. [l] Vid. Bochart Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 3. [m] Ortelius. Odoratus Barboza, nella deſcrit. di Ormuz. [n] Geog. of the old Teſt. vol. 1. p. 197.

have Raamah and both his ſons, Sheba as well as Dedan, to people the parts adjacent to the Red-ſea [o]. They conclude Dedan to have been near Edom, becauſe Ezekiel joins them together [p]; as Raamah muſt have been near Sheba, being mentioned as joint-traders to Tyre in ſpices by the ſame prophet [q]; and elſewhere [r] Sheba and Seba are joined as neighbours, though diſtinguiſhed as different kingdoms: they ſeem to have poſſeſſed a larger part of Arabia, for Pliny obſerves, that the Sabæan nations inhabited from ſea to ſea, that is, from the Arabian to the Perſian gulph. A late writer ſuppoſes Sheba lived on the borders of the land of Midian, and gave name to the country whoſe queen in after-ages went to viſit Solomon [s]. But the Arabs ſay, the country of Sheba lies a great way more to the ſouth in Yaman, or, as we call it, Arabia Felix, near the Indian ſea; the chief city of which was formerly Saba, now called Mareb [t], and founded, according to their tradition, by a deſcendant of Joktan, or Kahtan. And it muſt be confeſſed, this ſeems to be the country of Sheba, mentioned in ſcripture, for the frankincenſe grows thereabouts. 5. Sabtecha has puzzled all the geographers to aſſign his quarters. Bochart [u] not finding a place in Arabia which bore any reſemblance to the name, paſſes over to Carmania in Perſia, and preſſes the city Samydace into the ſervice, obſerving, that the M and B are often changed the one for the other by the Arabs and their neighbours. On the other hand, Dr. Wells [v] imagines, that the Saracens are the deſcendants of Sabtecha, which nation being ſtiled at firſt by the Greeks Sabtaceni, that name was afterwards ſoftened into Saraceni; and the rather, he thinks becauſe alluding to the Arabic verb ſaraka, to ſteal, it ſerved for a nick-name. Though indeed the word Saraceni is no other than Sharkîîn, which in Arabic ſignifies Eaſterlings; as the African Arabs weſt of Egypt, are called Mogrebîns, or Weſterlings. For our parts, being afraid to meddle in a point of ſo much uncertainty, we think it the ſafeſt way to paſs this perſon by, and proceed. 6. To his brother Nimrod, who it is agreed kept poſſeſſion of Shinaar

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Sabtecha.

Nimrod.

and

[o] Shuckford's Connect. of the Sacred and Profane Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 173. [p] Ezek. xxv. 13. [q] Ibid. xxvii. 22. [r] Pſalm lxxii. 10. [s] Shuckford ubi ſupr. [t] Geog Nub. p. 26 and 52. Pocock. Specimen Hiſt. Arab. p. 57. D'Herb. Bibl. Orient. Art. Saba. [v] Geog. Sacr. lib. 4. cap. 4. [w] Geog. of the old Teſt. vol. I. p. 198.

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and erected a kingdom there, making Babel the seat of his empire [w].

Mizraim.

2. Mizraim stands in the place of the second son of Ham; for there is a great dispute, whether this is the name of a single person or of a people, as having a dual termination, though the verb in the text, where he is said to beget Ludim, is in the singular number, which favours the former opinion. However that be, it is plain, that the names of Ludim and all the rest of his descendants are plurals, by what we read of the Caphtorim, namely, that *they came forth out of Caphtor* [x]. Nor do we see any harm in that opinion, which supposes them branches of a large body of people denoted by the name Mizraim, which divided between them the country called after their name by the Hebrews and other eastern people [y].

Ludim.

As to the nations descended from Mizraim: 1. The Ludim are judged to be the people above Egypt called by the Greeks Ethiopians, and at present Abyssins. Bochart endeavours to prove it by no less than ten arguments [z]. We rarely find them called otherwise in scripture than Lud, either from the name of the founder, or their country. In one passage of scripture Lud are called a mixt people [a]; in others [b], they are said to be very skilful in drawing the bow, which the Ethiopians were famous for; and in two of the above-mentioned passages [c], Lud is joined with Cush and Phut, as are the Lubims elsewhere with the Egyptians [d]; from whence it may be inferred, they were all neighbouring people.

Anamim.

2. The Anamim are thought by Bochart to be the Ammonians, or inhabitants of that part of Lybia where stood the temple of Jupiter Ammon [e], descended, according to Herodotus, partly from the Egyptians, and partly from the Ethiopians.

Lehabim.

3. The Lehabim are supposed to be the same with the Lubim, who, with the Sukkiims and Cushites, came out of Mizraim, or Egypt, with Shishak, to invade Judæa [f]: these therefore may not improbably be judged to be the Libyans of Cyrenaica, or proper Libya, near Egypt.

Naphtuhim.

4. The Napthtuhim are thought to have settled in Marmarica, adjoining to Cyrenaica [g]. It is observed,

[w] See p. 359.

[x] Deut. ii. 23.

[y] Josephus Antiq. lib. 1 cap. 7.

[z] Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 26.

[a] Ezek. xxx. 5.

[b] Isaiah lxvi. 19. Jerem. xlvi. 9.

[c] Ezek. xxx. 5. Jerem. xlvi. 9.

[d] 2 Chron. xii. 5.

[e] Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 30.

[f] 2 Chron. xii. 3.

[g] Bochart Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 29.

observed, that the Egyptians called all the skirts of a country, and promontories washed by the sea, Nephthys; and Bochart places the Naphtuhim rather on the coast of the Mediterranean than on that of the red sea, because the Troglodites and Ichthyophagi, who are the inhabitants of the latter, are in the scripture called Ziyim and Sukkiim [h]. Some place the Naphtuhim about Noph, or Memphis, in Egypt [i].

5. Pathrusim are evidently the inhabitants of Pathros, which some wrongly take for Pelusium; others, more justly, for Thebais, or the Upper Egypt, which is distinguished from the lower Egypt in prophane history as well as sacred [k]. Ezekiel [l] mentions it by itself; and Isaiah [m] distinguishes it from Egypt; but from Jeremiah the country of Pathros appears either to be a part of that kingdom, or adjoining to it, being mentioned with Migdol, Tahpanhes, and Noph [n], which are known to be cities, or districts, of Egypt. Pathrusim.

6. The Casluhim are supposed to have settled somewhere towards the entrance of Egypt, about mount Cassius, in that part of the lower Egypt called Cassiotis by Ptolemy and others, which places it is thought retain some likeness of the name; but, without relying on that argument, they appear to have been planted near the Caphtorim, because the Philistim, as it seems, were descended from both these people [o], and consequently in Egypt. Bochart, misled by following the Jewish notion about Capthor, fancies them to be the inhabitants of Colchis [p], at present called Mingrelia. As for the Philistim, who in the Mosaic account of the dispersion are derived from the Casluhim [q], we shall consider their original settlement in Egypt, before they removed into Canaan, when we come to their particular history. Casluhim. Philistim.

7. Caphtorim the last of the off-spring of Mizraim, are, as Bochart [r] observes, by all the fathers said to be the Cappadocians, and Caphtor Cappadocia; as the Septuagint have also rendered it [s]. In this doubtless they follow the Jews, who explain those names the same way, as do the three Chaldee paraphrasts. But by Cappadocia in these writings, is not to be understood Cappadocia in Asia minor, as Bochart, and perhaps the rest, judged, but some place in Egypt, generally supposed by the Rabbins to

[h] Ibid. [i] Isaiah xix, 13. [k] Vid. Bochart Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 37. [l] Chap. xxiv. v. 14. [m] Chap. xi. v. 11. [n] Chap. xliv. v. 1. [o] Compare Gen. x. 13. with Deut. ii. 23. Jerem. xlvii. 4. and Amos ix. 7. [p] Bochart Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 31. [q] Gen. x. 13. [r] Lib. 4. cap. 33. [s] Deut. ii. 23.

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to be Demyat [t], or Damietta, commonly confounded with Pelusium. One would be inclined to think the Caphtorim derived from Coptus, a noted city of the same country (which by many is supposed to have taken its name from thence), if it was not that Caphtor appears to have been an island [u], and more probably situate either in the lake of Tennîs, or Tanis, which extends from Damietta to Tina, the true Pelusium, or in the Arabic gulf, rather than Crete, as will be observed hereafter.

Phut.

3. AUTHORS are not agreed about the country, where Phut, the third son of Ham, planted himself. Bochart endeavours, to prove that Mizraim and he divided Africa between them [w]: what is most to the purpose is taken from St. Jerom, who affirms Phut to be Libya, and that in his time there was a river in Mauritania with the adjacent region, named from him Phut [x]. But to this it may be objected, that Ezekiel [y] mentions Phut with Cush and Persia as auxiliaries to the northern enemies of the Jews, and in the army of Gog; and we find Cush, Lud, and Phut, among the nations, who, according to Jeremiah's prophecy, were to over-run Egypt [z], as Nebuchadnezzar afterwards did; which looks as if Phut's quarters lay somewhere between Cush and Babylon. However, in points so uncertain, we will not presume to determine any thing.

Canaan.

4. WE are not so much to seek for the parts planted by Canaan and his posterity, viz. Sidon, Heth, the Jebusites, Amorites, Girgashites, Hivites, Arkites, Sinites, Arvadites, Zemarites, and Hamathites; of whom we shall speak more particularly when we come to treat of Phœnicia, in the land of Canaan, where they undoubtedly settled.

The countries planted by the descendants of Japhet.

THE scripture leaves us as much in the dark, as to the country where Japhet settled, as it does with regard to the particular residence of his brothers. All we can collect upon this occasion is, that he retired from Shinaar with his descendants, and settled among them to the north of the countries planted by the children of Shem. Some imagine him, from the affinity of names, to be the Japetus of the Greeks [a]; but there is no likelihood of his having ever been known to them, or that their traditions reach so high as this son of Noah by many ages.

1. GOMER

[s] Rabbi Saadias & Maimonides, apud Lightfoot, oper. tom. 2. p. 398. [u] Jerem. xlvii. 4. [w] Phaleg. l. 4. cap. 33. [x] Hieron ym in tradit. Hebr. [y] Chap. xxxviii. 5. [z] Chap. xlvi. 9. [a] Bochart Phaleg. l. 3. c. 1.

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Gomer.

I. GOMER, the eldeſt ſon of Japhet, according to Joſephus, was the father of the Gomerites, called by the Greeks Galatians [b], who were the Gauls of Aſia minor, inhabiting part of Phrygia. Of this opinion is Bochart [c], and if it be right, thoſe who derive the Cimmerians, or Cimbri, from Gomer, have ſome grounds for it, the Cimmerians ſeeming to be the ſame people with the Gauls, or Celts, under a different name; and it is obſervable, that the Welſh, who are deſcended from the Gauls, ſtill call themſelves Kumero, or Cymro, and Cumeri. Be that as it will, the Chaldee paraphraſts muſt be out in placing Gomer in Africa, ſince it is plain from Ezekiel [d], that his country lay northward of Judea; and that it lay alſo to the weſt, or northweſt of Madai, or Media, may alſo be gathered from that prophet's making the houſe of Togarmah (one of Gomer's ſon's, and conſequently, according to our rules ſettled, in his father's lot or borders) trading to Tyre in Syria; which could not well be in caſe they had been ſituated beyond Media, through which it is not likely they would have been ſuffered to paſs. We may therefore let Gomer reſt where the learned Bochart ſettles him, viz. in Phrygia [e], without ſtraining to make that word to be the Greek tranſlation of his name.

Aſhkenaz.

THE plantations of Gomer's ſons may, not without ſome ground, be preſumed to be thereabouts. 1. Aſhkenaz, as it ſeems ſhould be ſeated near Armenia [f], in the eaſtern part of Aſia minor; for the ſcripture, among the nations which were to be called by the Medes under Cyrus to deſtroy Babylon, mentions Ararat, Minni, and Aſhkenaz: but if regard be had to the footſteps found of the name, the country which he planted ſeems to have been in the north-weſt part of that continent; for in Bithynia there was the Aſcanian lake, and river called Aſcanius, with a bay of the ſame name; and there was alſo antiently a city named Aſcania in leſſer Phrygia, or Troas, with iſles on the coaſt called the Aſcanian iſlands: and it is obſerved, that, beſides Aſcanius the ſon of Æneas, Homer mentions a king of that name, who was at the ſiege of Troy. And to prove that the Aſhkenaz mentioned by Jeremiah were the people of theſe parts, it is ſhewn out of Xenophon [g], that Hyſtaſpes having conquered Phrygia that lies on the Helleſpont

[b] Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. [c] Phaleg. l. 3. c. 10. [d] Chap. 48. 6. [e] In loco ſuperius citat. [f] Jeremiah li. 27. [g] Cyropæd. l. 7.

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pont brought thence many of the horse and other soldiers which Cyrus carried with him to the siege of Babylon. In a word, the Pontus Euxinus, or Axinus, as it was first called by the Greeks, is supposed to be a corruption for the sea of

Riphath.

Ashkenaz [h]. 2. Because Riphath probably settled near his brother Ashkenaz, we may admit the testimony of Josephus, not always to be depended on, who says the Paphlagonians were originally called Riphathæans from Riphath [i]. Bochart finds the river Rhebas, Rhebæus, or Rhebanus near Paphlagonia j; Stephanus mentions not only the river but also a region of the same name, whose inhabitants were called Rhebæi, and Pliny places here a people called Riphæi, which comes nearer the name of Riphath. 3. Togarmah the

Togarmah.

last son of Gomer was probably seated to the east of Riphath; some think to the north of Armenia, among the Iberians, others in Cappadocia and Galatia; which opinions are not out of the way, since these countries lie contiguous to those of the rest of Gomer's family, and are situate conformable [k] to that expression of the prophet, *Gomer and all his bands, the house of Togarmah of the north quarters and all his bands* [l]; which seems to be spoken of their situation with respect to Judea. Turcomannia, where many have placed this colony, seems too remote, because they are said to have traded to the fairs of Tyre [m]; and what confirms their settling, they brought hither, viz. horses, horsemen, and mules, in, or about, Cappadocia; for that country produced excellent horses and mules, which last are supposed to have come first from thence, and was famous for good horsemen, as is attested by several of the antient prophane historians [n]. Besides, in the borders of Pontus and Cappadocia, we find a people called Trocmi [o], Trogmi, or Trocmeni, as Stephanus calls them. In the council of Calcedon they are called Trocmades, or Trogmades, which names have an affinity with Togarmah, or, as the Greeks usually write it, Thorgama.

But after all, the Armenians give themselves out to be descended from Togarmah (whom they make the son of Tiras the son of Gomer) by his son Haik, from whom they and their country from all antiquity have born the name

[h] Bochart Phaleg. l. 3. c. 9. [i] Josephus Antiq. l. 1. c. 7
j Bochart ubi supr. c. 10. [k] Idem, ibid. [l] Ezek. xxxviii. 6
[m] Ibid. xxvii. 14. [n] Vid. Bochart ubi supr. [o] Ptol Strab. l. 12. Cicero de divinat. l. 2, &c.

name of Haikh. They ſay alſo, that the name of Armenia, made uſe of by other nations, is derived from Aram, the ſeventh in deſcent from Haikh, who much enlarged the bounds of his kingdom on all ſides [p]: the Armenians had alſo numerous breeds of excellent horſes, which they paid to Cyrus inſtead of tribute [q]; and many of thoſe creatures as a learned author [r] aſſures us, from the teſtimony of credible natives, are ſtill bred there for the uſe of the kings of Perſia, and for preſents to them from the governor. Upon theſe conſiderations we muſt leave Armenia to the deſcendants of Togarmah, or Thûrgûmai, as they call him. Year of the Flood, 401. Year before Chriſt, 2597

2. WE come now to Magog, the ſecond ſon of Japhet, with regard to whoſe ſettlement the learned have many different and confuſed opinions; Joſephus, Jerom, and moſt of the fathers held them to be the Scythians about mount Caucaſus, which name Bochart ſuppoſes was made by the Greeks out of Gog haſen ſignifying Gog's fort in Chaldee, a dialect of which he imagines to have been the language of the Colchi and Armenians [s]; but perhaps it is rather a wrong pronunciation of Cub Kaf, which in Perſian ſignifies the mountain of Kaf, as the Arabs alſo call it: that his plantation adjoined upon thoſe of Meſhech and Tubal appears from Ezekiel's [s] making Gog, king of Magog, to reign over the other two. And it is thought, we ſhould come nearer ſtill to a diſcovery of his quarters, if thoſe words, The chief prince, or as it is in our marginal tranſlation (the prince of the chief of Meſhech and Tubal [t], be rendered, according to the Septuagint, the prince of Roſh, Meſhech, and Tubal, becauſe in the Iſthmus, or neck of land between the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas, there formerly dwelt two ſorts of people; the one called Rhoſſi, on the river Cyrus, as Joſeph ben Gorion has it, or rather on the Ros, Ras, or Aras, called by the Greeks Araxes; the other called Moſchici, inhabiting a long chain of mountains, ſtretching, according to Ptolemy, along the north-weſt part of Armenia, and ſeparating it from Colchis and Iberia. From which two people, migrating or driven over Caucaſus, it is ſuppoſed, the Ruſſians and Muſcovites are deſcended. Magog.

[p] Moſes Chorenens. Hiſt. Armen. l. 1. c. 4.
[q] Xenoph.
[r] Schroeder Diſſertat. de ling. Armen. p. 30.
[s] Bochart Phaleg. l. 3. c. 13.
[s] Chap. xxxviii. 2.
[t] Ibid.

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Bochart alſo thinks the name of Magog is preſerved in a country of theſe parts [u] called Gogarene, according to Strabo and Stephanus; for Gog and Magog ſeem to be the ſame name, the *m* not being a radical letter. But we cannot ſtrain the matter ſo far as to ſuppoſe the name of Georgia, a well known country in this quarter, derived thence; much leſs, that the Palus Mæotis, and Comagene in Syria, draw their names from Magog [w], through ſuch a diſtorted courſe of changes, as to repeat them would put one quite out of conceit with etymologies.

The Arabs, who have borrowed the beſt part of their religion from the Jews, are acquainted with Gog and Magog, whom they call Yajuj and Majuj, and make them to inhabit the mountain of Kaf, or Caucaſus, but remove them at a great diſtance to the farther end of Tartary towards the north, or north-eaſt [x].

We are inclined to think the parts above-mentioned, between the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas, are moſt likely to be thoſe in which Magog ſettled; however, we can by no means omit this occaſion of taking notice of an error, which many of the modern writers have fallen into, who place Magog in Syria. Bochart's great judgment would not ſuffer him wholly to come into it, however, he ſuppoſes Magog himſelf gave his name to a town there [y]. Dr. Wells more cautiouſly ſuggeſts, that the name was long after taken from the Scythians, when they made an excurſion into Syria and took the city, as Bethſan in Judæa was alſo called after them Scythopolis [z]. But Mr. Shuckford fixes Magog himſelf there, with Gomer, Tubal, Togarmah, and Meſhech about him [a]. What gave riſe to this opinion is, a paſſage in Pliny, where he obſerves that Bambyce, otherwiſe Hierapolis, is called by the Syrians Magog [b]; but this proves to be a palpable miſtake of the tranſcriber, who has written Magog inſtead of Mabog, as has been obſerved by Dr. Hyde, who wonders no body had corrected that error in Pliny [c]. Aſſemani has taken notice of it ſince [d]; yet it ſtill remains uncor-

[u] Bochart ubi ſupra. [w] Geog. of the old Teſtament, Vol. I. p. 164. [x] See D'Herbelot Bibl. Orient. Art. Jagiouge & Magiouge, p. 470. & Geog. Nubiens, p. 247, 267. [y] Phaleg. l. 1. c. 2. & l. 3. c. 13. [z] Geogr. of the old Teſt. ubi ſupr. [a] Connect. of the ſacred and profane hiſt. V. I. p. 152. [b] Hiſt. Natur. l. 5. c. 23. [c] In Notis ad Peritſol. Itiner. p. 42. [d] Bibliotheca Oriental. Vol. II. Diſſert. de Monophyſ. ad voc. Mabug.

corrected in Hardouin's laſt pompous edition of that author.

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3. IT is generally agreed, that Madai planted Media, and the Medes are always called by this name in ſcripture [e]. To this a learned author [f], who makes Macedonia the ſettlement of Madai, objects, 1. That the Madai, or Medes, are not mentioned in ſcripture till the latter ages; but it may be anſwered, that the Jews always retained the name, and it is plain they made uſe of it as ſoon as they had occaſion. 2. That this ſituation removes Madai too far from the reſt of his brethren, and takes him out of their general lot, which was the iſles of the Gentiles, to put him into that of Shem. But according to our hypotheſis, their plantations hitherto have been contiguous, for the weſtern Media was bounded on the north by the river Roſs, or Aras; to which, as we have obſerved above, the dominion of Magog extended; and perhaps thoſe words, *by theſe were the iſles of the* Gentiles *divided* [g], relate only to Javan and his ſons, and not to Gomer and his ſons, or to a future plantation; the paſſages in ſcripture where theſe laſt are mentioned requiring a ſenſe which places them on the continent. 3. Several authorities are produced by this writer to ſhew there were a people in Macedonia called Medi, or Mædi, and a tract called the Medic region in the borders of Pæonia; but even ſuppoſing them ſome later colony of Madai, which is the moſt that can be allowed, we cannot ſee how it tends to prove, that Macedonia is compounded of Madai and Cetim, or Kittim, any more than that Æmathia, the ancient name of Macedonia, comes from Madai, upon the bare authority of a forced etymology.

Madai

4. JAVAN may probably be ſuppoſed to have ſettled firſt near his brothers in the ſouth-weſt part of the leſſer Aſia, about Ionia, which contains the radical letters of his name. Javan.

HIS four children may find places correſpondent with their names in the ſame parts. 1. The Æoles, who inhabited Æolia to the north of Ionia, are by Joſephus made to deſcend from Eliſha, Javan's eldeſt ſon; but there is a greater appearance of his name in Hellas, the ancient name of Greece; the iſles of which ſeem to be thoſe called the iſles Eliſha.

[e] Dan. v. 28. Ibid. vi. 8, 12. 15. Ibid. viii. 20. Eſth. i. 3. 14, 18, 19. Ibid. x. 2. [f] See Mede's Works, [g] Gen. x. 5.

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isles of Elisha by Ezekiel, and most probably supplied supplied Tyre with the purple and blue [h], wherewith, as Bochart proves at large, the coast of Peloponnesus and the adjacent islands abounded [i]. Peloponnesus, which may be well comprehended among the isles, as being almost one, contained moreover a city and province, by the name of Elis; and in Attica there was the city Eleusis, and the river Elissus, or Ilissus. 2. Tarshish, according to Josephus, gave name not only to Tarsus, but to all Cilicia, of which it was the capital [k]: it seems also to have been the Tarshish to which Jonas thought *to flee from the presence of the Lord* [l], as well as that also mentioned so often by the prophets, on account of its trading with Tyre [m]. 3. To the west of Tarshish it is supposed Kittim first planted. Homer mentions a people in those parts called Cetii [n] (from the river Cetius), which is the word by which the Septuagint have rendered Kittim. In Ptolemy we find two provinces in the western parts of Cilicia, one maritime called Cetis, the other towards the mountains called Citis. Josephus will have the island of Cyprus to be the seat of the Kittim, and the town called Citium, which belongs to it, to have taken its name from them [o]; but in the apocrypha Macedonia is plainly denoted by the land of Chettiim, Alexander being mentioned as coming from thence [p], and Perseus, king of Macedonia, is called king of the Citims [q]. Nor do we see any thing amiss in supposing that country to be the original plantation of the Kittim, at least in the intention of Moses, since it comes under the general denomination of the isles which were to be the portion of Japhet, at least of the posterity of Javan; and their brother Elisha has been already placed in that neighbourhood. 4. It is not so easy to find a place for Dodanim, the youngest of the sons, or rather of the descendants of Javan, except we admit the change of the D into R, (which letters in the Hebrew are scacely to be distinguished) and called him Rodanim, as the Septuagint have done, in order to settle the island of Rhodes upon him; which, for ought we know, is not a worse shift than to extract the name of Doris, and the Dorians, in Peloponnesus, from Dodanim.

Tarshish.

Kittim.

Dodanim.

As

[h] Chap. viii. 7. [i] Phaleg. l. 3. c. 4. [k] Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. [l] Jonas i. 3. [m] Isaiah xxiii. 1, 14. Ibid. ix, 19. Ezek. xxvii. 12, 25. Ibid. xxxviii. 13. [n] Odyss. 11. v. 520. V. Strab. l. 13. [o] Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. [p] 1 Mac. i, 1. [q] Ibid. viii. 5.

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Tubal and Meshech.

As to, 5. Tubal, and, 6. Meshech, we have already shewn, under the article of Magog, that their lots lay contiguous to his; as may be gathered from the two places of Ezekiel there mentioned [r]; and that is enough, without distorting names of countries in order to provide them settlements in spite of all the rules of etymology. And, 7. That we may shorten this account, which the uncertainty of our evidence has made tedious, we shall in the last place allow Tiras, according to Josephus [s] and the general opinion, to have led his colony into Thrace.

Tiras.

THUS we have given an account of the nations concerned in the first dispersion of mankind, by which it does not appear, that they migrated eastward beyond Media, northward beyond the mountains of Caucasus, southward beyond Ethiopia, or Habashia, or westward beyond a part of Lybia and Greece, including Macedonia; tho' it is most probable, the more distant parts were not planted immediately by these first colonies, but by their posterity afterwards.

No tracing the original of most nations.

IT is not our design here to enter into a long detail of future migrations, in order to shew by what degrees, and in what manner, the several parts of the world came to be inhabited, as some with more labour than success have attempted to do; but shall reserve what may be gathered from antient writers in relation thereto, when we enquire into the original of each particular country.

The countries possessed by the descendants of Joktan in a second migration.

HOWEVER, we are obliged to say something with reference to the descendants of Joktan; who, if they were not concerned in the first dispersion, seem to have began their migration sometime within Peleg's life; with regard to which patriarch we shall only observe here, that it is not probable, the Pelasgians of Greece and Italy derive their original from him, as some imagine [t]; but it rather appears from scripture, that both he and his posterity remained in Chaldea, within the lot of their great ancestor Arphaxad, till Terah, the father of Abraham, left Ur of the Chaldees to remove into the land of Canaan.

MOSES assigns the habitation of Joktan's sons to have been *from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar a mount of the east* [u]. The want of knowing the situation of these places hath run authors into strange mistakes. Some suppose Mesha

[r] Chap. xxvii, 13. chap. xxxviii. 2, 3.
[s] Ubi sup.
[t] See Cumberl. on Sanchon p. 268
[u] Gen. x. 30.

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Meſha to be mount Maſius, or Ararat, in Armenia (but it ſeems rather to be a city), and look for mount Sephar beyond Media, towards India. Jerom, after Joſephus, would have both Meſha and Sephar to be in the Eaſt-Indies. In ſhort, the antients have generally peopled all the eaſtern parts of Aſia beyond Media with theſe ſons of Joktan; which is ſo inconſiſtent, that Bochart might well wonder ſo many of the moderns have been led by them [x]; and yet ſome have done worſe, and peopled America immediately by Joktan, from whom Arias Montanus imagined the province of Jucatan took its name; and the ſame author judges mount Sephar to be the Andes, mountains of Peru.

In all probability, the places in queſtion are to be looked for in Arabia; but we cannot agree in opinion with Bochart [y], that Meſha is Muza (ſuppoſed to be Mokha, a noted port in the Arabian gulf), and Sephar the city Sapphar [z], any more than with the Arab paraphraſts, that they are Mecca and Medinah. We ſhould chooſe out of theſe two conjectures to form a third, and ſuppoſe Meſha and Sephar to be Mecca and Sapphar, or rather (if the Moſaical deſcription would agree with it) Dhafar, a port in the middle of that coaſt of Arabia waſhed by the Indian ſea, which would take in all the country lying beyond that of Cuſh, and which the Arabs allow to have been poſſeſſed by the poſterity of Yarab the ſon of Kahtân, or Joktan [a]. We do not indeed find Yarab among the ſons of Joktan mentioned by Moſes; but it is no difficult matter to ſet him there by a change of the *h*, in Jerah (the fourth ſon), into [b].

We meet with no good ſigns of the ſettlement of Almodad and Sheleph, the two firſt ſons of Joktan; but

Hazarmaveth. the name of the third, Hazarmaveth, or, as it is better written in the vulgar, Haſarmouth, is plainly found in Hadhramaut, a province of Yaman, or Arabia Felix; both having the ſame radicals, and ſignifying the court, or country, of death. 4. Bochart diſcovers the name of

Jerah. Jerah in the iſland Hieracon (or of hawks) in the Arabian gulf, and a town ſo called within land on the river Lar, near the Omanitæ; and 5. That of

Hadoram. Hadoram in the Drimati of Pliny

[x] Phaleg. l. 2. c. 15.
[y] Ibid. l. 2. c. 30.
[z] Vid. Ptol. Tab. 6. Aſiæ.
[a] Mohammed ebn Yacub. Shirazi apud Gabr. Sionit. de urb. Orient. c. 1. Vid. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art Saba.

Pliny, towards the Perſian gulf [b]. 6. Uzal is the name given to Sanaa, the capital of Yaman, by the Jews who dwelt there [c]; and it appears from Pliny to be the ſame city[d]; its port was Ocela, or Ocilis, as Ptolemy calls it, which ſo bears ſome reſemblance to the name. 7. Diklah ſignifying in the Chaldean, or Syriac, a palm-tree, or a country ſtored with palms, may have choice of ſeats in Arabia. 8. It is with reluctance that we muſt croſs the ſea with Obal from Arabia to the Avalitic port [e], in the Avalitic or Abalitic bay, on the coaſt of Africa, juſt without the ſtraits of Bab-al-mandad [f], for want of a place in Arabia bearing ſome likeneſs to his name to ſettle him in. It is true, there is a town called Obollah, towards Baſrah, which might ſerve the turn, if that part had not been already diſpoſed of by us to the family of Ham. Some may think the uncertainty of its antiquity might be another objection againſt Obollah; but that would be perhaps to call all that we have already done about the migrations in queſtion. 9. We might be obliged to look for a ſeat on the ſame coaſt for Abimael, if Theophraſtus [g] did not luckily furniſh us with the name of a place, in the aromatic quarters of Arabia, called Mali. It is true, other authors ſeem to write Minæi inſtead of it; and Ptolemy mentions the Minæi and Manitæ, but no Mali: but the authority of Theophraſtus muſt go againſt them all, ſince it makes for our purpoſe. This is a rule which has the ſanction of moſt authors who have wrote on this ſubject. 10. Sheba will not have the ſame difficulty with the reſt of his brethren to find a place in Arabia. Pliny ſays, the Sabæan nations extended themſelves from one ſea to the other; that is, from the Arabian to the Perſian gulf. Indeed there wants no proof of a people of this name poſſeſſing a large ſhare of the ſouth part of Arabia, moſt authors mentioning them as very numerous, and their country excellent [h], but they ſeem to differ in the name of their chief city; for ſome call it Saba [i], others Mariaba, or Maraba [k]. However, that

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Uzal. Diklah. Obal. Abimael. Sheba.

[b] Bochat Phaleg. l. 2. c. 19, & 20. [c] Zacut. in Juchaſin. [d] Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 13. c. 19. l. 6. c. 28. l. 12. c. 14. [e] Ptolemæus, [f] Vid. Bochart ubi ſup. c. 23. [g] Hiſt. Plant. l. 9. c. 4. apud Bochart. l. 2. c. 24. [h] Agatharchides, Strabo, Diod. Sicul. Agatharchides, Philoſtorg. l. 3. Theophraſt. Stephanus. [k] Eratoſthenes apud Strab. l. 16. Artemidorus, Plinius, l. 12. c. 14.

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that causes no difficulty in the matter, since we learn from the Arab authors, that they are both names of the same place, and that it was the antient regal seat, which was afterwards translated to Sanaa. They also tell us, that Balkis, who visited Solomon, reigned there; and Christ seems to allude to this country, when he calls her the queen of the south; for yamin with the Jews, as well as yaman with the Arabs, signifies the south; and Saba, or Mareb, is

Ophir.

in that part of Arabia called Yaman [l]. 11. We are at a loss again about providing a settlement for Ophir; Arabia furnishes no place which resembles the name, except Copar [m], a place on the Arabian gulf, near the northern limits of the Cinædocolpitæ, and Ogyris an island in the same sea [n]. Bochart endeavours to squeeze Ophir in among the Cassanitæ, or Gassandæ [o], probably the tribe of Ghassân, consulting the similitude of sense in words, when that of sound fails: and he chooses rather to be put to his shifts, than to run into the common absurdity of planting Ophir in India, where the place which bears his name (so famous in scripture for gold) is supposed to be situate. We shall speak more particularly, with reference to this land, when we come to the reign of Solomon; and shall only observe here, that the gold of this place seeming in one passage of scripture to be called the gold of Parvaim [p], hath occasioned two conjectures: the first, that Ophir is the island of Taprobana [q]; the second, that it is Peru [r] in America. The reader may easily see the latter name comes nearest that of Ophir; but to shew what an ignis fatuus the similitude of names is, Peru, as sir Walter Raleigh assures us, is not the true name of the country, but was given to it by the Spaniards, on their mistaking the answers of the natives to a question they did not under-

Havilah.

stand. 12. Havilah is, by Bochart, supposed to have settled in the land of Khaulan [s] towards Yaman, mentioned by Al Edrisi [t]: but as there seem to be two places (as well as two persons) in scripture called by that name; one near the Persian gulph, possessed by Havilah the son of Cush already

[l] Geog. Nub. p. 26 & 55. Abu'lfeda Descr. Arab. [m] Ptol. [n] Plin. l. 6. c. 28. [o] Phaleg. l. 2. c. 27. [p] 2 Chron. iii. 6. [q] Bochart Geog. sacr. l. 2. c. 27. [r] Arias Montanus Antiquit Judaic. Phaleg. l. 5. c. 9. [s] Geogr. sacr. l. 2. c. 28. [t] Geogr. Nubiens, p. 49.

already taken notice of, and another in the borders of the Amalekites, towards the Land of Promiſe, the reader, if he pleaſes, may fix this twelfth ſon of Joktan in this laſt country, and place his brother Jobab, who is the 13th and laſt, with him for company; unleſs he rather chooſes to quarter him upon the Jobarites, near the Sachalites, in the ſouth-eaſt part of Arabia, upon a preſumption that they ſhould be written Jobabites [u]. Jobab.

SECT. VII.

Of the origin of civil government, and the eſtabliſhment of the firſt kingdoms.

WE have formerly obſerved, that the firſt form of government was certainly patriarchal [a]. For though the father had no natural right to govern his children when out of their minority; and though that honour, reſpect, and ſupport which they indiſpenſibly owe to their parents all their life-time, and in all eſtates, give the father no power of making laws, and enacting penalties on his children, nor any dominion over their properties or actions; yet it is obvious to conceive, how eaſy it was in the firſt ages of the world, and ſtill is, in places where the thinneſs of people gives families leave to ſeparate and plant themſelves in yet vacant habitations, for the father of the family to become the prince of it. He had been a ruler from the beginning of the infancy of his children; and ſince without ſome government it would be hard for them to live together, it was likelieſt it ſhould, by the expreſs, or tacit, conſent of the children, when they were grown up, be in the father; where it ſeemed, without any change, barely to continue; when indeed nothing more was required to it, than the permitting of the father to exerciſe alone in his family that executive power of the law of nature which every freeman naturally hath, and by that permiſſion reſigning up to him a monarchical power while they remained in it. Thus it was almoſt natural for the children to make way for the father's authority: they had been accuſtomed in their childhood to follow his directions, and to refer their little differences to him; The firſt Government patriarchal

[u] Bochart Geog. Sacr, lib. 2. chap. 29. [a] Before, p. 309.

him; and when they were men, who fitter to rule them? Their little properties, and leſs covetouſneſs, ſeldom afforded greater controverſies; and when they ſhould ariſe, where could they have a fitter umpire than he, by whoſe care they had every one been ſuſtained and brought up, and who had a tenderneſs for them all? The government they were under continued ſtill to be more their protection than reſtraint; and they could no were find a greater ſecurity to their peace, liberties, and fortunes, than in the rule of a father.

Changed into the monarchical.

THUS fathers of families, by an inſenſible change, might become politic monarchs of them too, and as they chanced to live long, and leave able and worthy heirs, for ſeveral ſucceſſions or otherwiſe, lay the foundations of hereditary or elective kingdoms, under various conſtitutions and manners, according as chance, contrivance, or occaſion happened to mould them [b].

The policy of the Noachidæ.

NOAH therefore being the common parent of the new world, while he lived we may imagine all his deſcendants conſidered themſelves to be in a ſtate of dependance on him; and as he was the ſupreme governor of the whole race of mankind then in being, ſo his ſons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, were in all probability chief governors of their reſpective branches in particular, as their ſons again were heads or rulers of their reſpective families under their fathers. Each ſon of Shem, for inſtance, as head of his own family, not only decided all differences among them, but probably gave laws to them, though his authority extended no farther; for in diſputes between their families, their powers being all equal, they were obliged to have recourſe to the deciſion of their common father Shem, whoſe authority alſo was limited to his proper deſcendants; ſo that in any difference between him and his brothers, Ham and Japhet, the appeal muſt have been to the judgment of their father Noah, as the only common ſuperior.

ON Noah's death, the unity of government was diſſolved, and mankind became divided into three grand parties, which no longer acknowledged one common head, but had each its own independent ruler in one of his three ſons. Upon their deaths the bonds of union were again looſed, and mankind became a ſecond time divided in their political ſtate; ſo that by degrees mankind became ranged under a great number of independent chiefs; which ſeems to have been

[b] Locke of Government, Treatiſe 2, c, 6, &c.

been the ſtate of the world for ſome time after the diſperſion.

BUT as families increaſed, and gradually extended their plantations, forming villages and towns, left their different intereſts and inclinations might trouble the public tranquillity, it became neceſſary to truſt the government of each ſociety in the hands of one, or at leaſt a ſmall number of perſons, who might reunite all the chiefs under one and the ſame authority, and execute ſuch laws and regulations as were thought conducive to the well-being of the community. The idea they ſtill retained of the patriarchal government, and the happy experience they had had of it, naturally directed them to the choice of a ſingle perſon rather than many, and of ſuch as were moſt conſpicuous for paternal care and tenderneſs. Ambition and intrigue had, it is to be thought, little part in this election, which was rather decided in favour of the moſt worthy by his known probity and moderation [c]. The eſtabliſhment of kingdoms.

IN the firſt beginning of political ſocieties, almoſt every town had its own king, who, more attentive to preſerve his dominions than extend them, reſtrained his ambition within the bounds of his native country [d], till diſputes with neighbours, which were ſometimes inevitable, jealouſy of a more powerful prince, an enterprizing genius and martial inclination, the deſire of aggrandizing ones ſelf and ſhewing ones abilities, occaſioned thoſe wars which often ended in the abſolute ſubjection of the vanquiſhed; whoſe poſſeſſions fell into the power of the conqueror, and, by enlarging his dominions, both enabled and encouraged him to puſh on his fortune by new enterprizes; and thus ſeveral cities and territories, united under one monarch, formed kingdoms of larger, or leſſer, extent, as the prince happened to have ambition and ſucceſs.

THESE firſt conquerors uſed their victory in different manners, according to their various tempers and intereſts. Some, looking on themſelves as abſolute maſters of the conquered, and thinking it was enough to grant them life, ſtripped them of every thing elſe, and reduced them into the ſtate of ſlavery, obliging them to the meaneſt offices and moſt laborious employments; which introduced the diſtinction between freemen and ſlaves, which has ſince been in the world.

OTHERS

[c] Juſtin. l. 1. c. 1. [d] Idem, ibid.

OTHERS brought in the cuſtom of entirely tranſporting the vanquiſhed people with their families into new countries, where they were to ſettle and cultivate the lands which were aſſigned them.

OTHERS, yet more moderate, contented themſelves with obliging the conquered to purchaſe their liberty by a ranſom, and allowed them the enjoyment of their own laws and priviledges on payment of an annual tribute, ſometimes even leaving their kings on their throne, on their acknowledging the ſuperiority of their conqueror, by certain marks of homage and ſubmiſſion.

THE wiſeſt and moſt politic gained the affections of their new ſubjects by admitting them into an equality with their old ones, and granting them the ſame liberties and priviledges; by that means making them one people, and uniteing their intereſts [e].

Nimrod the firſt uſurper on the rights of others.

IF the Phœnician hiſtory be to be credited, and their Cronus be allowed to be Ham, the deſire of rule began to make havock in the world, even during the life-time of Noah, who was driven out of his ſettlements, and at laſt ſlain by his rebellious ſon [f]. But the firſt act of violence and uſurpation we find recorded in ſcripture was, that of Nimrod, who, as it ſeems, diſpoſſeſſed Aſhur the ſon of Shem, who had at firſt ſettled in Shinaar, and obliged him to remove into Aſſyria. The acquiſitions he made on this occaſion muſt be allowed to be unjuſt, though he might have a legal right to govern thoſe who probably choſe him for their chief, on account of his perſonal merit. However, it is to be preſumed, that this revolution, which we ſuppoſe to have happened about thirty years after the diſperſion, extended only to ſome few of the new-planted nations. In the reſt, and eſpecially thoſe which lay outermoſt, we cannot but perſwade ourſelves, that a ſimplicity of manners continued ſeveral ages, and that wars did not ariſe in the world till the colonies, which were at firſt ſeparated, by the increaſe of their numbers began to preſs upon one another, and grow uneaſy for want of room; which inconvenience muſt have affected thoſe moſt who were ſettled near the center: and accordingly the firſt warlike motions we have any credible account of, were made by the kings of Shinaar and Elam [g].

IT

[e] Rollin Hiſt. ancienne, &c. p. 3, &c. [f] See before, p. 393, &c. [g] Gen. xiv. 1.

Great empires not soon formed.

IT is very difficult to settle the rise of the first empires, but it is scarcely possible, they should begin so early as historians have represented them. That the first kings were kings of single cities, not of many, much less of large countries, is evident from what we find in history relating to the early state of nations. How long was Greece divided into little states? how many ages did they continue jarring and contending for the mastery? By what slow degrees did Rome enlarge its territories and rise up to empire? and how many centuries passed before it subdued the neighbouring cities which surrounded it? The Israelites found Canaan in the same condition that Italy was in the time of Romulus, and, notwithstanding the great success of Joshua, were above four hundred years in reducing the petty monarchies under their dominion.

THE uniting therefore of many smaller states into one body by force, being apparently a work of time, those authors who place the rise of several great monarchies within two or three ages next after the flood, must be greatly deceived, either by following authors who have attributed too great antiquity to such events, or by adhering to a system of chronology which is too short; and of the two evils this last is the worst. How unfit the Hebrew computation is for adjusting the times of prophane history, will partly be seen in that of Egypt, which we are now going to enter upon: we shall only add here, that the first appearance we find of a potent and extensive monarchy is in that of Elam, whose king Chedorlaomer, in the time of Abraham, over-ran Canaan and the neighbouring countries as far as the borders of Egypt [h], some hundred of years before we hear any thing of an Assyrian monarchy; which could not have had a beginning any number of years before Menahem, when its kings first began to pass the Euphrates at the instigation of that prince [i].

Of the original of arts and sciences.

THOUGH Noah and his sons had doubtless some knowledge of the inventions of the antediluvians, and probably acquainted their descendants with such of them as were most obvious and useful in common life, yet it is not to be imagined, that any of the more curious arts, or speculative sciences, were improved in any degree, supposing them to have been known or invented, till some considerable time after

[h] Gen. xiv. 5, &c. [i] 2 Kings xv. 19.

after the diſperſion. On the contrary, one conſequence of that event ſeems to have been, that ſeveral inventions known to their anceſtors were loſt, and mankind gradually degenerated into ignorance and barbarity, till eaſe and plenty had given them leiſure again to poliſh their manners, and apply themſelves to thoſe arts, which are ſeldom brought to perfection under other circumſtances. For on their ſettling in any country they found it employment ſufficient to cultivate the land (which yet for want of ſeparate property and ſecurity in their poſſeſſions, in thoſe early times, they improved no farther than barely to ſupply preſent neceſſities), and to provide themſelves habitations and neceſſaries for their mutual comfort and ſubſiſtance [k]. Beſides this, they were often obliged to remove from one place to another, where they could more conveniently reſide; and it was a great while before they came to embody themſelves together in towns and cities, and from thence to ſpread into provinces, and to ſettle the bounds and extent of their territories [l]. Two, or three, ages at leaſt muſt have been ſpent in this manner; and it is not very likely, they ſhould amuſe themſelves with celeſtial obſervations in particular, when they had ſo many preſſing affairs to mind. So that the aſtronomical obſervations of the Babylonians, of which Calliſthenes ſent an account to his maſter Ariſtotle [m], if they reached ſo far backwards as we are told, viz. 1903 years, are a further proof of the inſufficiency of the Hebrew chronology, according to which thoſe obſervations muſt have began little more than 100 years after the flood.

—and of commerce.

COMMERCE was in all probability carried on with greater eaſe before the flood, when there was, as it ſeems, but one and the ſame language in the world; yet it was not ſo neceſſary then as it is become ſince, not only becauſe mens wants have been encreaſed by the ill effects of the deluge on the earth and its productions [n], but becauſe they dwelt more together, and might ſupply their occaſions by bartering with their neareſt neighbours, without being obliged to extend their dealings much farther; and that they had no ſhips to carry on a traffic to remote parts ſeems evident; for if navigation had been then found out, ſome

[k] Vid. Thucyd. l. 1. ſub. initio. [l] Stillingfl. Orig. Sacr. book. 1. c. 1. § 16. [m] Vid. Simplic. de cœlo, l. 2. [n] See before, p. 309, &c.

ſome others might have ſaved themſelves from the flood as well as Noah and his family. But after that deſtruction, and the diſperſion of mankind, as it became more difficult to trade with nations who ſpeak different languages, ſo their neceſſities were encreaſed by this diviſion; the colonies, who planted new countries, not only perceiving their own wants by the conveniencies they had left behind them, but finding ſomething uſeful in their ſettlements, which were before unknown to them or their founders. This engaged them to fetch what they wanted from the parts where they had formerly dwelt, and in exchange to carry what they had diſcovered thither; which ſeems to have given the firſt riſe to foreign trade, the gradual advances whereof we may occaſionally mention hereafter. The invention of ſhipping was certainly the greateſt ſtep to its improvement, which made the ſea, before the greateſt obſtacle to commerce, of the greateſt advantage to it °.

° Vid. Huet Hiſt. du commerce & des la navig. des anciens, c. 2. & 3.

CHAP. III.

The Hiſtory of Egypt to the time of Alexander the Great.

SECT. I.

A deſcription of Egypt.

Its names.

EGYPT, called by its antient inhabitants Chemia [a], and by the Copts at preſent Chemi, was ſo named, as is ſuppoſed, from Ham the ſon of Noah, being more than once ſtiled, in the book of pſalms, *the land of Ham*. But the name by which it is generally denoted in ſcripture is, the land of Mizraim, from whence the Arabians and other oriental nations ſtill call it Meſr, which the Greeks write Meſre and Meſtræa. We have already obſerved, that Mizraim is a word of a dual termination [b], and is therefore by ſome thought to have been uſed in that number, becauſe of the twofold diviſion of Egypt hereafter mentioned, and thence given to its firſt planter, the ſon of Ham [c]: the ſingular Maſor ſignifies a fortreſs, and, according to ſome, is alſo uſed in ſcripture as a proper name of that country [d]; though others, and our verſion in particular, tranſlate the word as an appellative: Bochart is of opinion, Egypt received this name from the natural ſtrength of its ſituation [e].

THIS country is beſt known to us by its Greek name Ægypt, the original of which is variouſly accounted for by authors. Some ſay, it was ſo called from one of its kings named Ægyptus [f]; but the contrary ſeems to have been the caſe, not only the country, but its famous river Nile alſo, being antiently called by the ſame name. Others ſay, it ſignifies no more than the land of the Copts, the word Aia

[a] Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 364. [b] Before, p. 464. [c] Vid. Perizon. orig. Ægypt. p. 6. [d] 2 Kings xix. 24. Iſai. xix. 6. Micah. vii. 12. [e] Phaleg. l. 4. c. 24. [f] Didor. Sic. Euſeb. &c.

Aia being Greek for a country, and Ægoptus eaſily ſoftened into Ægyptus [g]: yet this derivation ſeems as ill grounded as the former; the city of Coptus, whence the remains of the antient Egyptians are ſtill called Copts, being ſituate far up in the higher Egypt, and in all likelyhood utterly unknown to the Greeks till long after the name was in uſe among them. The moſt probable opinion therefore, to omit ſome other conjectures ſtill more groundleſs, is, that this region was ſo called from the blackneſs of its ſoil, and the dark colour both of its river and inhabitants, atteſted by all relations. For ſuch a blackiſh colour is called by the Greeks ægyptios, from gyps and ægyps, a vultur, a bird of that hue; and by the Latins, ſubvulturius. And for the ſame reaſon other names of the ſame import have been given to this country by the Greeks, ſuch as Aeria and Melambolus; the river itſelf was alſo called Melo, or Melas; by the Hebrews Shihor, and by the Ethiopians Siris [h]; all which names ſignify black: and Plutarch ſeems to intimate, the inhabitants therefore called their country Chemia, becauſe its ſoil was very black, like the ſight of the eye [i].

Situation and extent.

EGYPT is ſituate between the 48th and 53d degrees of longitude, and the 24th and 33d degrees of north latitude. Its length from north to ſouth about 600 miles, and the breadth of its coaſt on the Mediterranean, from eaſt to weſt near 300 miles; but above the diviſion of the Nile it grows much narrower, ſo that in ſome places the two chains of mountains which riſe on each ſide of that river, leave a plain between them of leſs than a days journey to croſs [k]. It is bounded on the ſouth by the kingdom of Sennar, which is tributary to the king of Ethiopia, and the cataracts of the Nile; on the north by the Mediterranean ſea, on the eaſt by the Arabian gulph, or red ſea, and the iſthmus of Suez; on the weſt by a region of Libya called Marmarica.

THE old geographers differ as to the antient bounds of this country; ſome have thought, that the Delta only, or that part encompaſſed by the arms of the Nile, was properly to be called Egypt [l]; others make it reach weſtward

[g] See Well's Geog. of the old Teſt. Vol. II. p. 5. [h] Vid. Perizon. ubi ſup. p. 13. [i] Ubi ſup. [k] Vid. Lucas, Voyages, tom. II. p. 193. Gol. in Alfrag. p. 100. [l] Iones apud Herodot. l. 2. c. 15.

to the greater Catabathmus [m], or valley, which divides it from Cyrenaica; but this would give it too great an extent, and include Marmarica and Ammonis, which are by every body elſe agreed to be no part of Egypt. The true limits on that ſide therefore ſeem rather to be taken from Plinthine, a town beyond the lake Mareotis, and to extend eaſtward as far as the lake Serbonis [n], or more exactly to Oſtracine on the Mediterranean ſea, and Heroopolis at the head of the Arabian gulph. The ſouthern bounds were Syene, a city ſituate almoſt under the tropic of Cancer, and Elephantine and Philæ, two others which lie ſomething farther [o].

As the antients differ likewiſe in ſettling the limits of Aſia and Africa, ſome who make the Nile the boundary of thoſe two parts of the world [p], place ſo much of Egypt as lies eaſt of that river in Aſia; but others place it entirely in that part, by removing the limits of Aſia ſo far as Alexandria [q], or the Catabathmus [r]. But we think the common opinion the moſt natural, which divides Aſia from Africa by the Arabian gulph and the iſthmus of Suez. However, we hope the former authorities will excuſe our including the Egyptians among the Aſiatic nations, whoſe hiſtories we give in this book, which we have done meerly for convenience.

Its diviſion. ANTIENT Egypt is divided by ſome into two parts, the upper and the lower Egypt; by others into three, the upper Egypt, properly ſo called, or Thebaïs; the middle Egypt, or Heptanomis; and the lower Egypt, the beſt part of which was the Delta.

Thebais THEBAIS, which was ſo named by the Greeks from its principal city Thebes, is in the ſcripture called Patros, and at preſent al Saïd. It is the moſt ſoutherly part of Egypt next to Ethiopia, and is near as big as all the reſt, including the country on both ſides of the Nile down to the Heptanomis; its laſt city, according to the antients, being Lycopolis on the weſtern, and Antæopolis on the eaſtern ſide of the river; which agrees pretty exactly with the preſent extent of al Saïd, the moſt northern city of which is Manfalût [s].

THERE

[m] Strabo, l. 17. [n] Vid. Herod. ubi. ſup. [o] Vid. Cellar. Geogr. Ant. l. 4. c. 1. [p] Strabo l. 11. Dionys. Perieg. v. 18. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 3. c. 1. [q] Hirtius de bello Alex. c. 14. [r] Salluſt. de bello Jugurth. c. 17. Pomp. Mela, l. 1, c. 8. [s] Lucas, Voy. t. IX. p. 209.

THERE were formerly in this part of Egypt a very great number of large and magnificent cities, with temples dedicated to ſeveral deities, and the tombs of their antient princes; and it is ſaid, there are not only ſeveral obeliſks and coloſſuſſes ſtill remaining there, more beautiful than thoſe to be ſeen in the lower Egypt, but alſo ſome pyramids higher than thoſe near al Kâhira (commonly called Cairo) with other ſtupendous works; ſome of which we may take notice of hereafter.

ITS metropolis Thebes, called afterwards Dioſpolis, or the city of Jupiter, was ſituate on the Nile, and deſervedly reckoned one of the fineſt cities in the world. Its hundred gates are mentioned by Homer, whence it had the ſurname of Hecatompylos (A). It was ſo incredibly populous, that it is ſaid it could ſend out of each gate at one and the ſame time 200 chariots [t], and 10,000 fighting men, if the numbers are true. Its length in Strabo's time was 80 furlongs [u], or 10 miles: but this was nothing in compariſon of its antient extent before it was ruined by Cambyſes; which, we are told, was no leſs than 420 ſtadia, or 52 miles and a half [w] (B). The riches of this city were ſo very great, that after it had been plundered by the Perſians, what was found on burning the remains of the pillage, amounted to above 300 talents of gold, and 2,300 talents of ſilver [x]. Who was the firſt founder of this city is uncertain; ſome ſay, it was built by Oſiris, who gave it firſt the name of his mother [y]; but others make it the work of a ſecond Buſiris [z]. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that formerly the

[t] Homer, Il. 10. v. 387. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 43. Pomp. Mela. l. 1. c. 9. [u] Strabo. l. 17. p. 1170. [w] Euſtath. ad Dionys. &c. [x] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. [y] Idem ibid. p. 18. [z] Ibid. p. 42.

(A) Others ſay this is not the number of the gates of the city itſelf; but the temples within it having many large porches, the city had thence the name, expreſſing a definite for an indefinite number (1).

(B) Yet it contained but 1700 aruras (a meaſure of 100 cubits ſquare); for which reaſon it is ſuppoſed its length much exceeded its breadth, being probably built chiefly on the banks of the Nile (2).

(1) Diodor. Sic. ubi ſup. p. 43. (2) Vid Voſſium in Melam. p. 371.

name of Thebes was given to all Egypt [a], which makes what is said above of its great power more credible.

The other antient cities of great note in Thebaïs, were the lesser Diospolis, This, Abydus, Tentyris Hermonthis, Latopolis, Syene, Coptos, and several others, all which are now either quite ruined, or become small towns and villages. The last deserves particular mention, not only as being a very antient city, but for having been the chief residence of the native Egyptians for many ages, since their country has been subject to a foreign power, and whence they received their present name of Copts.

Heptanomis

Hetanomis, or the middle Egypt, was so called from the seven nomes, or præfectures, into which it was divided, though Strabo says it contained sixteen [b]; which difference may have been occasioned by the adding of new nomes to those it originally comprized, as were in particular those of Oasis, of which name there were two cities, not properly in Egypt, but on the borders of Lybia. The Heptanomis comprehended all the country on each side of the Nile from Thebaïs to the point of the Delta, where that river divides itself into those branches by which it enters the sea. Some of the antients make this tract a part of the Thebaïs; and some of the eastern geographers also give the same extent to al Saïd [c].

This part of Egypt was also in old times very full of large and noble cities, the principal of which was Memphis, built by Menes their first king, and for many ages the capital of the whole kingdom. Here also were the lake of Mœris, the labyrinths, and the pyramids so celebrated by antiquity, of which we shall give some description hereafter.

Lower Egypt

The lower Egypt, reaching from Heptanomis to the Mediterranean sea, contained not only that part which is encompassed by the arms of the Nile, and from its triangular figure named Delta, but also Mareotis, and Alexandria with its dependencies, to the west; and Casiotis, and Augustamnica, with some other territories towards Arabia to the east.

Some have imagined the Delta, or the greater part of it, to have been an accession of land to Egypt, and that the

[a] Herod. l. 11: Aristot Meteor. 1.
[b] Strabo. l. 16.
[c] Vid. Golij not. ad Alfrag. p. 100.

the plains between the mountains beyond Memphis were formerly a bay of the ſea, which was at length filled up by the ſoil brought down by the Nile [d]. But this opinion ſeems very groundleſs, conſidering the little alteration which has been in this part of Egypt for above 2,000 years paſt, and the time allowed for this effect by Herodotus, which is no leſs than 20,000 years, a much longer ſpace than the world has laſted. Some Arabs divide the Delta into two parts, al Rif, and al Bahriya. The former, being the weſtern part, is ſuppoſed by Bochart to be the Rahab of the ſcriptures [e], and was ſo called becauſe of its form reſembling a pear, which the Egyptians call rib, or ribi [f]. Al Bahriya is the eaſtern part of the Delta according to ſeveral [g], though a late traveller more purely places al Bahriya, or as he writes it Beheiré, beyond the weſtern branch of the Nile [h]. The chief cities of the lower Egypt were Tanis, Saïs, and Xoïs, famous for being the ſeats of ſeveral races of princes; and in later times Alexandria, which was the metropolis of the whole kingdom, while in the poſſeſſion of the Greeks and Romans.

Its diviſions into nomes.

BESIDES this larger diviſion, Egypt was alſo diſtributed into ſeveral governments, or præfectures, called by the Egyptians Tabir, and by the Greek Nomes; whence that paſſage of ſcripture [i], which our verſion renders, *I will ſet the Egyptians againſt the Egyptians, and they ſhall fight kingdom againſt kingdom* the Septuagint have rightly tranſlated, *nome againſt nome.* The number of theſe are uncertain, being, according to the pleaſure of the prince, ſometimes more, and ſometimes leſs; for which reaſon antient authors differ in their accounts of them: but they were about thirty ſix, and generally named from the chief city of each nome. This diviſion is attributed to Seſoſtris [k].

IT is not our purpoſe here to enter into a particular detail of the cities of Egypt, or any geographical diſquiſitions as to their antient and modern ſtates, names, and ſituations; but we ſhall in the courſe of this work occaſionally make ſuch obſervations in relation thereto, as we ſhall judge curious or neceſſary.

THE

[d] Diod. Sic. l, 1. p, 30. Herod. l. 2, c. 5. [e] Pſal. lxxxvii. 4. and lxxxix. 19. Iſai. li. 9. [f] Bochart Geogr. Sacr. l. 4. c. 24. [g] Kircher Oedip. Ægyp. t. 1. p. 8. Lucas, Voy. t. 11. p. 195. [h] Eſſay d'une carte d'Egypte par Sicard. [i] Iſaiah xix. 2. [k] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 50.

Climate.

THE climate of Egypt muſt needs be very warm, from its near ſituation to the tropic. Though the air is generally dry, yet there fall great dews after the ſwelling of the Nile, which continue for ſeveral months; in the lower Egypt it often rains in the winter, notwithſtanding what ſome of the antients ſay to the contrary [l], and even ſnow has been obſerved to fall at Alexandria, contrary to the expreſs aſſertion of Seneca [m]. In the upper Egypt indeed, towards the catadupes, or cataracts of Nile, it rains very ſeldom [n]. The firſt ſummer (for they reckon two in Egypt), which is in March, April, and May, is the moſt inconvenient and ſickly ſeaſon, becauſe of the unequal weather, exceſſive heats, and hot winds which reign at that time, and cauſe ſeveral diſtempers: but in return, in their ſecond ſummer, in June, July, and Auguſt, and in their autumn and winter, one breaths a much cooler air, the weather is more conſtant, and it is then moſt delightful living in this country. Though the cold is ſeldom felt there, except only for about ſeven days, which the Arabs call Berd al ajûz, the old woman's cold, from the 7th to the 14th of February, yet thoſe who are tolerably rich wear furs, becauſe of the uncertainty of the ſeaſon [o].

Fertility.

THE fertility of Egypt, and the excellence of its productions and fruits are greatly celebrated by antient writers, and by Moſes himſelf [p], who muſt needs have been well acquainted with this country. It abounds in grain of all ſorts, but particularly rice; inſomuch, that, as it was formerly the granary of Rome, while ſubject to the Roman empire, it is now the principal country which ſupplies Conſtantinople.

THE moſt plentiful parts of Egypt are the Delta, and that province which is now called al Feyyûm, ſuppoſed to be the ancient Heracleotic nome [q]; the capital of which, bearing the ſame name, is thought to have been either Heracliopolis, Nilopolis, or Arſinoe, and is ſaid by the natives to have been built by Joſeph, to whom they own themſelves obliged for the improvements of this territory; which, being much the loweſt part of Egypt, was before nothing but a ſtanding pool, till that patriarch, by cutting

[l] Plato in Tim. Pomp. Mela. [m] Nat. quæſt. l. 4. [n] Vid. Greaves's Deſcrip. of the Pyramids, p. 74, &c. Ray's Collect. of Travels. t. II. p. 92. [o] Ibid. & Lucas, Voy. t. II. p. 239. [p] Geneſ. xiii. 10. [q] Vid. Strabon. l. 17.

ting canals, and particularly the great one which reaches from the Nile to the lake Mœris, drained it of the water, and clearing it of the ruſhes and marſhy weeds, rendered it fit for tillage. It is now the moſt fertile and beſt cultivated land in the whole kingdom, containing above 360 villages, and yields linen, grapes, and other fruits in abundance; and it fails not bearing, even in thoſe years, when the Nile's not riſing to its uſual height occaſions a ſcarcity in the other parts of Egypt[r].

Of the river Nile.

Having ſpoken of the plenty of Egypt, it would be an unpardonable omiſſion not to ſay ſomething of the river Nile, to which this country is indebted for all its fertility and happineſs. The ſources, or ſprings, of this river were ſo abſolutely unknown to the ancients, that they thought it even impoſſible to diſcover them: they are now well known to be in Ethiopia, though modern travellers differ in their accounts of them, as will be ſeen when we come to deſcribe them in a more proper place. The Nile enters Egypt almoſt under the tropic of Cancer, violently pouring itſelf, as it paſſes, down no leſs than ſeven cataracts, or falls, from a very conſiderable height, between ragged rocks and precipices, with ſo great a noiſe that it may be heard ſeveral miles off. The people of thoſe parts uſed formerly to entertain ſtrangers with a ſurprizing ſpectacle, which ſome modern travellers ſay is ſtill continued: two of them get into a ſmall boat, one to guide it, and the other to keep it clear of water; after having borne the violence of the agitated waves for ſome time, they dexterouſly ſteer their boat through the narrow channels, thereby avoiding the rocks, and letting themſelves be carried down by the falling river, direct their little veſſel with their hands, and ruſhing headlong, to the great terror of the ſpectators, who think them utterly loſt and ſwallowed up, they appear again on the water, far from the place from which they fell, as if they had been ſhot out of an engine[s]. The Nile, having paſſed through the upper and middle Egypt, a little below the ancient Memphis divided itſelf into two large arms, which afterwards forming ſeven channels, emptied themſelves into the ſea by as many mouths. Theſe ſeven mouths of the Nile, much ſpoken of by the ancient writers, were, to begin from the weſt, the Canopic, the Heracleotic, the Bolbitic, the Sebennytic, the Phatnic, or Pathmetic,

[r] Golij not. ad Alfrag. p. 157, &c. Kircher Oedip. Vol. I. p. 8. Lucas, ubi ſup. p. 205.

[s] Senec. Nat. quæſt. l. 4. c. 2.

Pathmetic, the Mendeſian, the Tanitic, or Saïtic, and the Peluſian; which had their names from ſo many cities ſtanding on their ſeveral branches. Beſides theſe, there were the two Pſeudoſtomata, or falſe mouths, as they called them, of Pineptimi and Diolcos, which were too ſmall to carry larger veſſels. But the greater part of theſe mouths have been ſince ſtopped up, and others formed, ſo that there are now reckoned to be above thirty channels which carry the waters of the Nile into the ſea, eſpecially at the time of its overflowing, the greater part of them becoming dry when the waters retire [t]; the two chief, and indeed only conſiderable, arms of that river at preſent, being that of Roſetta, or Raſhîd, to the weſt, and that of Damietta, or Dimyât, to the eaſt.

The annual overflowing

The annual inundation of the Nile, on which the fertility of Egypt depends, is one of the greateſt wonders of that country. The ancient writers tell us, that it begins to riſe in Egypt about the ſummer ſolſtice, and continues ſo to do till after the autumnal equinox, for about the ſpace of one hundred days; and then it gradually decreaſes for as many days, till it retires within its banks, and overflows no more till the next year. If the river did not riſe to the height of ſixteen cubits, or fifteen at leaſt, the country was not covered with water, and a dearth enſued [u]: this account comes very near to thoſe given by modern travellers. Though the river begins to ſwell in May, yet no public notice is taken of it till the 28th, or 29th, of June, by which time it is uſually riſen to the height of ſix, or eight, pikes (a Turkiſh meaſure of about twenty ſix inches); and then the public criers proclaim it through the capital and other cities, and continue in the ſame manner to publiſh how much the river increaſes every day, till it riſes to ſixteen pikes, and then they dut down the dam of the Khalîj, or great canal at Bulâk, which paſſes through the midſt of al Kâhira, and let in the water on their lands, by an artifice we ſhall mention by and by. If the river want but an inch of this height, they will not cut the dam, becauſe in ſuch caſe no tribute is due to the prince for the lands which ſhould be watered by them, the produce being then ſcarce ſufficient to maintain the tillers. And therefore at preſent, if the Baſhaw, or governor, of Egypt cut this dam before the river riſe to that determinate height, he is anſwerable for

[t] Lucas, ubi ſup. p. 313; [u] Herod. l. 2, Diod. Sic. l. 1. Vid. Plin. l. 5. c. 9.

for the conſequence, and muſt pay the Turkiſh emperor his tribute, whether the year be plentiful or no. If the water encreaſe to the height of twenty three, or twenty four, pikes, it is judged moſt favourable; but if it exceed that, it does a great deal of miſchief, not only by overthrowing houſes, and drowning cattle, but alſo by engendering a great number of inſects, which deſtroy the fruits of the earth [w].

THE Khalîj abovementioned is always opened with great ſolemnity in the preſence of the Baſha, accompanied by all his great officers, ånd attended by an innumerable multitude of people, this being one of the greateſt feſtivals in Egypt [x]; and in former times, we are told, the Egyptians uſed annually at this ceremony to ſacrifice a girl, or, as others ſay, a boy and a girl, to the Nile, as a tribute paid to that river for all the benefits they received from it. And this inhuman cuſtom continued, it is ſaid, till the Turks made themſelves maſters of Egypt (C); the firſt governor under whom reſolved to aboliſh it, and by his prudent remonſtrances prevailed on the Egyptians to omit it: but the river unfortunately did not riſe that year to the accuſtomed height. The year following it was ſtill worſe, ſo that the people, apprehending a famine, began to murmur: whereupon the governor led all the inhabitants of the city, Turks, Jews, and Chriſtians, to a mountain on the eaſt of al Kâhira, and, after a pathetic exhortation, he obliged all that were preſent to offer up their prayers to God for the obtaining his mercy; in which exerciſe they paſſed all the reſt of that day and the following night. The next morning before day, ſome women came, with great joy, to acquaint the governor, that the Nile had riſen in the night no leſs than twelve pikes; whereupon nothing was heard but the praiſes of God and acclamations of the people. Coming down from

[w] Lucas, ubi ſup. p. 327, &c. Vid. Thevenot, Voy. part 1. c. 22, 45, 46, &c. [x] Vid. eoſd. ubi ſup.

(C) It ſeems very ſtrange, that ſuch a practice ſhould be ſuffered, not only during the time Egypt was ſubject to the chriſtian emperors of Conſtantinople, but while the Arabs were maſters of it. Amoſis, one of the ancient Egyptian kings, is ſaid to have aboliſhed the human ſacrifices offered to Juno, as will be obſerved hereafter; and it might be reaſonably ſuppoſed, he would alſo have put a ſtop to thoſe offered to the Nile. Perhaps we may ſet this matter in a clearer light, when we come to the Arabian and Turkiſh hiſtory.

from the mountain, they erected an altar at the mouth of the canal ten foot high, whereon they threw a great quantity of flowers, and a branch of olive, which laſt, as they ſay, took root there, as a more agreeable offering to God than the former innocent victim; and they continue ſtill to erect ſuch an altar every year, and when they break down the dam, and the waters enters the Khalîj, it carries down the altar and flowers with it. The year when this event happened the Nile roſe two pikes higher than it uſed to do, and there was very great plenty; ſince which time, a final ſtop being put to the abovementioned ſuperſtitious practice, whenever the waters fail of their accuſtomed height, they have recourſe to prayers on the ſame mountain [y].

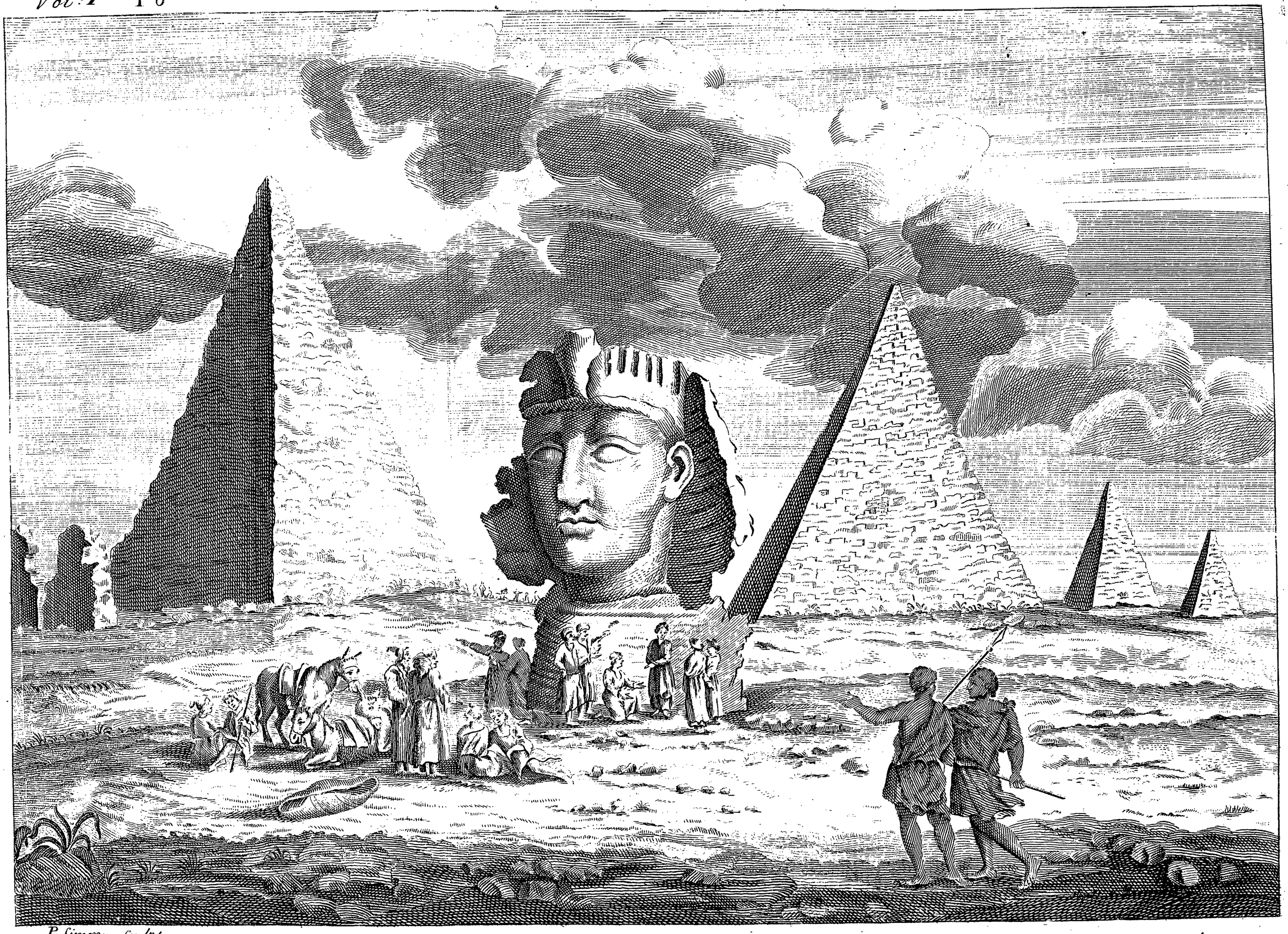
Of the Nilometers.

THAT they may the better judge of the daily encreaſe of the water, and the conſequent plenty or ſcarcity of the enſuing year, the gradual riſe of the river is very exactly meaſured either by wells ſunk, or pillars erected and divided for that purpoſe. There was one of the former, we are told, on the bank of the Nile, in the upper Egypt near Syene [z]; and one of the latter was ſet up in Memphis [a]. A very antient column, which ſerved for the ſame uſe, is alſo yet to be ſeen in the caſtle of old Kâhira, ſaid to be erected in the time of the emperor Heraclius. The preſent Nilometer (D), or Mikyâs, as the Arabs call it, is in the ſame caſtle; it is a large ſquare reſervoir, round which runs a handſome

y Lucas, ubi ſup. Vid. Thevenot, ubi ſup. z Strabo, l. 17. p. 817. a Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 33.

(D) This Nilometer is different from that built in an iſland of the Nile, between Jîzah and al Foſtât (which from its pleaſant ſituation, and being planted with ſeveral ſorts of fruit-trees, is much celebrated by the oriental writers, and called al Rawdat, or the Garden) by Aſâmah ebn Yazîd (3), collector of the tribute in Egypt, in the reign of the Khalîfah Soleymâan ebn Abd'almalek. Some years after the Khalîfah al Mâmûm ordered it to be pulled down, on account of ſome defect therein, and a new one to be built in its room, which was at laſt finiſhed in a magnificent manner by al Motawakkel (4). The eaſtern hiſtories mention ſeveral other ſtructures of this ſort, built, or repaired by the Khalîfahs, while maſters of Egypt.

(3) Elmacin. in vita Solymân. (4) Vid. Golij Not. ad Alfrag. p. 156. & D'Herbelot Bibl. orient. p. 672.



P Simms Sculpt

handſome gallery, ſuſtained by twelve marble pillars, which form arches, with a baluſtrade to lean on when one looks into the water. In the midſt of this baſon, through which paſſes a canal drawn from the Nile, is an octogonal pillar of white marble, divided into twenty two equal parts; the firſt is again divided into twenty four inches, but the ſecond is not; however, the others are all marked to the top of the column. They are very careful, during the time of the inundation, to obſerve the height of the water by the meaſure; and every day proclaim it in the city. This work is ſo exactly finiſhed and nicely levelled, that the water in the reſervoir is neither higher nor lower than that in the river [b].

Of the Sphinxes.

As theſe Nilometers ſerved to meaſure the overflowing of the river, the Sphinxes, of which there were alſo a great many in ſeveral places, ſhewed the beginning of the waters riſing; being a ſymbolic repreſentation, or figure, with the head of a woman and the body of a lyon, ſignifying, that the Nile began to ſwell in the months of July and Auguſt, when the ſun paſſes through the ſigns of Leo and Virgo [c]. There are ſeveral of theſe Sphinxes ſtill to be ſeen; one in particular near the pyramids much ſpoken of by the antients, being of a prodigious ſize, and cut out of the rock itſelf: the head and neck only appear at preſent, the reſt of the body being hid in the ſand. It is, according to Thevenot [d], twenty-ſix foot high, and fifteen foot from the ear to the chin; but Pliny aſſures us, that the head was no leſs than one hundred and two foot about, and ſixty two foot high from the belly, and that the body was one hundred and forty three foot long, and was thought to be the ſepulchre of king Amaſis [e]. There is another alſo at the end of the lake of al Matariya, which lies on its ſide, the head being ſeparated from the body [f].

The manner of conveying the water on their lands.

As it may eaſily be conceived, this river could not of itſelf overflow the lands every where in the neceſſary proportion, the inhabitants have been obliged, with infinite labour, to cut a vaſt number of canals and trenches from one end of Egypt to the other, to convey the water to every part; ſo that each town and village has its canal, which is opened at the proper time, and the water ſucceſſively conducted to the moſt diſtant places. Theſe canals, or trenches, are not permitted to be opened till the river has roſe to a certain height,

[b] Lucas, ubi ſup. p. 313, 321, &c.
[c] Ibid. p. 323.
[d] Thevenot Voy. part. 1. c. 5.
[e] Pliny Nat. Hiſt. l. 36. c. 12.
[f] Lucas, ubi ſup.

height, nor yet all at once, because in such case some lands would have too much water, and others too little; but they begin to open them first in the upper Egypt, and then gradually lower, according to a public regulation of the measures made for that purpose. By this means the water is so carefully husbanded, that if it rises to twenty four pikes it suffices the whole country; which is so large, and the canals so numerous, that it is thought scarce a tenth part of the waters of the Nile enter the sea for the first three months of its overflowing. However, as some places lie too high to be watered by the canals, they are obliged to raise the water to cover them by engines. Formerly they made use of Archimedes's screw, thence named the Egyptian pump [g]; but they now generally use wheels, which carry a rope or chain of earthen pots, holding about seven, or eight, quarts apiece, and draw the water from the canals. There are besides a vast number of wells in Egypt, from which the water is drawn in the same manner to water the gardens and fruit trees; so that it is no exageration of the matter to say, that there are in Egypt above two hundred thousand oxen daily employed in this labour, without reckoning the men who draw water in wicker baskets, so close and well made that not a drop runs through. As the land lies perfectly even, they cut their gardens into little square beds, which are all surrounded with trenches higher than the level of the gardens, so that when they want to water one of these beds, they open one of the trenches, which immediately furnishes as much water as is necessary; after which they stop it up again, and thus they manage the rest; by which means they have the finest and most fertile gardens in the world. Pomgranats, oranges, lemons, and several other sorts of trees, afford a shade and coolness, which, notwithstanding the heat of the climate, make it delightful walking. When a tree is wanting in any place, they only cut down a branch, which they plant by the side of a little trench, and in two, or three, years it grows to be a tree big enough to transplant.

The fecundity occasioned by the Nile.

The Nile differing in this from other rivers, which generally carry off the heart of the land they overflow, by the mud, or slime, it brings down with it. fattens the earth and makes it exceeding fruitful, without any other manure. The Egyptians have not the laborious task of ploughing digging, or

[g] Vid. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 30, & l. 5. p. 313.

or breaking the clods, but when the river is retired they have no more to do, than to mingle a little ſand with the earth to abate its ſtrength; after which they ſow with little pains, and almoſt without charge. Antiently, we are told, they uſed to put their hogs to tread the ſeed into the ground, expecting the harveſt without any further care; and when that ſeaſon came they let in the hogs again to ſhake the grain out of the ear, and had no other trouble than to gather and lay up the corn [h]. They ſow ordinarily in October and November, as the waters fall: within two months the ground is covered with all ſorts of grain and pulſe; and their harveſt is in March and April. The ſame piece of ground produces the ſame year three, or four, different ſorts of fruits and garden-ſtuff: firſt, they ſow lettice and cucumbers, then corn; and after harveſt, melons, and thoſe ſorts of pulſe which are peculiar to Egypt.

WHAT is moſt extraordinary is, that this ſurprizing fecundity, cauſed by the inundation of the Nile, reaches not only to the earth, but alſo to mankind and animals [i]. It is found by conſtant experience, that the new waters make the women fruitful, whether they bath in them, or only drink them: they uſually conceive in July and Auguſt, and are delivered in April and May. As to the cattle, the cows almoſt always bring two calves at a time; the ſheep yean twice a year, having two lambs the firſt time, and but one the ſecond; and a goat is often ſeen followed by four kids, which ſhe has brought in ſix months: the paſtures of Egypt are moſt excellent, the graſs generally growing to the height of the cattle: on this they feed in winter, during which ſeaſon great numbers are driven thither from the Euphrates; in ſummer, the grounds being either burnt up by the ſun, or overflowed by the Nile, they are taken up, and fed with hay, beans, and barley.

THERE is not a more pleaſant ſight in the world than Egypt in two ſeaſons of the year; for if you aſcend ſome mountains, or one of the great pyramids of al Kâhira, about the months of July and Auguſt, you ſee a wide ſea, out of which there ariſe a vaſt number of villages, turrets, and ſpires, appearing like the iſles in the Ægean ſea [k], with ſome cauſeways for communication, intermixed with groves and a great number of fruit-trees, whoſe tops only are ſeen; all which affords a moſt enchanting proſpect. This

Two different appearances of Egypt in two ſeaſons.

[h] Herod. l. 2. Diod. Sic. l. 1, p. 32. [i] Vid. Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 32. [k] Vid. Herod. & Diodor. Sic. ubi ſup.

This view is terminated by mountains and woods, which at a distance forms the most agreeable perspective in the world. On the other hand, in the winter, that is, about January and February, all the country is like a fine meadow, whose verdure, enamelled with flowers, charms the sight. You see on every side herds and flocks of cattle scattered over the plain, with an infinite number of husbandmen and gardeners. The air is then embalmed by the prodigious quantity of flowers, furnished by the oranges, lemons, and other trees; and is so pure, that a man cannot breath one more wholesom or agreeable: so that nature, which is then as it were dead in so many other climates, seems to revive only for the sake of so delightful an abode. If there be any places left which are not quite dried, they are covered with water-fowl in great plenty, which afford diversion to the sportsmen, who kill as many of them as they please.

The cities, towns, and villages in Egypt, to secure them from the inundation of the Nile, are all built either on some rising ground formed by nature, or else, which is generally the case, on mounds raised by infinite labour; the communication between one town and another, while the country is under water, being carried on either by the causeways above-mentioned or boats. When the river is retired within its banks, the canals serve for the same purpose, and to furnish the inhabitants and cattle with water, which the maidens are continually to be seen fetching thence, according to the ancient custom so often taken notice of in scripture [l].

The cause of the inundation of the Nile.

As the ancients were ignorant of the true cause of the inundation of the Nile, which seemed the more unaccountable to them, because, contrary to other rivers, it overflowed in the summer, and was lowest in winter, they made several subtil conjectures to explain this phænomenon [m]. But it has been since well known to be occasioned by the great rains which fall in Ethiopia, about the springs of the Nile, and swell that river into the sea, which first lays Ethiopia almost entirely under water, as it afterwards does Egypt. Agatharchides of Cnidos [n], and some others, guessed this to be the cause, though they were not certain of it; but it was afterwards confirmed by eye-witnesses;

[l] Vid. Lucas, ubi sup. p. 328, &c.
[m] Vid. Herodot l. 2. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 33, &c.
[n] Diod. Sic. ibid. p. 39.

witneſſes; Ptolemy Philadelphus, a very inquiſitive prince, having ſent ſome perſons to examine into the matter. It has been thought, that this piece of natural hiſtory was not unknown to Homer himſelf, and that he alludes to it when he ſays [o] that the Nile came down from heaven [p]. Theſe rains conſtantly fall in Ethiopia during the months of April and May [q]; at which time it alſo rains with the ſame regularity in the Indies, cauſing the Indus and the Ganges to overflow their banks, in the ſame manner as the Nile does [r].

THE divine providence has been juſtly admired, in ſending the rains in Ethiopia ſo very punctually for the ſupply of Egypt, where it rains ſo ſeldom, and thereby rendering a moſt dry and ſandy ſoil one of the moſt fruitful in the univerſe. Nor is it to be omitted, that in the beginning of June and the four following months, the Eteſian winds (which ſome formerly imagined to be the great cauſe of the inundation [s]) conſtantly blow from the north-eaſt, and keep back the water from flowing down and emptying itſelf into the ſea too faſt [t]. As the fertility of the land of Canaan was owing to a very different method of providence, that is, to the former and latter rains, which regularly fell at two appointed ſeaſons of the year, while the children of Iſrael continued in their duty, Moſes thought proper to acquaint them before-hand with ſo material a difference between the promiſed land and that they had lately left: *The land whither thou goeſt in poſſeſs to it*, ſays that lawgiver, *is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou ſowedſt thy ſeed, and wateredſt it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs; but the land whither ye go to poſſeſs it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven; a land which the Lord thy God careth for; the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year* [u].

Of the animals of Egypt.

LET us now take a view of the animal and vegetable productions of Egypt. The crocodile and hippopotamus, or river-horſe, are, it is to be preſumed, too well known to the reader, to need a particular deſcription here *:

[o] Hom. Odyſſ. 4. v. 581. [p] Strabo, l. 17. p. 1137. [q] Vid. Lucas, ubi ſup. p. 321. [r] Bernier, Voyage de Cachemire, p. 343, &c. [s] Herod. ubi ſupr. [t] Le Bruyn Voyag. tom. II. [u] Deut. xi. 10, 11, 12.

* Vid. Herod. l. 3. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 32, Strabo. l. 17.

they are both inhabitants of the Nile. The crocodiles are often killed by the natives. One way of taking them is, by a piece of flesh stuck on an iron hook, and let down into the river by a rope, the other end of which is fastened to a stake: when the crocodile has seized the bait, he is drawn to land, and knocked on the head [w]. Herodotus describes this manner with very little variation [x]. Another more dangerous way is sometimes practised, by striking them, as they sleep, under the belly, with a stake armed with a bearded point of iron, and also fastened to a rope [y]. A more extraordinary method still was made use of to catch one of these creatures that had done much mischief: the person, who undertook it for a reward, bound his son, a young lad, to a stake in the place where the crocodile used to come, and laid himself flat on his belly with two short clubs in his hand, one of which was wound round at the end with a very large ball of course thread dipped in pitch, and so waited for the crocodile; who coming out of the river and smelling the boy, made directly towards him; but as he opened his mouth to seize him, the father thrust the staff with the pitched ball into his jaws, which sticking in his teeth and entangling them as he bit it, the man broke his back, and killed him with the other [z]. The inhabitants of Tentyris are reported to have been very bold and dexterous in hunting these creatures, and that they would even leap on their backs in the water, and clapping a stick across their mouths, as they opened them to bite, manage them as with a bridle, and bring them to land: so that these creatures were terrified even by their voice and smell [a]. The flesh of the crocodile is white and fat, and is a delicious dish when young; the Arabs of the upper Egypt are very fond of it [b], and formerly the inhabitants of Elephantis used also to eat these animals [c].

The hippopotami are common in the upper Egypt, especially near the cataracts, but are scarce to be met with in any part of the lower Egypt. These creatures never go in herds, and it is rare to see two of them together. They are

[w] Lettres du P. Sicard, dans les Mem. des Missions. tom. vi. p. 252. [x] Ubi supr. [y] Sicard, ubi supr. [z] Lucas, ubi supr. tom. i. p. 88. [a] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 8. c. 25. [b] Sicard, ubi supr. Herod. ubi supr.

are ſo diſtruſtful, and fly with that ſwiftneſs from their purſuers, that they are very ſeldom taken [d].

BESIDES wild and tame oxen, camels, aſſes, goats, and ſheep, of which there is great plenty in Egypt, and the fleſh of the laſt very delicate food, there are vaſt number of antelopes, and a large kind of ape, with a head ſomewhat like a dog, whence it was called cynocephalus: the Egyptians often uſed the figure of this beaſt as a hieroglyphic. The camelion is alſo common in the hedges near al Kâhira.

THE animal called the little, or land crocodile (which we take to be the ſcincus of Pliny [e]) is about the bigneſs of a lizard, and has a round tail covered with ſcales. It is found near the Nile and the red ſea, and uſually feeds on the moſt odoriferous flowers: the fleſh is of uſe in phyſic, great numbers of them being for that reaſon carried to Venice and other places.

THE Egyptian rat, called by the ancients ichneumon, is of the ſize of a cat, with very rough hair, ſpotted with white, yellow, and aſh colour; its noſe like that of a hog, with which it digs up the earth: it has ſhort black legs, and a tail like a fox. It lives on lizards, ſerpents, ſnails, camelions, rats, and other animals; and is of ſo great ſervice in Egypt, by its natural inſtinct hunting out and breaking the eggs of the crocodile, and thereby preventing too great an increaſe of that deſtructive creature. The naturaliſts alſo ſay, that it is ſo greedy after the crocodile's liver, that rowling itſelf in mud, it ſlips down his throat, while he ſleeps with his mouth open, and gnaws its way out again [f]. This animal is eaſily tamed, but muſt not be kept where cats are, with which they are at perpetual enmity [g].

OF birds there are alſo great numbers in Egypt, particularly oſtriches, eagles, hawks, and a prodigious number of water-fowl, as pelicans, flamingoes, or phænicopteri, wild geeſe, herons, ducks, and various other ſorts. Thoſe which are proper to the Nile, are the ibis, the gooſe with golden feathers, the rice-hen, or hen of Dimyât, and the ſakſak; which laſt is the trochilus of the antients [h], obſerved by them to be the only creature with which the

[d] Sicard, ubi ſupr. p. 251.
[e] Nat. Hiſt. ubi ſupr.
[f] Vid. Diod. Sic. p. 32, 78.
[g] Vid. Lucas, ubi ſupr. p. 245.
[h] Sicard, Mem. des Miſſ. Tom. VI. p. 249.

crocodile is in friendſhip, becauſe this bird picks and clears his mouth of the leaches which infeſt it [i]. The ibis deſerves particular notice, not only becauſe it is ſo peculiar to Egypt, that it pines away and dies if carried elſewhere, but for the great uſe it is of in that country, by deſtroying flying ſerpents, which the ſouth winds bring from the deſarts of Libya, and are ſhaped, as the water-ſnakes, with wings like a bat: in the proper ſeaſon of the year, theſe birds in vaſt numbers, by a peculiar inſtinct, go and wait on the frontiers for theſe ſerpents, and devour them as they fly before they enter Egypt. There are two kinds of the ibis, one is of a deep black, and about the bigneſs of a heron: this is the ibis which kills the ſerpents, and is ſeldom found except in the lower Egypt: the other is white, but has the head, neck, and end of the wings and tail as black as the former; and are ſo common, that one often ſees vaſt numbers of them. The bill and legs of this bird reſemble thoſe of a ſtork; its uſual food (beſides the ſerpents above-mentioned) are ſnails, locuſts, and other inſects *.

Besides the lakes which are in other parts of Egypt, thoſe in the Delta near the ſea, of which there are three pretty large ones between Alexandria and Tinah [k], the antient Peluſium, afforded great numbers of fiſh, though not above ſeven or eight ſorts; two of which they ſalt; and ſend large quantities to Syria, Cyprus, and Conſtantinople. The revenues of one of thoſe lakes alone, called Manzalah, bring into the Turkiſh emperor's treaſury no leſs than forty thouſand crowns a year. Thoſe who live near theſe lakes eat a great deal of freſh fiſh, and very cheap, as the Iſraelites formerly did [l]; but the heat of the climate will not ſuffer them to be carried far; for which reaſon the inhabitants of al Kâhira are obliged to content themſelves with the fiſh which the Nile affords them. The bed of the river, being very full of mud and ſlime, communicates a muddy taſt of all the fiſh that are fed in it, except four ſorts, which are very excellent. Theſe are the keſher, or lates, the latos of the antients, which is often ſo large as to weigh two or three hundred pounds; the cuſhouc, formerly called oxyrinchus, from the ſharpneſs of its noſe; the bonni, which weighs ſometimes twenty or thirty

[i] Herodot. ubi ſupr.
ubi ſupr. p. 246.
[l] Numb. xi. 5.

* Vid. Herod. ibid. Lucas,
[k] Sicard, ubi ſupr. p. 233, &c.

thirty pounds, and is the lepidotus ſo much eſteemed by the old Egyptians; and the karmûd, known in antient writers by the name of phagrus: this laſt is black, grows to the ſame ſize as the bonni, and is a very voracious fiſh. What makes theſe fiſh the more ſerviceable to the inhabitants of al Kâhira is, that they are to be found in the Nile at all ſeaſons of the year, and are very eaſily taken [m].

Of the vegetables of Egypt.

THOUGH woods are very rare in Egypt, yet there are ſome foreſts of palm-trees towards the deſarts of Libya; and near Dandera, the antient Tentyra, there is one of doms, or wild date-trees [n], whoſe fruit is exceſſive hard, but much admired by thoſe of the country. Palm-trees are the moſt common of all others in this country; beſides which there are ſeveral ſorts of fruit-trees, and alſo ſome cedars, though not ſo large, or ſo frequently ſeen as in Syria; and a great thorny tree called al hilaji, out of which perhaps the antient Egyptians made thoſe boats mentioned by Herodotus [o]. However, Egypt is not a country proper for trees, which thrive not there without great care and cultivation. As to the plants, the caſe is very different; the kinds are ſo very various, that we ſhall mention only a few, and chiefly thoſe which may give ſome light into antient hiſtory.

THE firſt we ſhall take notice of is the red papyrus, or byblus, called at preſent by the natives al berdi. It grows on the banks of the Nile, and ſhoots out a ſtalk of nine or ten foot high; the trunk is compoſed of a great number of long ſtrait fibres, which produce ſmall flowers; the leaves are like the blade of a ſword, and they make uſe of them to keep wounds open; the aſhes of the ſtalk alſo cure thoſe that are not inveterate. This is the plant whereof the antients made their writing-paper, which thence took its name. The way of making it was, by taking out the pith of the ſtalk, which they worked into a white paſte, or glew, and of that made the paper, almoſt in the ſame manner as we do our linen rags; but others ſay, it was made of the inner rind of the plant. Before agriculture was improved in Egypt, this reed was of great ſervice; for they did not only uſe it as food, but made cloaths, boats, and domeſtic utenſils of it; and alſo crowns for their gods, and ſhoes for their prieſts. But more

[m] Ibid p. 245, &c. Lucas, ubi ſup. p. 242. [n] Sicard, ubi ſupr. p. 157. [o] Lib. 2.

uſeful inventions have ſet all this aſide, and the plant is now entirely neglected [p].

The flax of Egypt, eſpecially one ſort of it, was ſo exceeding fine, and they dreſſed and ſpun it ſo curiouſly, that the threads could ſcarce be ſeen [q]. It grew in ſo great plenty, that they had not only enough to cloath their prieſts (who wore nothing elſe) and people of condition [r], and to make ſhrouds for the dead, but to drive a very great trade with it into foreign parts. The fine linen of Egypt was in great requeſt over all the eaſt [s]; that ſuperfine ſort of it, called byſſus, often dyed in purple, and was ſo dear, that none but rich people could afford to wear it.

The lotus, which grows plentifully in the lower Egypt, eſpecially near Raſhîd, or Roſetta, is called by the inhabitants al baſhnîn, and is a ſpecies of nenuphar, nymphæa, or water-lilly. Its leaves float on the water, and cover the ſurface of it, producing many flowers, which were formerly wove into the crowns of conquerors. The antient Egyptians made bread of the middle, or pulp of this plant dried, which reſembled that of a poppy; and the root of it, which is round, and as big as an apple, was alſo eaten by them [t]. This lotus is different from that fruit of the ſame name whereon the Lotophagi lived [u]: the Arabs at this day make a drink of the Egyptian lotus, which is very good for inward heat: and they eat the ſtalk and heads of them raw, which are moiſt and cooling [w].

The henna, called alcanna by the botaniſts, is a ſhrub which ſhoots forth a great many branches, Its leaves are like that of an olive tree, but ſhorter, broader, and of a more pleaſant green. The flowers, which are ſet like thoſe of the elder, have an agreeable ſmell, and are thrown by the inhabitants into their baths [x]. The women dye their nails and other parts with a reddiſh colour extracted from this plant, by way of ornament.

Other

[p] Lucas, ubi ſupr. p. 249, &c. Vid Rollin. Hiſt. anc. v. i. p. 106. Vid. Plin. l. 13. c. 11. [q] Vid. Nat. Hiſt. l. 19. c. 1. [r] Vid. Geneſ. iv. 42. [s] Prov. vii. 16. Ezek. xxvii. 7. [t] Herod. l. 2. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 30. [u] Herod. l. 4. [w] Lucas, ubi ſupra p. 257. Idem, ibid.

OTHER plants, the fruits or roots of which are eaten by the inhabitants, are in so great abundance, and so excellent in their kind, that they are almost sufficient to maintain them without the use of corn [y]; and formerly the labouring people scarce lived on any thing else. It is not therefore so surprizing, that the Israelites in the wilderness regretted *the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick* [z], which they used to eat so freely in Egypt.

Of the artificial rarities of Egypt.

THE buildings and other works of the antient Egyptians, which have raised the admiration of all succeeding ages, deserve a more peculiar view.

The pyramids.

THE first enquiry generally made by those who would be acquainted with this country, is concerning the pyramids, those stupendous structures, which were deservedly reckoned by the antients among the wonders of the world.

THERE are many of them in several parts of Egypt, and particularly in the upper Egypt, as we have already observed; but those which have been chiefly taken notice of and described by travellers, stand on the west side of the Nile, not far from Jizah, which succeeded the antient Memphis. The number of those pyramids is about twenty, of which three, standing pretty near together, are most remarkable, and are those which have been so often described. The other lie far scattered in the Libyan desart, and are lesser models of the other, though some of them are very considerable, particularly one, which stands south and by west from them, at about twenty miles distance more within the desart, and has been undeservedly neglected both by antient and modern writers, though it be as worthy of memory, and as near a miracle as any of the former three.

Whence so named.

IT is the common opinion, that the word pyramid is derived from the Greek pyr, or pur, fire; and that these structures were so called from their shape, ascending from a broad base, and ending in a point like a flame of fire; others, whose opinion Vossius [a] seems to approve, say, they took the name from pyros, which in the same language signifies wheat, because they will have them to be the granaries of the antient Egyptian kings; but a late writer, versed in the Coptic tongue, has given us another etymology

[y] Plin. l. 21. c. 15. [z] Numb. xi 5. [a] Etymol. ling. Lat. voce Pyramis. Vid. Steph. de urb. voce Πυραμίδες.

etymology from that language, wherein pouro signifies a king, and misi, a race, or generation: and the reason why the pyramids had this name given them was, as he tells us, because they were erected to preserve the memory of those princes and their families; and that those who were descended from them, had therefore recourse to those pillars to prove their pedigree [b] (E).

By whom built.

Who were the builders of these pyramids has been matter of much dispute. Josephus [c], followed by some modern writers [d], supposed, they were erected by the Israelites during their heavy pressure under the tyranny of the Pharaohs. The scriptures, however, seem to be against this opinion, for they expressly make the slavish employment of that people to have been the making of bricks, whereas all these pyramids are of stone. Others pretend, they were built by the patriarch Joseph, for granaries to lay up the corn of the seven plentiful years [e]; and, to support this imagination, alledge the abovementioned derivation from pyros, wheat: but this opinion is much more groundless than the former; for besides that their figure is the least capacious of any regular mathematical body, and therefore improper

[b] Wilkins Differ. de ling. Copt. p. 108. [c] Antiq. l. 2. c. 5. [d] Spondanus de cœmet. sacr. l. 1. c. 6. Perizon. Orig. Ægypt. p. 387, &c. [e] Steph. de urb. ubi sup. Nicetas, Nonnus, &c. apud Greaves, ubi infra.

(E) This gentleman endeavours to support his assertion by the authority of Herodotus, as if he affirmed, that the Egyptians preserved their genealogies on pillars, and that those pillars were called pyramids: but we do not remember any such thing in that author. The passage quoted is no more than this; that when Hecatæus the historian acquainted the priest of Jupiter with his genealogy, and derived himself from no less than sixteen gods, the priests would by no means admit, that a man could be begotten by a god, but shewed him three hundred and forty five large wooden images of their high-priests in a spacious edifice, which stood in regular order, the son being placed after the father; and told him, that none of them had been reputed either a god or a hero; but that each image which he saw represented a piromis, begotten by another piromis; the word piromis signifying no more in their language, than an honest man (1). It may be observed, that romi, and, with the article, piromi, signifies a man in the present Coptic.

(1) Herod. l. 2.

improper for ſuch a purpoſe, the ſtraightneſs and fewneſs of the rooms within (the reſt being a ſolid fabric of ſtone) do utterly overthrow ſuch a conjecture.

HERODOTUS ſays, the firſt or greateſt of the three moſt remarkable pyramids was built by Cheops, whom Diodorus names Chemmis; for that they were the ſame perſon will appear hereafter. The ſecond, both thoſe hiſtorians agree to have been erected by Cephren, brother and ſucceſſor to the former prince. And the third was the work of Mycerinus, the ſon of Cheops [f]. This laſt, ſome of the Greeks pretended was built by Rhodopis [g], or Rhodope, a courtezan, whom Sappho called Doricha, miſtreſs to her brother Charaxus [h]. But this is very improbable, if we conſider either her condition, or the vaſtneſs of the expence; though ſome, to amend the ſtory, ſay ſeveral governours of provinces, who were in love with her, built it for her by contribution [i]: beſides, Herodotus has ſhewn that ſhe lived long after theſe pyramids were in being [k]. Yet, after all, Diodorus confeſſes, that there is little agreement as to theſe pyramids, either among the natives or hiſtorians; ſome ſaying, that the largeſt was built by Armæus, the ſecond by Amaſis, and the third by Inaron [l]; and this uncertainty Pliny mentions as a juſt reward of the vanity of the undertakers [m].

THE Arab writers aſſign other founders of theſe three pyramids different from thoſe mentioned by the Greeks. To omit the fancy of thoſe who thought them built by Jân ebn Jân, univerſal monarch of the whole world before Adam [n], and the abovementioned opinion, which attributes them to Joſeph; ſome ſay, they were erected by Nimrod; ſome, by queen Dalûka; and others, by the Egyptians before the flood. The Copts report, that the eaſt pyramid is the ſepulchre of king Saurid, the weſtern of his brother Hûjib, and the coloured pyramid of Fazfarinûn the ſon of Hûjib. The Sabians pretend, that one of them is the ſepulchre of Seth, the ſecond of Hermes (or Enoch), and the third of Sabi, from whom this ſect ſay they are denominated: it is alſo ſaid, they go in pilgrimage thither, and ſacrifice at them a cock and a black calf, and offer up incenſe [o].

[f] Vid. Herod. l. 2. Diod. Sic. l. 1. [g] Herod. ubi ſupr. [h] Strabo. l. 17. [i] Diodor. ubi ſupr. [k] Herod. ubi ſupr. [l] Diodor. ubi ſupr. [m] Plin. nat. hiſt. l. 36. c. 12. [n] D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 311. [o] See Introd. p. ult.

incenſe [o]. But the general opinion is, that they were built by Saurid before the flood; and the Copts mention an inſcription engraven on them to this effect. I Saurid, the king, built the pyramids in ſuch and ſuch a time, and finiſhed them in ſix years: he that comes after me, and ſays he is equal to me, let him deſtroy them in ſix hundred years; and yet it is known, that it is eaſier to pluck down than to build; and when I had finiſhed them I covered them with ſattin, and let him cover them with mats [p].

As the antients have omitted ſpeaking of ſeveral pyramids ſtill remaining in the Libyan deſart, ſo have they on the other hand mentioned the names and founders of ſome others, not much inferior to theſe three in magnitude, which have been long ſince ruined and defaced by time. Herodotus ſays, there was one of forty fathoms, or two hundred and forty feet, which ſtood at the end of the labyrinth, with large figures of animals in ſculpture, and a ſubterraneous paſſage to it [q]. This ſeems to be that pyramid wherein Strabo tells us Imandes, or, as Diodorus names him, Oſymanduas, was buried [r], and therefore probably built by him; though he differs from Herodotus as to the dimenſions, making each ſide of it to be four hundred feet, and the height as much [s]. Pliny, who agrees with Herodotus in this laſt particular, mentions ſeveral pyramids built near the labyrinth, but, if his expreſſion [t] be not miſtaken, deſcribes them to be ſexangular. Mœris, who lived after Oſymanduas, but long before Cheops, alſo built two pyramids, one for himſelf and the other for his wife, in the midſt of a lake which he dug, and which we ſhall take notice of by and by. Theſe pyramids were each a furlong in height, and ſtood one half above the water, and the other half under the water; and on the top of each there was placed a marble ſtatue, or coloſſus, ſitting on a throne [u]. It is ſaid, that Cheops, having exhauſted his treaſures in building the firſt and largeſt pyramid, proſtituted his own daughter, commanding her to get as much money as ſhe could; and that ſhe, at the ſame time ſhe obeyed her father, contrived to leave a monument of herſelf alſo, and aſked every one that came to her to give her a ſtone towards the ſtructure ſhe deſigned;

[o] Merat alzeman. apud Greaves, ubi infr. Vid. Kirch. Oedip. vol i. p. 74. [p] Ebn Abdial Hokm. [q] Herodot. l. 2. [r] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 44. [s] Strabo, l. 17. [t] Senas radicum oras obtinentes. Plin. l. 36. c. 13. [u] Herod. & Diod. ubi ſupr.

deſigned : by which means ſhe built a pyramid, which ſtood in the midſt of the three, within view of the great pyramid, and extended to the length of a plethron and a half (or about one hundred and fifty foot) on every ſide of the baſis [x]. This ſtory has ſome reſemblance to that of Rhodopis abovementioned, and might perhaps have given occaſion to it. After all theſe, Aſychis, the ſucceſſor of Mycerinus, built a pyramid of brick, with this inſcription cut in ſtone : Compare me not with the pyramids of ſtone, for I as far excel them as Jupiter does the other gods : for, ſtriking the bottom of the lake with long poles, and gathering the mud which ſtuck to them, thereof they made bricks, and formed me in that manner [y]. Diodorus mentions three other pyramids, each ſide of which contained two hundred feet, and ſays, that Chemmis, Cephren, and Mycerinus were reputed to have erected them for their wives [z]. Theſe likewiſe are not now to be ſeen, unleſs they ſhould be ſome of thoſe in the deſart, which well anſwer the meaſure aſſigned by Diodorus ; but if thoſe princes built them for their queens, it may be wondered why they placed them ſo remote from their own ſepulchres, or at ſuch large and unequal diſtances of ſeveral miles from one another [a].

The time when the pyramids were built.

SINCE it is uncertain who were the founders of the pyramids that are now ſtanding, it would be in vain to endeavour to determine the time when they were built. The ages of the ſeveral princes to whom they have been attributed, will beſt appear when we diſcourſe of the Egyptian chronology : in the mean time, we ſhall obſerve, that the leaſt antiquity, which can be allowed the ſtructures, ſeems to be near three thouſand years ; ſince Herodotus, who lived two thouſand two hundred years ago, was able to find ſo little ſatisfaction in his enquiries after them ; and Diodorus, who lived before the birth of our Saviour, ſuppoſes the great pyramid to have been built at leaſt one thouſand years before his time [b].

The end for which they were erected.

NOT to mention a ſecond time the improbability of their conjecture, who imagine theſe buildings were deſigned for granaries, it is the conſtant opinion of moſt authors who have wrote on this ſubject, that they were intended for ſepulchres and monuments of the dead. Diodorus expreſly tells us, that Chemmis and Cephren deſigned thoſe built by them

[x] Herod. ubi ſupr. [y] Idem ib. [z] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupr. [a] Greaves Deſcr. of the pyramids, p. 113. [b] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 57.

them for their sepulchres, though it happened that neither of them were buried in them [c]; and Strabo judges all those near Memphis to have been royal sepulchres [d]: to which the writings of the Arabs are consonant, as has been observed above. And if none of these authorities were extant, the tomb, which stands at this day in the first pyramid, puts it out of controversy.

Why the Egyptian kings should have been at so vast an expence in building of these pyramids, is an enquiry of a higher nature. Aristotle makes them to have been the works of tyranny [e]: and Pliny conjectures, that they built them partly out of ostentation, and partly out of state policy, to divert the people, by this employment, from mutinies and rebellions [f]. But the true reason depends on higher considerations, and sprang from the theology of the Egyptians; who not only believed the resurrection, but that as long as the body endured, so long the soul continued with it; which last was also the opinion of the Stoics [g]. And hence it was, that this nation took that excessive care to preserve the corps from corruption, and were at so great costs in raising monuments for them, as will be specified hereafter.

The reason why they frequently made use of the pyramidal figure for these monuments (for they were not always of that shape), to omit several philosophical fancies of little solidity [h], seems to have been, because it is the most permanent form of structure; for by reason of the gradual contracting and lessening of it at the top, it is neither overpressed with its own weight, nor is subject to the sinking in of rain, as other buildings: or else they might thereby intend to represent some of their gods; pyramids, and obelisks, which are but a lesser sort of pyramids, being, both by them and other heathens, antiently made use of and worshipped as images of several deities [i].

This practice of the Egyptians of erecting pyramids, or columns of that shape, for sepulchres, was also sometimes, though not very frequently, imitated by other nations. That of Porsena king of Etruria, built by him near Clusium in Italy, was accounted almost miraculous; though it was more to be admired for the number and contrivance of the pyramids, which were fourteen, than for any excessive magnitude [k].

[c] Idem ibid. p. 58. [d] Strabo, l. 17. [e] Aristot. polit. l. 3. [f] Plin. l. 36. c. 12. [g] Vid. Servium in Virgil. Æn. 3. [h] Vid. Auctor. anonym. ad calcem Hieroglyph. Pierij. [i] Vid. Greaves, ubi supr. p. 62.

tude [k]. The tomb of C. Cæſtius, now ſtanding at Rome near the mons teſtaceus, or il Doliolo, is built after the model of thoſe of Egypt, but is much leſs.

Their deſcription.

THE dimenſions and deſcriptions of the three greateſt of the pyramids of Memphis have been given by ſeveral writers, both antient hiſtorians and modern travellers. They differ pretty much from one another as to the dimenſions. A countryman of our own, who meaſured them with great care, and wanted not ability to do it with the greateſt accuracy, ſeems to have been the moſt exact; for which reaſon we ſhall chiefly adhere to his obſervations.

The dimenſions of the firſt pyramid.

THE firſt and faireſt of theſe three pyramids is ſituated on a rocky hill, in the ſandy deſart of Lybia, about a quarter of a mile from the plains of Egypt; above which the rock riſes 100 feet or better, with a gentle and eaſy aſcent. Upon this advantageous riſe and ſolid foundation is the pyramid erected; the height of the ſituation adding to beauty of the work, and the ſolidity of the rock affording it a ſtable ſupport. The north ſide, near the baſis, being meaſured by a radius of 10 feet in length, taking two ſeveral ſtations, was found by our author to be 693 Engliſh feet. The other ſides were examined by a line, for want of an even level, and a convenient diſtance to place the inſtruments. The altitude, if meaſured by its perpendicular, is 481 feet; but if it be taken as the pyramid aſcends inclining, then is it equal, in reſpect of the lines ſubtending the ſeveral angles, to the latitude of the baſis (F). Whereby

[k] Vid. eund. ibid. p. 64. Ammian. Marcel. l. 23.

[l] Vid. Solin. Polyhiſt. c. 45.

(F) According to Herodotus, each face of this pyramid contains 8 plethra, or 800 Grecian feet, in length (1). Diodorus Siculus (who comes neareſt the truth) makes this dimenſion but 7 plethra, or 700 feet (2): and Strabo, leſs than a furlong (3); that is, leſs than 600 Grecian, 625 Roman feet. Whereas Pliny equals it to 883 (4). As to the height, Herodotus ſays, it is equal to the breadth of one of its ſides; which is true, if taken for the inclining, and not the perpendicular, altitude. By Strabo's computation, the height exceeds the breadth: but Diodorus rightly acknowledges it to be ſomething leſs. The altitude of this pyramid was taken by Thales the Mileſian; but his admeaſurement

(1) Herod. l. 2. (2) Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 57. (3) Strabo. l. 17. p. 1161. (4) Plin. l. 36. c. 12.

by it appears, that though several of the antients have excessively magnified the height of these pyramids, yet the biggest of them falls short of the height of St. Paul's church in London: which, from the ground to the top of the lanthorn only, is no less than 470 feet. If we imagine on the sides of the basis, which is perfectly square, four equilateral triangles mutually inclining till they meet in a point (for so the top seems to those who stand below), then we shall have a just idea of the true dimensions and figure of this pyramid; the area of whose basis contains 480,249 square feet, or something more than eleven English acres of ground; a proportion so monstrous, that did not the antients attest as much, and some of them more (G), it might appear incredible.

THE

ment is not preserved. The method proposed by him to do it, must be very uncertain; for it was by observing the hour when the shadow of the body is equal to its height (5).

Of the modern travellers, Belon or rather Gyllius (for the other it is said was a plagiary, and published the observations of Gyllius in his own name), (6) makes the breadth of each side 324 paces; and the height 250 steps, each step being 45 inches high (7). Marco Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia and afterwards cardinal, computes it to be 270 paces broad, and as much in height (8). Prince Radziville says, it is reported to be 300 cubits every way (9). Della Valle sets down nothing precisely, but acquiesces in the measures of Belon (10). Thevenot tells us it is 520 feet high, on a square base of 682 feet (11). And Le Bruyn calculates the height to be 112 fathom; which at 5 feet and a half to the fathom, is 616 feet: and the breadth 300 paces, or 128 fathom; that is, according to the same proportion, 704 feet (12). Wansleb says, the sides of the pyramids are not equal; it being visible in the largest, and so in the others, that the north side is longer than that which stretches from east to west; (which expression perhaps the reader may understand, but we do not): the dimensions he gives us, are those of Thevenot (13). The Arab writers make the perpendicular height 317 cubits, and the breadth of each side 460 (14).

(G) The area, according to Herodotus, must be 640,000; and according to Diodorus 490,000 square feet. Pliny assigns the basis

(5) Plin. ibid. Vid. Diog. Laert. in vita Thaletis. (6) Vid. Thuan. Hist. l. 16. (7) Belon. Observ. l. 2. c. 44. (8) Apud Kircher Oedip. vol. iii. p. 294. (9) Radzivil. Jerosol. peregr. p. 361. (10) Della Valle Lett. 11: p. 359. (11) Theven. Voy. l. 1. c. 5. (12) Le Bruyn. Voy. (13) Wansleb, apud Ray, Collect. of travels, vol. ii. p. 137, 138. (14) Vid. Kircher. ubi supr. p. 300.

The outside of the pyramid.

THE aſcent to the top of the pyramid is contrived by degrees, or ſteps, the lowermoſt of which is near 4 feet in height, and 3 in breadth; and running about the pyramid in a level, made a narrow walk, when the ſtones were entire, on every ſide. The ſecond degree is like the firſt, benching in near 3 feet. In the ſame manner is the third row placed on the ſecond; and the reſt in order, like ſo many ſtairs, riſing one above another to the top; which ends not in a point, as mathematical pyramids do, but in a little flat, or ſquare of 13,280 Engliſh feet broad, and conſiſting of 9 ſtones, beſides two which are wanting at the corners (H). This pyramid, by reaſon of the ſtones being worn by the weather, cannot be conveniently aſcended, except on the ſouth ſide, or at the north-eaſt angle. The ſteps are made baſis to be but 8 Roman jugera; which is probably a miſtake of the tranſcriber; for the ſquare of the ſide, by his admeaſurement, muſt be no leſs than 779, 689 Roman feet, almoſt equal to 28 jugera (1).

(H) Herodotus gives no dimenſions of this flat; Diodorus ſays, it is 9 feet (2); but Pliny ſeems to make it 25 feet, if we rightly underſtand the paſſage of that author; for Hardouin is ſurely miſtaken, in ſuppoſing him to mean that the pyramid was 15,000 feet high (3). Belon ſays, the diameter is 2 paces (4), Radziville 10 cubits (5), and Thevenot about 16 feet and 2 thirds (6). They differ alſo in the number of ſtones which cover it; one will have it a ſingle ſtone (7); another counts 3 (8); and a third 11 or 12 (9).

On this platform Proclus ſuppoſed the Ethiopian prieſts made their aſtronomical obſervations (10); but it is far from being probable, that theſe ſtructures were deſigned for obſervatories. And it is ſcarce to be conceived, that the prieſts would take the pains to aſcend ſo high, when they might make the ſame obſervations with more eaſe, and as much certainty below; having as free and open a proſpect of the heavens, and over the plains of Egypt, from the rock itſelf, as from the tops of the pyramids (11).

(1) Vid. Plin. l. 36. c. 12. (2) Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 57. (3) Plin. ubi ſupr. Vid. Harduin. in loc. (4) Belon, ubi ſupr. (5) Radziv. Ieroſ. pereg. p. 162. (6) Theven. ubi ſupr. (7) Voy. de Villamont. (8) Sandys's Trav. p. 100. (9) Theven. ubi ſupr. (10) Procl. in Tim. (11) Greaves, ubi ſupr. p. 73. Vid. Ciceron. de divinat. l. 1.

made of maſſy and poliſhed ſtones, ſaid to have been hewn out of the Arabian mountains [m], which bound the upper Egypt on the eaſt; and are ſo vaſt, that the breadth and depth of every ſtep is one ſingle ſtone. Herodotus makes the leaſt ſtone to be 30 feet [n]; and this may be granted in ſome, but not in all, unleſs his words be underſtood of cubical feet; which dimenſion, or a greater, in the exterior ones, may, withour difficulty, be admitted. It is alſo to be obſerved, that the ſteps are not all of equal depth; for ſome are near 4 feet, and others want of 3, diminiſhing the higher one aſcends: and the breadth of them is proportionable to their depth; ſo that a right line, extended from the baſis to the top, will equally touch the outward angle of every degree. The number of theſe ſteps is not mentioned by any of the ancients; but modern travellers differ very much in their computation (I). Our author and two others counted them very carefully, and found them to be 207; though one of them in deſcending reckoned 208.

Hence it may be conſidered, how far we may credit what ſome ſay, viz. that an arrow ſhot from the top of this pyramid cannot fly beyond the baſis, but will fall on ſome of the ſteps; it being certain, that an indifferent arm can eaſily ſhoot an arrow much farther than one half of the breadth of this pyramid: it is confeſſed, however, that a man, unleſs he be very ſtrong, cannot throw a ſtone from the top, ſo as to make it fall beyond the ſteps [o]. Some of the antients have reported, that theſe pyramids caſt no ſhadow [p]; which, if taken ſtrictly, muſt be alſo a miſtake: it is true for almoſt three quarters of the year they caſt no ſhadow at noon; but in winter they certainly do.

As

[m] Herod. & Diod. ubi. ſupr. Pomp. Mela. l. 1. c. 9. Lucas, t. i. p. 45. Auſon. Idyll. 3. Amm. Marcell. l. 22. Caſſiodor. var. 7. form. 15.

[n] Herod. ubi ſup.

[o] Le Bruyn. voy.

[p] Solin. Polyhiſt. c. 45.

(I) Belon counts 250, Sandys 255, Lewenſtein 260, Helfricus 230, Grimani and Le Bruyn 210, Lucas 243, and Thevenot 208 (12). This laſt author obſerves, it is very difficult to count them exactly; not only becauſe a man may miſcount, but becauſe ſeveral of the lower ſteps are, in ſome places, covered with ſand.

(12) See the places quoted above, and Lucas Voy. t. I. p. 45.

As to the inſide of this pyramid, the antients are altogether ſilent; except only that Herodotus ſays, there were ſubterraneous vaults built within the hill on which it ſtands; and that the founder of it conveyed the water of the Nile thither by a trench, and formed a little iſland in the midſt of the water, deſigning to place his ſepulchre on that ground [q]. Strabo alſo mentions an oblique entrance into this pyramid, to be ſeen on removing a ſtone which covered it [r]; and Pliny takes notice of a well of 86 cubits in depth, into which he ſuppoſes the water of the Nile was brought by ſome ſecret aqueduct [s]. What the Arabs relate of the inner parts of theſe buildings, is no better than a romance; for which reaſon we ſhall proceed to thoſe accounts that may be better depended on. The inſide of it.

THE entrance into the pyramid is by a ſquare narrow paſſage, which opens in the midſt of the north-ſide on the 16th ſtep, or aſcending 38 feet (K), on an artificial bank of earth. The ſtone that is over it is very big, being near 12 feet long, and above 8 feet wide. This entry goes declining with an angle of 26 degrees, and is in breadth exactly 3,463 Engliſh feet, and in length 92 feet and an half. The ſtructure of it has been the labour of an exquiſite hand, as appears by the ſmoothneſs and evenneſs of the work, and cloſe knitting of the joints, a property long ſince obſerved by Diodorus to have run through the whole fabric of this pyramid. At the end of this paſſage there is another like the former, but goes a little riſing: at the meeting of thoſe two paſſages, the one deſcending, and the other aſcending, the lowermoſt ſtone of the roof, perpendicular to it, forms a ſharp ridge, between which and the ſand there is ſometimes not a foot ſpace to paſs through; ſo that a man muſt ſlide on his belly cloſe to the ground, and yet grate his back againſt the above-mentioned ſtone, unleſs he be very ſlender. However, this difficulty is occaſioned chiefly by the ſand which the wind drives into this palace; for if the paſſage be cleared, it is of the ſame dimenſions there as at the entrance. There being no window, or other opening in this pyramid

[q] Herod. ubi ſupr. [r] Strabo ubi ſupr. [s] Plin. ubi ſupr.

(K) In the following deſcription we have only given the meaſures of Greaves, though other travellers vary both from him and one another therein. But we do not think thoſe variations conſiderable enough to be particularly ſet down.

to admit the light, it may eaſily be conceived, that thoſe who would view the inſide muſt carry lights with them.

Having paſſed this ſtreight, on the right hand there is an ugly broken hole of about 89 feet in length, the height and breadth various, and not worthy conſideration: whether this part be decayed by time, or has been dug away for curioſity, or hopes of diſcovering ſome hidden treaſure, is uncertain. On the left hand, adjoining to the narrow entrance, climbing up a ſteep and maſſy ſtone, 8 or 9 feet in height, one enters on the lower end of the firſt gallery; the pavement of which riſes with a gentle acclivity, conſiſting of ſmooth poliſhed marble, and where not ſmeered with duſt and filth, appearing of a white and alabaſter colour; the ſides and roof of unpoliſhed ſtone, not ſo hard and compact as that of the pavement; the breadth of this gallery is almoſt 5 feet, the height about as much, and the length 100 feet. At the end of it there are two paſſages, one low and horizontal, or level with the ground, and the other high and riſing like the former. At the entry of the lower paſſage, on the right hand, is the well mentioned by Pliny, which is circular, and a little above 3 foot diameter: the ſides are lined with white marble, and the deſcent is by fixing the hands and feet in little open ſpaces cut in the ſides within, oppoſite and anſwering to one another in a perpendicular; which is the contrivance for deſcending into moſt of the wells and ciſterns at Alexandria. This well might lead to the vault above-mentioned; but it is almoſt now ſtopped up with rubbiſh, and not above 20 feet deep.

Leaving the well, and going ſtrait on the diſtance of 15 feet, one enters another paſſage opening againſt the former, and of the ſame dimenſions, the ſtones of which are very maſſy and exquiſitely joined. This paſſage runs in a level 110 feet, and leads to an arched vault, or chamber, ſtanding due eaſt and weſt, of a grave-like ſmell, and half full of rubbiſh; its length not quite 20 feet, and breadth about 17, and the height leſs than 15: the walls are entire, and plaiſtered over with lime; the roof is covered with large ſmooth ſtones, not lying flat, but ſhelving, and meeting above in an angle. On the eaſt ſide of the room, in the middle of it, Greaves ſays, there ſeems to have been a paſſage leading to ſome other place, but neither Thevenot, nor Le Bruyn could diſcover any ſuch.

Returning back through the narrow horizontal paſſage, you climb over it, and enter into the other, or ſecond gallery,

gallery, on the left, divided from the firſt gallery by the wall, in which is the entrance to the laſt mentioned paſſage. This ſecond gallery is a very ſtately piece of work, and not inferior, either in curioſity of art, or richneſs of materials, to the moſt ſumptuous and magnificent buildings: it riſes with an angle of 26 degrees, and is in length 154 feet from the well below; but if meaſured on the pavement, ſomewhat leſs, by reaſon of a little vacuity of about 15 feet before deſcribed, between the well and the ſquare hole: the height of it is 26 feet, and the breadth 6,870 feet, of which one half is to be allowed for the way in the midſt, there being a ſtone bench on each ſide of the wall, of one foot and $\frac{717}{1000}$ in breadth, and as much in depth. On the top of theſe benches, near the angle where they cloſe with the wall, are little ſpaces, cut in right-angled parallel figures, ſet in each ſide oppoſite to one another; intended, no queſtion, for ſome other end than ornament. The ſtone, of which this gallery is built, is a white and poliſhed marble, very evenly cut in large tables; and the joints are ſo cloſe, that they are ſcarce diſcernible by a curious eye: but what adds grace to the whole ſtructure, though it makes the paſſage the more ſlippery and difficult, is the acclivity and riſing of the aſcent. However, the going up is not a little facilitated by certain holes made in the floor, about ſix hands breadth from one another, into which a man may ſet his feet, while he holds by the bench with one hand. In the ranging of the marble tables, in both the ſide walls, there is one piece of architecture very graceful; and that is, that all the courſes, which are but ſeven, do ſet and flag over one another about three inches, the bottom of the upper courſe overſetting the higher part of the next below it, in order as they deſcend.

HAVING paſſed this admirable gallery, one enters another ſquare hole, of the ſame dimenſions with the former, which leads into two ſmall antichambers, or cloſets, lined with a rich and ſpeckled kind of Thebaic marble. The firſt of theſe is almoſt equal to the ſecond, which is of an oblong figure, one ſide containing 7 feet, and the other 3 and a half: the height is 10 feet, and the floor level. On the eaſt and weſt ſides, within 2 feet and a half of the top, which is ſomewhat larger than the bottom, are three ſemicirlar cavities, or little ſeats.

THE inner antichamber is ſeparated from the former by a ſtone of red ſpeckled marble, which hangs in two mortices (like the leaf of a ſluice) between two walls, more

than 3 feet above the pavement, and wanting two of the roof. From this ſecond cloſet you enter another ſquare hole, over which are five lines cut parallel and perpendicular; beſides which, no other ſculptures, or engravings are obſerved in the whole pyramid (L). This ſquare paſſage is of the ſame wideneſs as the reſt, and in length near 9 feet, being all of Thebaic marble moſt exquiſitely cut, and landing you at the north end of a very ſumptuous and well proportioned room. The diſtance from the end of the ſecond gallery to this entry, running upon the ſame level, is 24 feet.

This magnificent and ſpacious chamber, in which art may ſeem to have contended with nature, the curious work being not inferior to the rich materials, ſtands, as it were, in the heart and center of the pyramid, equidiſtant from all the ſides, and almoſt in the midſt between the baſis and top. The floor, the ſides, and the roof of it are all made of vaſt and exquiſite tables of Thebaic marble, which, if they were not obſcured by the ſteam of torches, would appear gliſtering and ſhining. From the top of it deſcending to the bottom, there are but ſix ranges of ſtone, all which being reſpectively ſized to an equal height, very gracefully in one and the ſame altitude, run round the room. The ſtones which cover this chamber are of a ſtupendous length, like ſo many huge beams lying flat and traverſing the room, and withal ſupporting that infinite maſs and weight of the pyramid above. Of theſe there are nine which cover the roof; two of them are leſs by half in breadth than the reſt, the one at the eaſt end, and the other at the weſt. The length of the chamber on the ſouth ſide, moſt accurately taken at the joint, or line, where the firſt and ſecond row of ſtones meet, is 34,380 Engliſh feet; the breadth of the weſt ſide, at the joint, or line, where the firſt and ſecond row of ſtones meet, is 17,190 feet; and the height 19 feet and a half.

Within this glorious room ſtands the monument of Cheops, or Chemmis, of one piece of marble, hollow within,

(L) It may therefore be juſtly wondered, whence the Arabians borrowed thoſe vain traditions, that all ſciences are inſcribed within the pyramids in hieroglyphics; and alſo upon what authority Cornelius (or rather Ælius) Gallus is ſaid to have therein ingraven his victories (1).

(1) Xiphil. in Cæſ. Aug.

within, uncovered at the top, and ſounding like a bell; which laſt particular is mentioned not as a rarity, but becauſe ſome authors have taken notice of it as ſuch. Some write, that the body has been removed hence; but it has been already obſerved, that the founder was not buried in it. This monument is of the ſame kind of ſtone with which the whole room is lined, being a ſpeckled marble, with black, white, and red ſpots, as it were, equally mixed, which ſome call Thebaic marble; but Mr. Greaves rather conceives it to be that ſort of porphyry which Pliny calls Leucoſtictos, of which there were, and ſtill are, an infinite number of columns in Egypt; though Burretini, who accompanied him, imagined this kind of marble came from mount Sinai, where he affirmed the rocks to be of the ſame colours, and that he had ſeen among them a great column of the ſame marble left imperfect, almoſt as big as that called Pompey's pillar, near Alexandria.

THE figure of the tomb is like an altar, or two cubes finely ſet together; it is cut ſmooth and plain, without any ſculpture, or engraving. The outward ſuperficies is in length 7 feet 3 inches and a half, and in depth 3 feet 3 inches and 3 quarters. The hollow inſide is in length on the weſt ſide of 6.488 feet, in breadth at the north end 2.218 feet, and in depth 2.860 feet. As this monument could not have been brought hither through the above-mentioned narrow paſſages, it is ſuppoſed to have been raiſed and placed there before the roof of the chamber was cloſed. It ſtands exactly in the meridian, or due north and ſouth, and as it were equidiſtant from all ſides of the chamber, except the eaſt, from whence it is doubly remoter than from the weſt. Under it there is a little hollow ſpace dug away, and a large ſtone in the pavement removed at the angle next adjoining to it, which Sandys imagined to be a paſſage into ſome other apartment, but more probably done in hopes of finding ſome treaſure hidden there; it being a ſuperſtitious prodigality practiſed by the antients, and continued to this day in the Eaſt-Indies, to conceal money in their ſepulchres. In the ſouth and north ſides of the chamber there are two inlets oppoſite to one another, ſeven tenths of a foot broad, four tenths of a foot deep, evenly cut, and running in a ſtraight line 6 feet and farther into the thickneſs of the wall: that on the ſouth ſide is larger and ſomewhat round, not ſo long as the former, and by the blackneſs within ſeems to have been made uſe of for ſetting of lamps.

This is all that is to be ſeen within this firſt pyramid; but there is one thing more to be obſerved, and that is a very ſurprizing echo, which Plutarch takes notice of, and ſays, that it anſwers four or five times [t]; but a late traveller aſſures us, that it repeats no leſs than ten or twelve times very diſtinctly [u]. If we conſider the entrance of the pyramid and the length of the two galleries, which all lie as it were in one continued line, and leading to the middle of the pyramid, we need not be at a loſs to account for this effect; for the ſound being ſhut in, and carried in thoſe ſmooth paſſages, as in ſo many pipes, or trunks, finding no iſſue out, reflects on itſelf, and cauſes a circulation of the air, which by degrees vaniſhes as the motion ceaſes [w].

The ſecond pyramid.

Scarce the flight of an arrow diſtant from the firſt, towards the ſouth, ſtands the ſecond pyramid, of which, beſides the miracle, both antient and modern writers have delivered very little. Herodotus ſays it falls ſhort of the other in magnitude, he having meaſured them both, but he does not give the dimenſions: he adds, that it has no ſubterraneous chambers, neither is the Nile conveyed into it by a channel, as into the former, but that it is of equal altitude [x]. Diodorus is ſomewhat more particular, and tells us, that for the architecture it is like the former, but much inferior to it in reſpect of magnitude; each ſide of the baſis containing a ſtadium, or 600 Grecian feet, in length [y]; ſo that, by his computation, each ſide ſhould want 100 Grecian feet of the former pyramid. Pliny makes the difference to be greater by 46 feet [z]. Moſt of the modern travellers do alſo agree this pyramid to be leſs than the other [a]. Thevenot makes it but 631 feet ſquare [b]. However, Strabo ſuppoſes theſe pyramids to be equal [c]; and Mr. Greaves, on the credit of a perſon who meaſured the ſecond with a line, aſſures us, the baſes of both are alike; and that the height taken by a deliberate conjecture (which it is eaſy to do by reaſon of the nearneſs of this and the former, and their

[t] Plut. de placitis Philoſph. l. 4. c. 20. [u] Lucas, ubi ſupr. t. i. p. 43. [w] Vid. Greaves, ubi ſupr. p. 67—101. Thevenot., part 1. c. 5. Le Bruyn. t. 2. Della Valle, lit. 11. p. 359, &c. [x] Herod. l. 2. [y] Diod. Sic. l. 1. [z] Plin. l. 36. c. 12. [a] Badzivil. p. 163. Lucas, ubi ſupr. p. 46. Sandys, p. 102, &c. [b] Theven. ubi ſupr. [c] Strabo, l. 17. p.

their ſtanding on the ſame plain) is not inferior to that of the firſt. This pyramid has no entrance, and is built of white ſtones, not near ſo vaſt as thoſe of the firſt; the ſides riſe not with degrees like that, but are ſmooth and equal; the whole fabric (except where it is oppoſed to the ſouth) ſeeming very entire, free from any deformed breaches [d].

The prieſts lodgings near it.

ON the north and weſt ſides of this ſecond pyramid are two very ſtately and elaborate pieces, about 30 feet in depth, and above 1400 in length, cut out of the rock in a perpendicular, and ſquared by the chiſſel; being deſigned, as is ſuppoſed, for lodgings of the Egyptian prieſts. They run parallel to the two ſides of the pyramid, at a convenient diſtance from it, and meeting in a right angle make a very fair proſpect. The entrance is by ſquare openings hewn out of the rock, much of the ſame ſize with the narrow paſſages of the firſt pyramid, each leading into a ſquare chamber, arched above with the natural rock. In moſt of them was a paſſage opening into ſome other apartments, but dark, and full of rubbiſh. On the north ſide without, there is a line engraven in ſacred Egyptian characters [e].

The third pyramid.

THE third pyramid ſtands at the diſtance of about a furlong from the ſecond, on an advantageous riſing of the rock, whereby afar off it ſeems equal to the former, though the pile be much leſs and lower. Herodotus ſays it is 300 feet on every ſide (M), and to the middle built of Ethiopic marble [f]. Diodorus gives the ſame dimenſions of the baſis, and adds, that the walls were raiſed fifteen ſtories with black ſtone, like Thebaic marble, and the reſt finiſhed with ſuch materials as the other pyramids are built with; that this piece of work, though it be exceeded by the two former in magnitude, yet for the ſtructure, art, and magnificence of the marble, it far excels them; and that in the ſide, towards the north, the name of Mycerinus, the founder, is engraved [g].

[d] Greaves, ubi ſupr. p. 103, &c. [e] Idem ibid. p. 106, &c. [f] Herodot. l. 2.

(M) Yet he tells us that it wants but 20 feet on each ſide of the firſt pyramid, which muſt be a miſtake; unleſs we charge it rather on the copies, and inſtead of 20 read 500 feet. Mr. Littlebury, in his tranſlation of Herodotus, ſuppoſes the meaning to be, that this pyramid was 20 feet lower than the former. As great a miſtake as the other.

graved [g]. Pliny writes to the same effect, except only that he makes this pyramid 363 feet between the angles [h]. Belon tells us, that it is but a third part greater, than that of C. Cæstius at Rome; and that it is still perfect, and no more decayed than if it had been newly built, consisting of a kind of Ethiopic marble called Basaltes, harder than iron itself [i]. The descriptions of others of the moderns concur in the same tale as to substance, only differing as to some circumstances; so that they all seem to have copied Herodotus, or one another, and surfeited with the view of the two other pyramids, not to have been near this, since they so constantly agree in what is most evidently false; for they have mistaken both the quality of the stone, and the colour of the pyramid, the whole appearing to be of a clear and white stone somewhat choicer and brighter than that in either of the two other pyramids: there are indeed the ruins of a pile of buildings on the east side of it, of a sad and dusky colour, which might be the occasion of the error. But Belon, and those who follow him, are more inexcusable in making this pyramid but a third part greater than that of Cæstius, which exactly measured, on that side which stands within the city, is completely 78 English feet in breadth, to which if we add a third part, the result will be 104, which should be equal to this Egyptian pyramid. An unpardonable oversight, of no less than 200 feet in a very little more than 300. For so much, besides the authority of Herodotus and Diodorus, Mr. Greaves takes the side of this pyramid to be, and the altitude to have much the same proportion. The name of Mycerinus is not now to be seen on it, the engraving having been defaced by time [k].

A fourth pyramid.

To the descriptions of these three pyramids we shall add that of a fourth, which stands near the mummies, and which we take to be that remarkable one mentioned above. This pyramid would fall nothing short of the beauty of the first, if it had been finished: it has 148 steps of large stones like the first pyramid; the platform of it is not even, the stones being set together without order, which shews, that it has not been finished, and yet it is much more antient than the other; as is evident by the stones which are all worn out and crumbled into sand. It is 643 feet square, and has its entry at the fourth part of its height on the

[g] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 57. Vid. Strab. ubi sup. [h] Plin. ubi supr.
[i] Belon Observ. l. 2. c. 44. [k] Greaves, ubi supr. p. 108, &c.

the north ſide, as the former, being diſtant from the eaſt ſide 316 feet, and by conſequence 327 from the weſt. There is but one paſſage into it, 3 feet and a half broad, and 4 feet high, which reaching 267 feet downwards, ends in a hall with a ſharp arched roof 25 feet and a half in length, and 11 in breadth. In the corner of the hall there is another paſſage, or gallery, parallel to the horizon, 3 feet ſquare within, and 9 feet and a half long, which leads to another chamber 21 feet in length and 11 in breadth, with a very high arched roof alſo, having at the weſt end a ſquare window raiſed 24 feet and two thirds from the floor, by which one enters into a paſſage indifferent broad, and of a man's height, parallel to the horizon, and reaching in length 13 feet and 2 inches. There is a great room, or hall, at the end of this paſſage. with an arched roof, containing in length 26 feet 8 inches, and in breadth 24 feet and 1 inch: the floor of it is the natural rock, which on all ſides is rough and unequal, leaving only a little ſmooth and even ſpace in the middle encompaſſed round with the rock, and much lower than the entry into the room or the foundation of the wall [l].

How the pyramids were built.

IN what manner theſe wonderful ſtructures were erected, and by what contrivance the ſtones, eſpecially thoſe vaſt ones in the firſt, were raiſed to that height, has been the ſubject of much ſpeculation. Herodotus, whoſe expreſſions are not very clear, ſuppoſes, that when they had laid the firſt range, they raiſed other ſtones thither from the ground, by ſhort engines made of wood; that when the ſtone was lodged on this row, it was put into another engine ſtanding on the firſt ſtep, from whence it was drawn up to the ſecond row by another, there being as many engines as orders of ſtone; or elſe there might be but one engine, which they might remove as there was occaſion. He ſays alſo, that the higheſt parts were firſt finiſhed, and the reſt in order, but laſt of all thoſe that are loweſt and next the ground [m]. Diodorus imagines the work was erected by the help of mounds, which he ſays the Egyptians pretended were raiſed of ſalt and nitre, and that they were diſſolved and waſhed away by letting in the river [n]. With this writer Pliny agrees, adding, that others were of opinion, that bridges were made of bricks, which, the work being ended, were diſtributed into private houſes; conceiving that the Nile, being

[l] Thevenot, Voy. part 1. c. 6.
[m] Herod. l. 2.
[n] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 57.

being much lower, could not come to wash them away [o]. Greaves thinks, it was done none of these ways; but that they first built a large tower in the midst, reaching to the top; to the sides of which he conceives the rest of the building to have been applied, piece after piece, like so many buttereſſes, still lessening in height, till at last they came to the lowermost degree. A difficult piece of building taken in the easiest projection.

If what the antients deliver be true, that the stones made use of in the building of these pyramids, were fetched either from the quarries in the Arabian mountains, Thebaïs, or Ethiopia, we need not be surprized when we are told, that Cheops employed 100,000 men in this labour, 10,000 every three months [p]. But some modern travellers, observing that these structures are built not with marble, but with a white sandy stone, and very hard, rather believe it was dug out of the rock whereon they stand [q]. We think a middle opinion the most probable; that the aforesaid rock indeed supplied them with great part of the materials, but that the marble of the inner rooms and passages was brought thither from some other place. Wansleb imagines the greatest pyramid to be nothing but a rock cut in that shape, and covered with a wall of stone [r]; a piece of work, to our apprehension, full as difficult as erecting a like mass of stones from the quarry.

Diodorus makes the number of men employed in building the first pyramid 360,000, and Pliny 366,000. It is agreed, that twenty years were spent in the work: and Herodotus adds, that there was in his time an inscription on the pyramid, though it be since worn out, declaring, how much was expended in radishes, onions, and garlick for the workmen, which, his interpreter told him, amounted to no less than 1600 talents of silver, or about 413,333 l. 6 s. 8 d. sterling [s].

Some late writers think, there is no beauty in these structures, except their prodigious size [t], though they might formerly be reckoned among the wonders of the world, when they were, as is supposed, cased with marble, before the later kings of Egypt took it away to adorn their palaces [u]; which is a piece of history we cannot warrant. However,

[o] Plin. ubi supr. [p] Herod. l. 2. [q] Thevenot, part 1. c. 5. Wansleb, ubi supr. [r] Wansleb, ibid. [s] Vid. Herod. Diodor. & Plin. ubi supr. [t] Figueroa Emb. di Persia. Sicard, Mem. des Miss. t. ii. p. 281. [u] Sicard, ibid.

However, a very intelligent traveller judges them, in their preſent condition, worthy the magnificence of the old Egyptian kings; adding, that no prince now in the world (without diſparagement to any) is able to raiſe ſuch a pile of building [w]: and antient writers ſay, that they were magnificent beyond expreſſion, and ſingly comparable to many of the greateſt ſtructures in Greece conſidered together; that they exceeded all other works in Egypt, not only in the maſſineſs of the building, and in the expence, but alſo in the induſtry and ſkill of the workmen; the Egyptians themſelves, thinking (very juſtly), that the architects were more to be admired than the kings who were at the expence; for the former erected them by their own abilities and contrivance, the latter by their wealth received by inheritance, and the labours of others [x].

ONE thing more remarkable in the firſt pyramid is, that the ſides of it do ſtand exactly facing the four quarters of the world, and conſequently mark the true meridian of the place (N); which preciſe poſition could not well have been owing to chance, but was in all probability the effect of art and deſign; and that it was really ſo, is confirmed by the ſame poſition of the tomb within. A permanent proof of the early progreſs made by the Egyptians in aſtronomy [y].

HERODOTUS mentions a bridge near this pyramid, and little leſs conſiderable than the pyramid itſelf: but there are now no remains of it to be ſeen. It was 40 ſtadia, or about 5 miles in length, 60 feet broad, and in the higheſt part 80 feet in altitude; all of poliſhed ſtones, and carved

[w] Thevenot, ubi ſupr. [x] Herod. & Diodor: ubi ſupr.
[y] Vid. Fountenelle, Elog. de Mr. de Chazelles. p. 91: Lucas, tom. i. p. 366.

(N) Mr. de Chazelles, who made this obſervation, and was on the ſpot in the year 1693, being an excellent mathematician, we ſhall here ſet down the dimenſions of this pyramid as taken by him, and the rather, becauſe they come the neareſt to thoſe of Mr. Greaves. The ſide of the baſe is, according to this gentleman, 110 toiſes, which is, as we compute, 704.880 Engliſh feet; and the perpendicular height 77 toiſes and 3 quarters, or 498.222 Engliſh feet (1).

(1) Vid. Rollin, Hiſt. anc. t. i. p. 201.

carved with the figures of various animals. This was the work of ten years [z].

Other pyramids.

HAVING been so diffusive in the description of the pyramids of Memphis, we may be excused taking notice of those which are to be seen in other parts of Egypt; observing only, that they are not all of the same form, some being round and almost like a sugar-loaf, and others rising with a lesser inclination, and not so pointed at the top [a]. Lucas assures us, that there are no less than twelve pyramids near the cataracts, and two in al Feyûm, nothing inferior to those of al Kâhira [b].

Of the labyrinth.

THE Egyptian labyrinth, from whence Dædalus is supposed to have taken the model of that which he afterwards built in Crete, though he therein intimated but the hundreth part of it [c], was a celebrated structure; and yet Herodotus, who saw it, says, that it had far surpassed the report of fame, being, in his judgment, even more admirable than the pyramids [d]. As there were at least 3 buildings of this kind, antient writers, not distinguishing them, generally speak but of one, and consequently with great confusion and disagreement.

THEY tell us, it stood in the Heracleotic nome, near the city of Crocodiles, or Arsinoe, a little above the lake Mœris [e]. Pliny says, it was built by Petesuccus, or Tithoes, one of the demigods, 4600 years before his time; but that Demoteles would have it to be the palace of Motherudes; Lyceas the sepulchre of Mœris; and others the temple of the sun [f]. It is recorded by Manetho, that Lachares, or Labares, the successor of Sesostris, provided a labyrinth for his monument [g]. And Diodorus writes, that Mendes, or Marus, also built one for the same purpose, which was not so considerable on account of its magnitude, as for the artificial contrivance of it [h]: but this seems to be a different building from that described by him a little after, which, in all probability the same with the labyrinth of Herodotus; for they both agree in the situation, that it was the work of twelve kings, among whom Egypt was at one time divided; and that they built

[z] Herod. ubi supr. [a] Lucas Voy. t. ii. p. 10. [b] Idem, t. i. p. 99, and ii. p. 75. [c] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 1. 55. [d] Herodot. l. 2. [e] Idem, ibid. Plin. l. 36. c. 13. [f] Plin. ibid. [g] Syncell. Chronogr. p. 59, 60. [h] Diod. ubi supr.

built it at their common charge, as a public monument of their reign, and were buried there [i].

THIS ſtructure ſeems to have been deſigned as a pantheon, or univerſal temple of all the Egyptian deities, which were ſeparately worſhipped in the provinces. It was alſo the place of the general aſſembly of the magiſtracy of the whole nation, thoſe of all the provinces, or nomes, meeting here to feaſt and ſacrifice, and to judge cauſes of great conſequence [k]. And for this reaſon every nome had a hall, or palace, appropriate to it; the whole edifice containing, according to Herodotus, twelve; Egypt being then divided into ſo many kingdoms. But Pliny makes the number of theſe palaces ſixteen, and Strabo, as it ſeems, twenty ſeven [l]. The firſt of theſe writers tells us, that the halls were vaulted, and had an equal number of doors oppoſite to one another, ſix opening to the north, and ſix to the ſouth, all encompaſſed by the ſame wall; that there were three thouſand chambers in this edifice, fifteen hundred in the upper part, and as many under ground; and that he viewed every room in the upper part, but was not permitted, by thoſe who kept the palace, to go into the ſubterraneous part, becauſe the ſepulchres of the holy crocodiles, and of the kings who built the labyrinth, were there. He reports, that what he ſaw ſeemed to ſurpaſs the art of man: ſo many ways out by various paſſages, and infinite returns, afforded a thouſand occaſions of wonder, as he paſſed from a ſpacious hall to a chamber; from thence to a private cabinet; then again into other paſſages out of the cabinets, and out of the chambers into the more ſpacious rooms. All the roofs and walls within were incruſted with marble; but the walls farther adorned with figures of ſculpture. The halls were ſurrounded with pillars of white ſtone finely poliſhed; and at the angle, where the labyrinth ends, ſtood the pyramid formerly mentioned [m], which Strabo will have to be the ſepulchre of the prince who built the labyrinth [n].

To this deſcription of Herodotus others add, that it ſtood in the midſt of an immenſe ſquare, ſurrounded with buildings at a great diſtance; that the porch was of Parian marble, and all the other pillars of marble of Syene; that within it

[i] Idem, ibid. p. 59. Herod. ubi ſupr. [k] Strabo, l. 17. p. 1165. [l] See the places above quoted. [m] Herod. ubi ſupr. See before, p. 508. [n] Strabo, ubi ſup.

it were the temples of their several deities, and galleries, to which one ascended by 90 steps, adorned with many columns of porphyry, images of their gods, and statues of their kings, of monstrous size; that the whole edifice consisted of stone, the floors being laid with vast tables, and the roof appearing like a field of stone; that the passages met, and crossed each other with so much intricacy, that it was impossible for a stranger to find his way, either in or out, without a guide; and that several of the apartments were so contrived, that on opening of the doors, there was heard within a terrible noise of thunder [o].

We shall subjoin part of the description given by Diodorus of a fabric, which though he does not call it a labyrinth, but a sepulchre, yet appears to be the same we are now speaking of. He says it was of a square form, each side being a furlong in length, built of most beautiful stone, the sculpture and other work of which posterity could not exceed; that when one had passed the outer enclosure, a building presented itself to view, surrounded by a piazza, every side consisting of 400 pillars; and that it contained the ensigns, or memorials, of the country of each king; and was, in all respects, a work so sumptuous, and of such vast dimensions, that if the twelve princes who began it, had not been dethroned before it was finished, the magnificence of it could never have been surpassed [p]. Whence it seems, that Psammetichus, one of the twelve, who, expelling his associates, made himself master of all Egypt, finished the design, but not with a grandeur answerable to the rest of the structure; though Mela attributes the glory of the whole to that king [q].

The solidity of this wonderful building was such, that it withstood for many ages not only the rage of time, but that of the inhabitants of Heracleopolis, who, worshipping the ichneumon, the mortal enemy of the crocodile, which was the peculiar deity of Arsinoe, bore an irreconcilable hatred to the labyrinth, which served also for a sepulchre to the sacred crocodiles, and therefore assisted to demolish it. Pliny says, it was remaining in his days, and that about 500 years before Alexander, Circummon, eunuch to king Nectabis, was reported to have bestowed some small reparations on it, supporting the building with beams of Acacia,

[o] Plin. & Strabo, ubi supr. [p] Diod. Sic. ubi supr. p. 59, 60. [q] Pomp. Mela. l. 1. c. 9.

Acacia, or the Egyptian thorn boiled in oil, while the arches of ſquare ſtone were erecting [r].

THOUGH the Arabs have alſo, ſince the days of Pliny, helped to ruin this ſtructure, yet a conſiderable part of it is ſtill ſtanding almoſt at the ſouth end of the lake Mœris, a little to the eaſt, and about ten leagues from the ruins of Arſinoe. The people of the country call it the palace of Charon, of whom we ſhall ſay ſomething by and by.

THE remains we ſpeak of retain yet ſome marks of the antient ſplendor of the whole. The firſt thing one ſees is a large portico of marble, facing the riſing ſun, and ſuſtained by four great pillars of marble alſo, but compoſed of ſeveral pieces: three of theſe pillars are ſtill ſtanding, and one of the two middle ones is half fallen. In the middle is a door, whoſe ſides and entablature are very maſſy; and above is a frize, whereon is repreſented a head with wings ſtretched out along the frize, and ſeveral hieroglyphics underneath. This head is covered with a kind of vail, and ſurrounded with four points of marble, like rays; over this firſt entablature runs a frize, the ſtones of which are cut into the figures of ſerpents, very big below the head, but growing inſenſibly leſs to the tail. On this frize are the ruins of ſeveral doors, in different ſtories, by which probably they entered into the apartments that were above, but they are at preſent entirely ruined: on each ſide of that in the middle there is an Anubis full of hieroglyphics.

THIS edifice reſembles none of the four orders of architecture which we received from the antients. Having paſſed through the portico, one enters into a fine large hall, all of marble, the roof conſiſting of twelve tables of marble, exquiſitely joined, each 25 feet long and 3 broad, which croſs the room from one end to the other; the roof, being not arched (as Herodotus ſays) but flat, ſtrikes one with admiration at the boldneſs of its architecture; it being ſcarce conceivable, how it could continue ſo many ages in a poſition ſo improper to ſupport ſo prodigious a weight. This hall is at preſent 40 feet high, without making any allowance for the duſt and rubbiſh with which the floor is covered. At the end of this hall, over-againſt the firſt door, there is a ſecond portico, with the ſame ornaments as the firſt, but leſs, by which one enters into a ſecond hall, not ſo big as the firſt, which is covered with eight ſtones.

[r] Plin. ubi ſupr. Vid. Strabo, p. 1166.

ſtones. At the end of this room, ſtrait forwards, there is a third portico, ſtill leſs than the ſecond, as well as the hall into which it leads, though it has thirteen ſtones to roof it. At the end of this third hall there is a fourth portico, ſet againſt the wall, and placed there for ſymmetry only to anſwer the reſt. The length of theſe three halls is the whole depth of the building in its preſent condition: it was on the two ſides, and eſpecially under ground, that the prodigious number of rooms and avenues, mentioned by the antients, were built; the halls we have deſcribed having ſeveral openings made in them, through which one may go into other rooms on the ſame level, from whence there are ſtair-caſes to go up into thoſe above, and down into thoſe under ground. Our author having firſt taken the precaution which Ariadne taught Theſeus, and provided himſelf with above 2000 fathom of thread, and ſome chopped ſtraw to ſtrew in his way; went into above 150 of theſe chambers, but was often obliged either to creep on his belly, or to remove the rubbiſh which choaked up the paſſages; but with all his endeavours he was not able to go very far.

To have a perfect idea of the conſtruction of this edifice, you muſt imagine, that you go from one chamber into another, ſometimes into an alley, which has apertures in ſeveral places anſwering to other avenues, from which often, without perceiving it, you come to the place from whence you ſet out. All theſe chambers and paſſages, where a perfect obſcurity reigns, are not of equal dimenſions, nor of the ſame figure; ſome being long, ſome ſquare, and others triangular.

The diſagreement which may be found between this relation and the accounts of the antients, and even among the ſeveral deſcriptions of the antients themſelves in a building of ſo great variety and extent, need not be wondered at. What is now remaining of it, ſeems to be no more than a fourth part of the inner edifice, which, in all probability, had four fronts, and twelve halls anſwering to them; the reſt being decayed by time, or demoliſhed by deſign, as appears from the prodigious ruins which are to be ſeen all around it [s].

Of the lake Mœris.

How admirable ſoever the labyrinth was, yet the lake Mœris, by which that monument ſtood, is ſaid to be yet more wonderful. The antients make it no leſs 3600 ſtadia in

[s] Lucas Voy. t. ii. p. 18, &c.

in circumference [t], which is somewhat incredible (O); but later relations assure us, that it is not above half a league broad and a day's journey in length, being in circuit about 12 or 15 leagues [u]: which is prodigious enough, if we consider, that it was the work of mens hands, as appeared from the two pyramids built in the midst of it, which were standing in the time of Herodotus. In the deepest parts it has 50 fathom of water. This lake stretches from north to south, and is not fed by the sea, the adjacent country being excessively dry, but by water derived from the Nile, by a channel cut for that purpose, 80 stadia long and 300 feet broad, through which the water flowed into the lake six months of the year, and back again to the river the other six months: yet we are told, by a modern traveller, that there are two considerable springs in the lake, which keep it from becoming ever quite dry; though in those years that the Nile encreases but little, it has not much water, and then several fine ruins are discovered, which at other times are not to be seen [w].

THIS lake was dug by a king of Egypt, called by Herodotus Mœris, and by Diodorus Myris, whose name it afterwards received, to correct the irregularities of the Nile, by receiving the superfluous waters when that river rose too high, and thereby preventing their stagnation in other places to the detriment of the land, and by supplying water for the lands when the river failed; which was effected by many canals and ditches cut from the main channel [x]. These canals are still subsisting, and almost entire at this day, their

[t] Herod. ubi supr. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 49. [u] Lucas Voy. t. iii, p. 63. [w] Lucas, ubi supr. p. 53. [x] Diodor. ubi supr.

(O) Pomponius Mela makes the circuit of this lake no more than 20 miles; which being so very dissonant from what Herodotus and Diodorus have delivered, the critics will have it to be a mistake in Mela's copy, and have corrected it by those authors (1); but, as we imagine, without reason: though we must not dissemble the tradition of the people of the country, who say, the lake was formerly much larger than it is now; and one place in particular, which the water has left, is become a dangerous quicksand, wherein men and cattle are sometimes lost (2).

(1) Vid. Vossium & alios in Melam, l. 1. c. 9. (2) Lucas, ubi supr. p. 64, 71.

their number and ſtructure being worthy admiration. And as they were of the greateſt benefit to the antient inhabitants, ſo are they no leſs ſerviceable to the preſent, who, as has been obſerved, attribute theſe works, and indeed almoſt all other antient works of public utility, to Joſeph [y].

The canal of communication between the Nile and the lake, had antiently large ſluices to let the water in or out as occaſion required; and whenever they were either to be opened or ſhut, the charge of doing it was no leſs than 50 talents, or about 12,916 l. 13 s. 4 d. On the other hand, the lake brought in a very conſiderable revenue to the prince; the fiſhery, during the ſix months of the river's retreat, yielding a talent of ſilver, or about 258 l. 6. s. 8 d. every day to the royal treaſury; and the reſt of the time 20 minæ, or a fourth part of that ſum; there being twenty two ſorts of fiſh in this lake, and in ſuch plenty, that though a great number of people were employed in ſalting them, yet there wanted hands for the work. Mœris, it is ſaid, gave theſe revenues to his wife, to buy her ointments, or, as we expreſs it, for pin-money. The earth dug for the making of the lake, was, as the Egyptians told Herodotus, carried to the Nile, and diſperſed by the current of that river [z].

There is an iſle in the middle of the lake Mœris, of about a league in circumference: but nothing is now to be ſeen of the two pyramids which were built here, though they ſay there are ſeveral ruins of temples and tombs in the iſle, with large figures of men and animals. On the farther ſide of the lake there are ſome little mountains with grottos in them, which were formerly made uſe of for ſepulchres [a].

The inhabitants, at preſent, call this lake, the lake of Charon, concerning whom they tell the following ſtory; that being a perſon of mean extraction, and reſolved to get money by any means, he planted himſelf by this lake, and exacted of every corps that was ferryed over to be interred a certain ſum: though he did this without any authority from the prince, yet he carried on the impoſition for ſeveral years, till refuſing paſſage to the dead body of the king's ſon, unleſs the uſual ſum were paid him, the cheat was diſcovered: however, he made the king ſo ſenſible of the great advantage it would be to him to continue this duty by his royal

[y] Lucas, ubi ſupr. See before p. 490. [z] Herod. & Diodor. ubi ſup. [a] Lucas, ubi ſup.

royal authority, that he ordered it to be conſtantly paid for the future, appointing Charon his firſt miniſter, and confirming him in his old employment, which he made the firſt poſt in the kingdom. And Charon got ſuch vaſt riches in it, that he became powerful enough to aſſaſſinate the king, and mount the throne in his ſtead [b]. There is ſo much correſpondence between this fable and what the antients ſay of Charon, that we could not omit it.

THE time would fail us if we ſhould go through an exact deſcription of the other buildings and admirable works of the antient Egyptians, though perhaps they deſerve it equally with what we have already mentioned; the very ſpoils of them making at this day the principal ornament of Rome; where is ſcarce a column, or an obeliſk, worthy of note, but what has been formerly brought thither out of Egypt. We may, however, find occaſions in the progreſs of this work to ſpeak of what we here omit; and ſhall only take notice, as briefly as we can, of two or three things more, which we judge extraordinary, and for which, we apprehend, we may not hereafter find a more proper place.

A palace near the Cataracts.

ONE is a moſt magnificent palace in the upper Egypt, not far from Aſwân, the antient Syene; the ruins whereof are enough to ſtrike a ſpectator with aſtoniſhment. It is as large as a little city, having four avenues of columns, leading to as many porticos. At each gate, between two pillars of porphyry, there ſtand two gigantic figures of fine black marble, armed with maces. The avenues conſiſt of columns, ſet three and three together in a triangle on one pedeſtal; on the chapiter of each triangle is placed a Sphinx and a tomb alternately. Every column is 70 feet high, all of one ſtone. There are in the whole, in all the four avenues, above five or ſix thouſand of theſe columns, a great many of which are fallen down.

THE firſt hall of this palace is painted with fine pieces of hiſtory, and it ſeems as if the painting had not been long finiſhed. In ſome places they have repreſented the hunting of antelopes, in others feaſts, and a great many young children playing with all kinds of animals. From hence you go into other apartments, encruſted with marble, the roofs being ſupported by pillars of porphyry and black marble. Notwithſtanding the vaſt quantity of rubbiſh, our author made ſhift to get up to the top of this building, from whence

[b] Idem.

whence he had a proſpect of the ruins of the greateſt city that had ever been, as he thought, in the world. He ſuppoſes it might be the antient Thebes [c], though that city probably ſtood much lower.

Grots near Oſyût.

The grots near Oſyût ought not to be neglected. One of them is large enough to contain above 600 horſe in battle array: it is cut out of the rock by the chiſſel, and ſupported by vaſt ſquare pillars of the ſame rock. In this grotto ſeveral little ſeats are made to reſt on; and it ſeems by ſome footſteps which ſtill remain of them, that formerly the figures of ſeveral deities were painted there; but they are now almoſt entirely defaced. There are a great many other grots in the ſame mountain, more beautiful than this. They are ranged in order, with doors anſwering one another, on which there are ſeveral images of the antient gods of Egypt in baſſo relievo; ſome having a ſtaff in their hand, as if they guarded the entrance. In theſe grottos various apartments have been made, and ſome wells ſunk; but, what is moſt wonderful of all, at the further end there are catacombs hollowed in the rock, where there are a great number of mummies and tombs adorned with ſepulchres in baſſo relievo, which have been almoſt all diſfigured by the Arabs. Our author went into above two hundred of theſe grots, each of them more ſingular than the other; and he aſſures us there are above a thouſand of them. It is ſurpriſing to conſider the time and number of men that muſt have been employed in a work of ſuch difficulty; there being ſcarce a monument in any other part of the world, which carries ſuch evidence of the power of thoſe who executed it; for which reaſon the people of the country believe theſe grots the works of dæmons, who have hid immenſe treaſures in them. As to the time when they were cut, and for what purpoſe, it is in vain to expect any light from hiſtory [d].

A magnificent ſtructure at Dandera.

Among the antiquities of Dandera, the antient Tentyra, there is ſtanding part of a temple, or palace, of ſurpriſing height and dimenſions. The back-part of this ſtructure is a vaſt wall, without any windows, built of large ſtones of greyiſh granite, covered with baſſo relievos bigger than the life, repreſenting the antient Egyptian deities, with all their attributes in different attitudes. Two lions of white marble, as big as horſes, ſtand above half the length of their bodies out of the wall. The ſide is about 300 paces long, filled alſo

[c] Idem, t. i. p. 98, &c.

[d] Lucas, ubi ſupr. t. ii. p. 76, &c.

ſo with ſculptures of the ſame kind, and has three lions jutting out, of the ſame ſize with the former. The front of this glorious edifice expoſes to view, in the midſt, a porch, ſuſtained by ſquare pilaſters of a prodigious ſize; a large piazza ſupported by three rows of columns, one of which eight men can hardly fathom, extends itſelf on each ſide the porch, and bears up a flat roof, made of ſtones of 6 or 7 feet broad, and of an extraordinary length. This roof appears to have been formerly painted, and ſome colours, which time has ſpared, are ſtill to be perceived. The columns, made of great ſtones of granite, and full of hieroglyphics in relief, have each, on their corniſh, a capital compoſed of four womens heads, with their headdreſs, ſet back to back, and appearing like the faces of a double Janus: theſe heads are of a proportion ſuitable to the columns: there is above them an abacus of a ſquare ſtone, of about 6 feet high, ſomewhat longer than it is broad, which ſupports the roof. A kind of corniſh, of a ſingular conſtruction, runs all round this piazza; and in the middle, over the porch, there are two great ſerpents interwoven, whoſe heads reſt on two large wings extended on each ſide. Though theſe columns are above half buried in the ruins, yet one may judge of their height by their circumference; and according to the proportions of architecture, they ought to be, at leaſt, 44 or 45 feet high, and 120 including the baſis with the capital. From this porch one enters directly into a large ſquare hall, where there are three doors, opening into different apartments which lead ſtill into others, ſupported alſo by a great many fine columns, though dark and full of rubbiſh.

As this edifice is almoſt entirely buried on one ſide under the ruins and heaps of ſtones, which have formed a kind of mountain, one may eaſily get up to the top; and to give ſome idea of its dimenſions, it is ſufficient to ſay, that the Arabs had formerly built a very large town upon it, the ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen. At ſome diſtance from the front, there is a large arch of a beautiful order of architecture, and above 40 feet high, which ſeems to have been the firſt gate.

THE tradition of the country is, that this was a temple of Serapis; which ſeems to be confirmed by a Greek inſcription on the frize, wherein the name of that deity appears; but the whole is ſo imperfectly taken, that there is no making any certain judgment of it. They alſo pretend, that this

temple had as many windows as there are days in the year, and that those windows were so disposed, that each answering to one of the degrees of the ecliptic, the sun every day saluted the deity who presided there, through them in order, one after another [e].

We shall conclude this section, which is perhaps already too long, with a reflexion made on occasion of this structure: That if in such cities as Tentyra, and some others of inferior note, there are found monuments of such exquisite beauty and grandeur, what ought we to think of those erected in the principal cities, which were the ordinary residence of the kings; as Thebes, Memphis, and Alexandria? and how great an idea ought we to entertain of the power and magnificence of the antient inhabitants of Egypt [f]?

SECT. II.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, arts, learning, and trade of the ancient Egyptians.

The antiquity of the Egyptians.

THERE are few nations in the world which can pretend to an equal antiquity with the Egyptians. Their country is the only one in the world which has born the name of a son of Noah; though it be uncertain, whether Ham himself made any settlement there. However, his son Mizraïm certainly peopled Egypt with his own issue, which inhabited several parts of it, under the names of Mizraïm, Pathrusim, Casluhim, and Caphtorim [a].

And yet the Egyptians themselves, being ignorant of their true descent, pretended even to a greater antiquity than this, asserting themselves to have been the first men in the world, which (as well as animals) they imagined must have been originally produced in their country, rather than in any other part of the world, because of the benign temperature of the air, the natural fecundity of the Nile, and its spontaneous bringing forth several kinds of vegetables, as proper food for the newly produced men and animals. And to support this opinion by fact, they instanced in the

[e] Sicard, Mem. des missions, t. ii. p. 158. Lucas, t. 2. p. 133, &c. [f] Lucas, ibid. p. 139. [a] See before, p. 464.

the great numbers of mice which were every year bred out of the mud left by the Nile on its retreat, ſome of them, as they ſay, appearing alive, and formed ſo far as the fore-part of the body only, the other part being inanimate and without motion, as having not yet quite put off the nature of earth [b]. That the concurrence of proper cauſes, in certain ſeaſons, will occaſion a prodigious encreaſe of thoſe vermin, is obſerved in other countries; but as to the other part of the relation, it is not improbable, that the mice which are generated at that ſeaſon in Egypt, are of the ſame kind with thoſe mentioned by antient authors to breed in that country, and ſome other parts, which have but two legs [c], and which an incurious ſpectator might therefore eaſily take to be imperfect animals, and but half formed. On this miſtaken notion of their original, the Egyptians built their hiſtory, reckoning an extravagant number of years, during which they pretended they had the moſt flouriſhing kingdom in the world, under the adminiſtration of their own native kings. However, we are told, that in the time of Pſammetichus they acknowledge the Phrygians to be more antient, yielding that nation the priority, and challenging only the ſecond rank to themſelves [d].

Their government and laws.

THE Egyptians are ſaid to have been the firſt who found out the rules of government, and the art of making life eaſy, and a people happy; the true end of politics. Their laws and inſtitutions were not only highly reverenced by thoſe who lived under their immediate influence, but by other nations, and particularly the Grecians, whoſe firſt ſages and law-givers travelled into this country to acquaint themſelves therewith, and borrowed thence the beſt part of thoſe which they afterwards eſtabliſhed at home.

Their kings manner of life.

THE crown of Egypt was hereditary; their firſt kings did not live after the manner of other monarchs, or govern by their own arbitrary will and pleaſure, ſubject to the controul of none; but they were obliged to conform themſelves to the eſtabliſhed laws of the land, not only in the management of public affairs, but even in their private way of life. No ſlave bought with money, or ſervant born in their own houſe, was admitted into their ſervice; but they were attended by the ſons of the prieſts of moſt diſtinguiſhed birth;

[b] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 9. [c] Theophraſt. in fragm. de animalibus. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. 10. c. 65. Herodot. l. 4. [d] Herodot. l. 2. ſub init. See before, p. 431. not. U.

birth; who, after having had a ſuitable education, were at the age of twenty placed about the king's perſon; that, being waited on both day and night by men of ſuch extraordinary merit, he might learn nothing unworthy of the royal majeſty, and be in the leſs danger of falling into any vicious exceſs; which princes ſeldom do, unleſs they find, among thoſe who approach their perſons, encouragers of their debauchery, and miniſters of their paſſions.

There were ſtated hours of night as well as day, when the king could not do what he had a fancy to, but was indiſpenſably obliged to give attention to buſineſs and ſerious employment. When he aroſe early in the morning, the firſt thing he did was to peruſe the public diſpatches and letters, which came from ſeveral parts of his dominions, that ſo he might be well acquainted with the ſtate and affairs of his kingdom. Then bathing himſelf, and putting on ſplendid attire, and aſſumeing the enſigns of his regal office, he went to the temple to ſacrifice: the victims being brought to the altar, the chief prieſt, in the preſence of the king and the aſſiſtants, prayed with a loud voice for the health and proſperity of the king, who governed according to juſtice and the laws of the kingdom. And on this occaſion he enlarged on his royal vertues, obſerving, that he was pious towards the gods, tender towards his people, moderate, juſt, magnanimous, of ſtrict veracity, liberal, maſter of himſelf, puniſhing below, and rewarding above, defert. He then ſpake with execration of the faults which the king might have committed through ſurprize or ignorance; but withal abſolving him, and laying the guilt on his miniſters and council. And this method they took to win their kings to the practice of vertue; not by ſharp admonitions, but by the pleaſing praiſes due to good actions. The ſacrifices being duly performed, the ſcribe read, out of ſacred records, ſuch of the counſels and actions of the moſt famous men as might be of uſe in life, and fit for imitation; that the king might thereby be inſtructed to govern his ſtate by their maxims, and regulate his adminiſtration, in every reſpect, according to the eſtabliſhed laws.

Nor was the king obliged to this exactneſs in public affairs only; but he was ſo little maſter of himſelf in private, that he could not take the air, lie with his queen, bath, or do the moſt indifferent thing, but at certain times,

which

which were particularly appointed, and ſet apart for this or that purpoſe. He was not permitted to chooſe what he would eat, but his table was furniſhed with the moſt ſimple food, generally veal or gooſe ; and hewas allowed but a certain quantity of wine to drink. And this regulation was ſo moderate, that it ſeemed not to have been the inſtitution of a legiſlator, but the preſcription of an experienced phyſician for the preſervation of health ; to which it was ſo conducive, that one of the kings of Egypt, named Tachos, who had the beſt of conſtitutions while he lived after the frugal manner of his own country, retireing into Perſia, ſoon ruined it by the luxurious diet of that nation [e]. It is ſaid, that there was in a certain temple in Thebes. a pillar, with an inſcription on it, containing imprecations againſt a king, who firſt had introduced luxury among the Egyptians [f].

So great a reſtraint laid on the prince in matters ſeemingly of little conſequence, is indeed extraordinary ; but what deſerves greater admiration is, that it was not in his power to ſatisfy more dangerous appetites, by wronging or oppreſſing the ſubject ; for he could not puniſh any perſon out of paſſion or caprice, nor give judgment in any caſe otherwiſe than as the laws ordained. And all this was ſo far from being thought hard or diſhonourable by the kings, that on the contrary they eſteemed it a ſingular bleſſing, that while other men were ſubject to the ill conſequences of indulging their natural paſſions, themſelves were exempt from ſuch dangers, by living up to a rule of life approved by the muſt prudent perſons. While the princes behaved themſelves with this juſtice and moderation, they were infinitely dear to their people ; not only the colleges of prieſts, but the whole Egyptian nation being more ſolicitous for the king's ſafety, than that of their wives, children, or poſſeſſions. Wherefore, ſo long as theſe laws were obſerved, their ſtate was flouriſhing, and the people happy ; they extended their dominions by the conqueſt of ſeveral nations, became exceeding rich and populous, and enabled to adorn the ſeveral provinces of the kingdom with works of inimitable magnificence [g].

THE affection of the Egyptians to their king appeared in nothing more than in the lamentations they made for them, and the honours they paid them when dead ; for upon

The honours paid them when dead.

[e] Ælian. var. hiſt. l. 5. c. 1. [f] Plutarch de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 354. [g] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 63, &c.

on the death of any of their kings, the whole kingdom went into mourning, rending their garments, ſhutting up their temples, and putting a ſtop to all ſacrifices, feaſts, and ſolemnities, for the ſpace of ſeventy two days. Companies of 200 or 300, both men and women, having thrown dirt on their heads, and being girt with linen girdles, marched ſolemnly in proceſſion twice a day, ſinging his praiſe in mournful dirges, calling on the virtues of the deceaſed. All this while they abſtained from fleſh and wheat, as alſo from wine and all delicacies; they neither bathed, nor anointed themſelves, nor ſlept in their beds, nor uſed the company of their wives; but every one mourned both night and day, as for the loſs of a beloved ſon. In the mean time, the funeral pomp being prepared with great magnificence, on the laſt day, the body was expoſed in a coffin at the entrance of the ſepulchre, where, in purſuance of a law, the actions of his life were recited, and every one was at free liberty to accuſe him. The prieſts pronounced his elogy; and if it ſo happened that the deceaſed had reigned worthily, the numerous multitude, aſſembled on the occaſion, ſeconded the applauſes of the prieſts; but if he had governed unworthily, they boldly expreſſed their diſapprobation. It even depended on the inclinations of the people, whether the deceaſed prince ſhould be honoured with a ſolemn burial, which through their diſlike was denied to ſeveral. Upon which account (among others), and leſt their dead bodies ſhould be abuſed, and their memory blaſted with eternal infamy, they did their utmoſt to deſerve the good opinion of their ſubjects by an unblameable conduct.

The political diviſion of the kingdom.

As to the adminiſtration of public affairs, each nome, or province, had its peculiar governor, who ordered and took care of every thing within his juriſdiction. The lands were divided into three parts; of which one was allotted to the prieſts, and the revenues thereof were employed not only for the maintenance of them and their families, but for the providing ſacrifices and all other expences of public worſhip. The ſecond belonged to the king, and was appropriated to defray the charges of his wars, for and the ſupport of the regal dignity with ſplendor. By ſuch an abundant proviſion, he was enabled liberally to reward men of diſtinguiſhed merit; and had no occaſion to lay any burthenſome taxes on his people. The third part was the ſoldiers, who, having ſo handſome a maintenance, were thereby encouraged to venture their lives in defence

defence of their country: for they thought it abſurd to truſt the ſafety of the whole nation in the hands of thoſe, who had nothing dear or valuable at home to fight for [h].

HERODOTUS ſays, the Egyptians were diſtinguiſhed into ſeven orders of men; prieſts, ſoldiers, herdſmen, hogherds, traders, interpreters, and ſeamen; who took their names from the profeſſions they exerciſed. But Diodorus mentions no more than five; prieſts, ſoldiers, ſhepherds, huſbandmen, and artificers, including probably ſome of the former denominations under ſome of theſe.

Of the prieſts.

THE king, prieſts, and ſoldiery made as it were the three eſtates of the kingdom. The prieſts were held in great reverence and eſteem, not only for their attendance on the worſhip of their gods, but becauſe by their learning and prudence they were of great ſervice to the ſtate; being for that reaſon always near the king's perſon, as the chief of his council to aſſiſt him with their advice, to give their judgments as to the event of any enterprize, by their ſkill in aſtronomy, and in divination by inſpection of the ſacrifices; and to read uſeful points of hiſtory out of the ſacred commentaries. Theſe were exempt from all taxes, and were the next in power and dignity to the king [k].

THE prieſts wore linen garments, and ſhoes, being not permitted to dreſs in any other manner; they took particular care to waſh them often, and have them always clean; and for greater neatneſs, they ſhaved all parts of their bodies once in three days, and bathed conſtantly, twice by day and twice by night, in cold water, with a great deal of ſuperſtition. The ſervice of every god was performed, not by one, but by many prieſts; and they had a chief prieſt over them, in whoſe room, when he died, his ſon was ſubſtituted. The prieſthood enjoyed very great advantages, being never diſturbed with domeſtic cares; for they eat the conſecrated bread, and were daily furniſhed with beef and geeſe in abundance, and had alſo an allowance of wine; but they might not taſte of fiſh. Beans, which were never eaten by the other Egyptians, the prieſts abhorred the ſight of, accounting them impure and abominable: whence Pythagoras took the averſion he had to that kind of pulſe.

Of the ſoldiery.

THE military men were called Calaſirians, or Hermotybians, according to the different nomes they inhabited. Thoſe of the latter were the nomes of Buſiris, Saïs, Chemmis, Papremis, and one half of the iſland Proſopis, from

[h] Diodor. ubi ſupr. p. 66. [i] Herod. ubi ſupr.
[k] Diodor. ubi ſupr. [l] Herod. ubi ſupr.

from whence 160,000 men might be drawn, when they were moſt numerous. The nomes of the Calaſirians were thoſe of Thebes, Bubaſtis, Aphthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennytus, Athribis, Pharbæthus. Thmuïs, Onuphis, Anytis, and Myecphoris; which laſt was ſituate in an iſland over-againſt the city of Bubaſtis, And theſe nomes of the Calaſirians might furniſh 250,000 men at the moſt. The ſoldiers of both denominations were not permitted to learn, or exerciſe, any mechanical art, but were obliged, from father to ſon, to apply themſelves to the art of war only [m]; wherein it may be ſuppoſed, they therefore, made a more than ordinary proficiency; but their great excellency ſeems to have been in horſemanſhip, and the ſkill of guiding chariots; for which they were particularly and early famous, as appears from ſcripture [n]. For neglect of duty, flying in battle, or cowardice, they were puniſhed only by marks of infamy; it being thought more adviſeable to keep them in order by the motive of honour, than the fear of chaſtiſement [o].

The lands conferred on the militia were exempted from public taxes, as well as thoſe of the prieſts. The portion aſſigned to each man was 12 aruræ, every one containing a ſquare of 100 Egyptian cubits (A). The king's guard conſiſted of 1000 Hermotybians and as many Calaſirians, who were changed every year, that they might all have that honour and advantage in their turn. For, beſides the revenues of their lands, thoſe that were on duty at court had a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two pounds of beef, and two pints of wine. This liberal proviſion for the militia was alſo an encouragement for them to marry, helping to people the country, and leaving behind them a ſucceſſion of troops ſufficient for the defence of the kingdom [p].

But after all, the Egyptians cannot be ſaid to have been a warlike nation; it being real and not imaginary combats that form a ſoldier. They rather extended their dominions by ſending out colonies, than by their arms: however, we ſhall find ſome conquerors of great fame among their kings.

We

[m] Idem. ibid. Iſai. xxxviii. 9. Diodor. ubi ſupr.

[n] Exod. xiv. 7, &c. Cant. i. 9.

[o] Diodor. l. 1. p. 70.

[p] Herod. & Diodor. ubi ſupr.

(A) The Egyptian Arura muſt therefore have been ſomewhat more than three quarters of an Engliſh acre.

WE had almoſt forgot to obſerve, that if the Egyptians at any time created a new king by election (which ſometimes happened), he was always choſen, either out of the prieſts, or the ſoldiers; and if out of the latter, he was immediately received into the order of prieſts, and initiated in their learning and myſteries [q].

Of the inferior claſſes.

THE huſbandmen taking the lands from the king, prieſts, and ſoldiers, at an eaſy rent, and employing themſelves wholly in their tillage, and the ſon continually ſucceeding the father in the ſame occupation, they became the moſt expert in agriculture of any people in the world. The ſhepherds, in like manner, were always ſhepherds from generation to generation; and, by the obſervations of their fore-fathers and their own experience, arrived at great ſkill in their way; endeavouring to vie with one another in contrivances to encreaſe the breed of the animals they fed. One thing in particular deſerves to be mentioned, which was practiſed by thoſe who fed hens and geeſe. For, not contented with the ordinary way of natural encreaſe, they did not ſuffer them to ſit, but themſelves hatched the eggs by an artificial fecundation; and by that means raiſed prodigious flocks of thoſe fowls [r]. The method was moſt probably by ovens, which are ſtill uſed in Egypt for the ſame purpoſe, and much ſpoken of by travellers (B).

THE

[q] Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 354.

[r] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupr.

(B) It may not be amiſs to give a ſhort account of this method; which perhaps might be practicable in other countries as well as Egypt.

The houſes built for this uſe have a long entry, on each ſide of which are fourteen ovens on the ground (ſome places have more, and ſome leſs): the bottoms and ſides of which are all of ſun-dried bricks; upon them they put mats, and on the mats eggs. The tops of theſe ovens are flat, and covered with ſticks, except two long channels or hearths, of ſun-dried bricks; three or four inches deep, wherein the fires are made, to heat the eggs lying under them in the lower ovens.

Above theſe lower ovens are ſo many other, alſo of ſun-dried bricks, and arched at the top; where are ſome holes, which are ſtopped, or left open, as they pleaſe, to govern the heat in the ovens below. Theſe upper ovens have not only mouths opening into the long entry, but mouths of communication with each other.

The law which obliged the son of the husbandman and shepherd to follow the vocation of his father, extended to all

ther, and every one of them has two of the above-mentioned hearths. The depth of the lower oven is about two feet and a half English; that of the upper above four.

They begin to heat the ovens in the middle of January, burning every morning one hundred Kintars (or hundred weight) of camels or buffaloes dung, and the like proportion at night, till the middle of February, about which time the ovens are so hot, that one cannot well endure to lay his hand upon the walls.

After this they put the eggs into the ovens to hatch the chickens; which they continue successively to the end of May. The eggs are first put on mats in the lower ovens, seven or eight thousand eggs in number, and laid only double, one upon another. In the upper ovens the fire is made in the long channels, or hearths, from whence the heat is conveyed into the lower ovens. The eggs which are directly under these hearths, lie treble one upon another; the rest, as was said, only double.

At night, when they make new fires in the hearths, they remove the eggs that were directly under them, and lay treble, into the place of those which lay on the sides, and double only; and these being now removed lie treble under the hearth, because the heat is greater there than on the sides.

These eggs continue in the lower ovens fourteen days and nights. afterwards they remove them into the upper ovens, which are just over the lower. In those (there being now no more fire used) they turn all the eggs four times every twenty four hours. The twenty first, or twenty second day the chickens are hatched; which the first day eat not; the second they are fetched away and fed.

The master of the oven has a third part of the eggs for his cost and pains; out of which he is to make good unto the owners, (who have two thirds in chickens for their eggs) if any happen to be spoiled or miscarry.

The fire in the upper ovens, when the eggs are placed in the lower, is thus proportioned. The first day the greatest fire; the second less than the first; the fourth more than the third; the fifth less; the sixth more than the fifth; the seventh less; the eighth more; the ninth without fire; the tenth a little fire in the morning; the eleventh they stop all the holes with flax or straw, making no more fire; for if they should, the eggs would break. They take care that the eggs be no hotter than the eye of a man, when they are laid upon it, can well endure.

When the chickens are hatched, they put them into the lower ovens,

all arts and trades: for amongſt the Egyptians a man was under an indiſpenſible neceſſity of taking up his father's employment, and of applying himſelf wholly to that, without meddling with any other. Thus being cut off from all hopes of riſing to the magiſtracy, and having no room left for popular ambition, they ſtuck cloſely to what they profeſſed. They were never permitted to concern themſelves with civil affairs; and if they happened to attempt it, or undertook any buſineſs that did not belong to their herditary profeſſion, they were ſeverely puniſhed.

Of the courts of juſtice.

THE Egyptians were very careful in the adminiſtration of juſtice; for they rightly judged the ſentences pronounced from the tribunals to be of the greateſt conſequence to the public; and that as nothing could conduce more to the reformation of mens manners, than the puniſhment of offenders, and the relieving of the oppreſſed; ſo nothing could be more deſtructive of ſociety or a greater cauſe of confuſion, than the ſuffering of bribery, or favour in ſuch caſes For this reaſon, they were very ſcrupulous in the choice of their judges; who were men of the beſt reputation, and taken from the three chief cities, Heliopolis, Thebes, and Memphis; ten from each; ſo that their whole number was thirty. This tribunal was thought to be inferior neither to that of the Areopagus at Athens, nor to the Lacedæmonian ſenate.

THIS venerable aſſembly choſe a preſident out of their own number, whoſe place, as an inferior judge, was upon his election ſupplied by the city that ſent him. Their ſalaries were paid by the king, who allowed the preſident a ſtipend in proportion to his ſuperior rank; and that he might be more viſibly diſtinguiſhed from his brethren, he wore a chain of gold about his neck, from which hung an image of precious ſtones, which they called Truth. Whenever the preſident aſſumed this enſign of his office, it ſignified, that he was prepared to hear cauſes. The court being ſeated, and the eight books, which contained all the laws, laid before them, the plantiff preferred his complaint, clearly and diſtinctly ſet forth in writing; a copy of which being granted

to

ovens, which are covered with mats. Under theſe mats is bran to dry them; and upon the mats ſtraw for them to ſtand on (1).

(1) Greaves, manner of hatching chickens at Cairo. Phil. Tranſ. No. 137. Vid. Lucas voy. vol. 1. p. 279, &c.

to the defendant, he gave in his answer. To this the plantiff replied, and then the defendant rejoined. Each party having given in two writings, the court took them into consideration; and after consulting together, proceeded to sentence; and the president turned the effigies of truth towards the party in whose favour judgment was given. All this was done without the clamorous harangues of lawyers, who are too apt to disguise truth, or falshood, to serve their turn, and pervert judgment by their specious rhetoric. The Egyptians therefore, sensible of the fallacies of oratory, and the evil arts of public pleaders, banished them from the tribunal; nor would they even suffer a man to speak in his own cause, well knowing the advantage one person might have over another by more artful speaking, or greater confidence; but contented themselves with a simple and intelligible state of the case in writing, which being readily understood, was as readily decided. By which means every man stood upon a level with his antagonist, and nothing but the merits had any weight in the determination of a cause.

Their remarkable laws.

HAVING spoken of their courts of judicature, it may not be amiss briefly to mention such of their laws as are most remarkable, for their antiquity or use.

I. PERJURY was punished with death; it being looked on as sinful in the sight of the gods, and destructive of human society.

II. HE that saw a man killed, or violently assaulted on the high-way, and did not endeavour to rescue him if he could, was punished with death. If it appeared, that he was unable to give assistance, he was nevertheless obliged to discover, and prosecute the offenders according to law; which if he neglected, he received a certain number of stripes, and was kept without food for three days.

III. FALSE accusers underwent the same punishment as the accused should have undergone in case of conviction.

IV. EVERY Egyptian was enjoined to give in his name, and by what means he gained his livelihood, in writing, to the governor of the province where he lived. But if it could be proved, that he had given in a wrong information, or got his living in an unlawful way, he was punished with death. This law was made by Amasis, and Solon is said to have introduced it, from Egypt among the Athenians [f].

V. He

[f] Vid. Herod. ubi supr.

V. He that wilfully killed any perſon, whether freeman or ſlave, was condemned to die.

VI. PARENTS that killed their children were not adjudged to die; but were obliged to embrace their dead bodies for three days and three nights together; a guard being ſet over them to ſee that they punctually obeyed this law.

VII. BUT parricides were put to a moſt cruel death; firſt they had their limbs mangled, and their fleſh cut into ſmall pieces with ſharp reeds, after which they were laid upon thorns, and burned alive.

VIII. WOMEN with child were not executed till they had been delivered; that the innocent might not be involved in the puniſhment of the guilty.

IX. MUTINY and deſertion were puniſhed only by degradation and diſgrace; which could never be wiped away, but by brave actions and amendment.

X. THOSE who betrayed their ſecret deſigns to the enemy had their tongues cut out.

XI. COINING falſe money, uſing falſe weights, and forgery of all ſorts, were puniſhed by cutting off the offending parts, both the hands.

XII. HE that committed a rape on a free-woman, had his privities cut off; for they held a raviſher guilty of three moſt enormous crimes, having, beſides the injuſtice of the action, brought infamy on the woman, and baſtardized her iſſue.

XIII. ADULTERY by conſent was puniſhed in the man by giving him a thouſand laſhes with rods; and in the woman by the loſs of her noſe.

XIV. ACCORDING to the commercial laws, which are ſaid to have been made by Bocchoris; if a man borrowed money without giving a note in writing for it, he was diſcharged from the debt, provided, he would make oath that he was no ways indebted to his creditor. The oath in this caſe was very ſolemn, and preceded by ſacrifice.

XV. In caſes where the debt was acknowledged by proper inſtruments, the intereſt was not to exceed the double of the capital or ſum lent. The debtor's goods, and not his body, were anſwerable for the debt; for his body was claimed by the city, or place, where he lived, which had the greateſt intereſt in him, and had a right to his ſervice, both in peace and war. In ſhort, they did not apprehend wherein lay the policy of ſacrificing an uſeful member of the republic, to the cruelty or avarice of a private perſon.

This law, or one very like it, is said to have been established by Solon [s].

XVI. To help the circulation of money, Asychis made a law, that a man might borrow on the pledge of his father's dead body, which was to be put into the hands of the creditor; and if he did not redeem it, he was to be deprived of the honour of a funeral himself, nor could he have the liberty of burying any person descended from him; which was accounted the greatest ignominy [t].

XVII. The Egyptian priests were allowed no more than one wife, but all others might marry as many as they pleased: nor was any child reckoned a bastard, though begotten on a slave bought with money; for they held the father to be the sole cause of generation, and that the mother only provided nourishment and lodging for the infant [u].

XVIII. By the laws of Egypt brothers were permitted to marry their sisters; because they had an instance of the happiness of such marriages in that of Isis with her own brother Osiris; for having vowed, on his death, never to suffer the embraces of any other, she revenged his murder, and governed the kingdom during her widowhood with great prudence, being the author of infinite benefits to mankind. For which reason, in Egypt, the queen had more power, and more honour shewn her than the king; and in private contracts the greater authority was given to the women, the husbands thereby promising to be obedient to their wives in all things [w].

XIX. There was a very remarkable law, or rather a custom which had the sanction of law, with regard to the Egyptian robbers and sharpers. Whoever entered himself of their gang, gave in his name to their chief, promising to deliver him all the booty he should from time to time purloin. Upon this account it was customary for such as had any thing stolen from them to apply themselves to the chief of the gang, and give him a very particular account and description, in writing, of what they had lost, as also of the day, hour, and place, when, and where, they lost it. This information being given, the stolen goods were easily found, and restored to the right owner, upon his paying a fourth part of their value. The institutor of this extraordinary

[s] Diod. Sic. ubi supr. p. 69, &c. [t] Herod. ubi sup.
[u] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 72. [w] Idem ibid. p. 23.

extraordinary law thought, that since it would be impossible to prevent thieving entirly, it would be more tolerable for the injured party to lose a fourth, by way of redemption, than the whole [x].

As much as the Egyptians seemed to excel other nations in the wisdom of their laws and constitutions, they yet surpassed them more in bigotry and superstition. Of the religion of the Egyptians.

IDOLATRY was so antient among them, that the Grecians confessed, they borrowed, not only their religious ceremonies, but the names of almost all their gods from Egypt. For the Egyptians are said to have been the first people who erected altars, images, and temples, and the first inventors of festivals, ceremonies, and transactions with the gods by the mediation of others; and also to have first given names to the twelve gods [y].

THE Egyptians had a great many deities of different ranks and orders. Those who were chiefly honoured in Egypt, were Osiris and Isis; by which it is most probable they originally meant the sun and the moon (C), whose influences governed and preserved the world; those two planets being reckoned by them to be the great causes of nutrition and generation, and as it were the sources from whence the other parts of nature, which also they looked upon as gods, and to which they gave distinct names, were derived. These were Jupiter, or spirit, the vis vivifica of living creatures; Vulcan, or fire; Ceres, or the earth; Oceanus (by which the Egyptians meant their Nile), or moisture;

[x] Idem ibid. p. 69. [y] Herod. ubi supr.

(C) Agreeably hereto, the name of Osiris, we are told, in the Egyptian tongue signifies many-eyed; an epithet very proper for the sun; and Isis ancient (1).

There are several other mythological interpretations of these two deities. Sometimes Isis is the earth in general; sometimes only the land of Egypt; and Osiris is the moon, or else the Nile, which is lost, or destroyed, in the sea, which they call Typhon. At other times Osiris is Pluto and Bacchus, and Isis Ceres, Proserpine, Cybele, &c. One supposes Osiris to signify the efficient cause of things, and Isis matter; and another thinks Isis denotes nature in general (2).

(1) Diod. Sic. ubi supr. p. 10, 11. (2) Vid. Plut. de Isid. & Osirid. Apuleium, Metam. l. 2.

moisture; and Minerva (called also by that nation Neith), or air.

Besides these celestial and eternal gods, they had also terrestrial and mortal deities, which had merited the honours paid them, by the benefits they conferred on mankind in their life-time; several of them having been kings of Egypt: some of these bore the same names with the celestial gods, and others had proper names of their own. Such were the Sun, Cronus, or Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter (called by them Ammon), Juno, Vulcan, Vesta, Hermes, or Mercury, Orus, Venus, Pan, Arueris, Nephthys, Harpocrates, and others [z]. Serapis is said to have been an upstart deity, introduced by one of the Ptolemies at Alexandria [a]; but others suppose it to be only another name for Osiris [b], who was also called Bacchus. As Osiris was supposed to have been of a good and beneficent nature, so his brother Typhon was esteemed the reverse, and held in universal detestation, for the evils brought by him on his family and nation, as will be mentioned hereafter. The other names of Typhon were Seth, Bebon, and Smy [c].

Though the bodies of these mortal deities remained in their sepulchres on earth, yet they believed their souls shone in the stars in heaven; the soul of Isis in particular in the dog-star, called by them Sothis; the soul of Orus in Orion; and that of Typhon in the bear [d].

Notwithstandig this polytheism of the Egyptians, they are yet said in reality to have acknowledged one supreme god, the maker and ruler of the world, whom they sometimes denoted by the name of Osiris, or Serapis, sometimes by that of Isis, and at other times by that of Neith, on whose temple at Saïs was the following remarkable inscription; I am all that hath been, is, and shall be; and my vail hath no mortal yet uncovered [e]. There is also an inscription to Isis still remaining at Capua, to this effect; To thee who, being one, art all things, the goddess Isis [f]. The inhabitants of Thebaïs are reported to have worshipped only the immortal and unbegotten god Cneph, or Emeph; for which reason they were exempt from all contributions towards the maintenance of the sacred animals which were worshipped

[z] Vid. Diod. Sic. ubi supr. p. 11, &c. [a] Origen. cont. Cels. Vid. Tacit. Hist. l. 20. [b] Plutarch. de Isid. & Osir. p. 362. [c] Idem ibid. p. 367. [d] Idem ibid. p. 359. [e] Idem ibid. p. 354. [f] Vid. Cudworth Intell. Syst. p. 412, &c.

worſhipped in the lower Egypt [g]. From this God Cneph they ſuppoſed a ſecondary god proceeded, repreſenting the world, and was called Phtha, which word is at preſent uſed among the Copts to ſignify the divine being [h].

HOWEVER, the idolatrous humour which prevailed at firſt, perhaps only in ſome parts of Egypt, appears at length to have entirely over-run it, and, which ſeems ſcarcely credible, they came at length to give divine honours to ſeveral animals, nay even to vegetables themſelves, as leeks and onions; and that with ſo great variety and diſagreement among themſelves, that except ſome of the principal gods who were honoured all over the kingdom, the worſhip of every deity was confined to one or two cities or provinces; whence it came to paſs, that the names of a great number of the chief cities of Egypt were by the Grecians named after the gods, or animals, that were worſhipped there; as Dioſpolis, or the city of Jupiter, Heliopolis, or the city of the ſun; and in the ſame manner others bore the names of Pan, Apollo, Latona, Hermes, Hercules, and Venus; and alſo of the Dog, the Lion, the Wolf, the Crocodile, the fiſhes Latos, Oxyrynchus, and Phagrus, and other animals.

THIS diverſity of worſhip was ſometimes attended with very ill conſequences, eſpecially if their deities happened to be ſuch as were naturally enemies to one another; the inhabitants of one place often paying their adoration to that kind of animals which were held in the greateſt abhorrence by their neighbours. Hence proceeded inveterate quarrels and dangerous wars; as happened in particular between thoſe of Heracleopolis, who worſhipped the ichneumon, and thoſe of Arſinoe, who worſhipped the crocodile; and, to mention no more, between the cities of Oxyrynchus and Cynopolis, the former of which ſacrificed and eat dogs, the deity of the latter, in revenge for their eating that ſort of fiſh, which was the object of their own worſhip [i]. It was thought, however, that the kings themſelves, out of policy, firſt occaſioned, or at leaſt encouraged and fomented, theſe diſſenſions, to prevent the people's attempting any thing againſt the ſtate; for Diodorus tells us, that one of their firſt and moſt prudent kings, finding the Egyptians very prone to ſedition, enjoined to

[g] Plut. ubi ſupr. p. 359. Vid. Iamblich. de myſt. § 8. c. 3.
[h] See before, p. 100.
[i] Plutarch. ubi ſup. p. 380. Vid. Juven. Sat. 15. & Athanaſium, orat. contr. Julian.

each province the worship of some particular animal different from all the rest, and likewise to use a different diet; so that the Egyptians, being by this means divided into so many distinct societies, prejudiced against each other in religious matters, and mutually despising one another on account of their different customs in the ordinary affairs of life, there was no likelihood of their ever uniting again [k].

It would be rather tedious than entertaining, to set down all the fables and uncertain traditions, which might be found in ancient authors, concerning the Egyptian gods; some of them may perhaps be occasionally taken notice of hereafter: wherefore we shall immediately proceed to give an account of the images, by which they represented those deities which were most peculiar to this nation, and of their sacrifices, festivals, and religious ceremonies.

Osiris was variously represented; sometimes by a sceptre and eye, to express his power and providence; at other times by the image of a hawk, because of its sharp sight, swiftness, and other qualities; and in later times in a human form, in a posture not very decent, signifying his generative and nutritive faculty [l]. But the greatest adoration was paid to his living image, the bull, as we shall observe by and by.

The image of Isis was usually in the form of a woman, with cow's horns on her head [m], representing the appearance of the moon in her increase and decrease, and holding the Siftrom (a kind of cymbal) in her right hand, and a pitcher in her left; the former signifying the perpetual motion there is in nature, and the other the fecundity of the Nile. But sometimes she was represented a Cybele, having her body full of breasts, to express her nourishing of all things [n].

The statue of Serapis was of a human form, with a basket, or bushel, on his head, signifying plenty; his right hand leaned on the head of a serpent, whose body was wound round a figure with three heads, of a dog, a lion, and a wolf; in his left hand he held a measure of a cubit length, as it were to take the height of the waters of the Nile [o].

Jupiter,

[k] Diod. ubi sup. p. 80. [l] Plut. ubi sup. p. 371. [m] Herod. ubi sup. [n] Vid. Plut. ubi sup. p. 376. Serv. in Virg. Horapoll. l. 1. c. 3. Apuleium, Metam. l. 2. [o] Vid. Macrob. in Saturn. l. 1. c. 20. Suidam in Σάραπις.

JUPITER, or Ammon, was by the Egyptians repreſented by an image with the head of a ram; the reaſon of which, they ſay, was this; Hercules being very deſirous to ſee Jupiter, did not without great difficulty obtain his requeſt, for the god was unwilling to be ſeen: but at length Jupiter yielded to his importunity, and having ſeparated the head from the body of a ram, and flayed the whole carcaſs, he put on the ſkin with the wool, and in that form ſhewed himſelf to Hercules. And in this manner of repreſenting Jupiter, the Egyptians were imitated by the Ammonians, who were a colony of them and the Ethiopians [p].

THE other more famous deities of the Egyptians were Anubis, Harpocrates, Orus, and Canopus. The firſt was uſually painted with the head of a dog, becauſe he accompanied Oſiris in his expedition clothed in a dog's ſkin [q], and was the guard of him and Iſis [r]. Sometimes this deity is confounded with Hermes, and then the dog's head may denote his great ſagacity. Harpocrates was the ſon of Iſis, begotten, as is ſaid, by Oſiris on her after his death; for which reaſon he was weak in his lower limbs [s]. This was the god of ſilence, being therefore uſually repreſented with his finger on his mouth; he was always placed near the ſtatues of Oſiris and Iſis, to intimate, that their having been once mortals was not to be ſpoken of [t]. Orus is often confounded with Apollo: he was the ſon of Iſis and Oſiris; and was generally repreſented as a child wrapped up in ſwadling-cloaths, and ſometimes, by thoſe of Coptos, as holding in one hand the privities of Typhon [u]. Canopus was the pilot of Oſiris's ſhip, whoſe ſoul, after his death, migrated into the fixed ſtar of that name [w], which is one of the firſt magnitude, but not viſible in Europe [x]. This god became famous for the victory obtained by him over the Chaldean god, Fire; the ſtory of which, in brief, is this: the Chaldeans carried about their god, to combat with thoſe of other provinces, all which it eaſily overcame and deſtroyed, none of their images being able to reſiſt the force of the fire, till at length the prieſt of Canopus deviſed this artifice; he took an earthen water-pot full of holes, which he ſtopped up with wax, and having filled it with

[p] Herod. ubi ſup. Plut. ubi ſup. p. 357. [q] Diod. Sic. p. 15. [r] Ibid. p. 77. [s] Plut. ubi ſup. p. 358. [t] Varro apud Auguſt. de civit. Dei. [u] Plut. ubi ſup. p. 373. Vid. Kircher Oedip. v. 1. p. 214. [w] Plut. ibid. p. 359. [x] Vid. Plin. l. 6. c. 22.

with water, painted it over, and placed the head of an old image upon it, and produced it as a god. In the conflict the wax being ſoon melted, the water ruſhed out at the holes, and quickly extinguiſhed the fire: In memory of this victory, Canopus is uſually repreſented in the manner we have juſt deſcribed, without arms, and having ſcarce any feet to be ſeen [y]. Yet others ſuppoſe, theſe were really no more than veſſels filled with the water of the Nile, which the antient Egyptians uſed alſo to worſhip.

Of the ſacred animals adored by the Egyptians, none was held in ſo great reverence as the bull, by which they repreſented Oſiris. There were two of this kind kept in Egypt, one at Memphis, called Apis, by the Grecians Epaphus, and the other at Heliopolis, called Mneuïs: this laſt was black, and the honours paid to him were inferior to thoſe due to Apis [z]. The Apis was to be the calf of a cow incapable of bearing another, and no otherwiſe to be impregnated (as the Egyptians imagined) than by thunder. The marks which diſtinguiſhed him from all others were theſe: his body was black; except one ſquare of white on the forehead; he had the figure of an eagle on his back; a double liſt of hair on his tail, and and a knot like a beetle under his tongue [a]. And others reckon no leſs than twenty-nine marks peculiar to this beaſt [b]. They ſacrificed bulls to Apis, but were ſo nice in the choice of them, that if they found but one black hair upon them, they judged them to be unclean. This ſearch was made by the prieſt with the utmoſt precaution; after which he drew out his tongue, to ſee if he were clean in that part; and in the laſt place he examined his tail, to ſee whether the hairs were natural, and as they ought to be. The beaſt being found without blemiſh, the prieſt tied a label about his horns, and ſealing it with his ſignet, ordered him to be taken away and ſecured; for it was death to ſacrifice any beaſt of this kind that was not marked with ſuch a ſeal. The order and ceremony of the ſacrifice was thus: the victim being brought to the altar, they immediately kindled a fire, and pouring wine upon him, they offered their prayes to the god. Then killing the beaſt they flayed him, and ſtruck

[y] Suidas in Canop. Ruffin. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 11. [z] Plut. ubi ſup. p. 364. [a] Herodot. l. 3. Vid. Plin. l. 8. c. 46. [b] Ælian. Hiſt. anim. l. 11. c. 6.

ſtruck off his head, which they carried with many imprecations, to the market, or other public place, and ſold it to ſome Grecian, if they met with any; but if no ſuch perſon were to be found, they threw it into the river, with this form of execration; May the evils impending over the perſons now ſacrificing, or the Egyptians in general, fall upon this head. This ceremony of libation, and the manner of devoting the head of the victim, was an univerſal practice over all Egypt; for which reaſon no Egyption would eat of the head of any animal. But in the choice of their victims, there were different cuſtoms in different places[c].

WHEN the Apis died, and his funeral pomp was over, the prieſts who had this office, ſought out for another with the ſame marks, and when they had found one, the lamentations immediately ceaſed; and the prieſts led the calf firſt into the city of Nile, where he was fed for forty days: from thence he was tranſported in a veſſel with a gilded cabin to Memphis, as their god, and turned into the grove of Vulcan. For the abovementioned forty days women only were admitted into his preſence, who ſtanding before him, lifted up their coats, and ſhewed him their privities; after which time they were not permitted to ſee the new god. The reaſon they gave for this worſhip was, becauſe the ſoul of Oſiris, as they pretended, migrated into a bull of this ſort, and by ſucceſſive tranſmigration paſſed from one to another, as often as one died, and another was found. But others ſay, that it was becauſe when Oſiris was killed by Typhon, Iſis threw his limbs into a wooden cow, covered with fine linen, from whence the city of Buſiris received its name[d].

THE feſtival of Iſis was celebrated with the utmoſt ſolemnity; for on the vigil thereof they faſted, and, having prayed, ſacrificed a bullock; taking out the bowels, and leaving the fat and vitals in the carcaſs; then cutting off the legs, rump, neck, and ſhoulders, and filling the body with fine bread, honey, dried raiſins, figs, incenſe, myrrh, and other perfumes, they proceeded to the conſecration, pouring in great quantities of oil. They ſacrificed faſting, and beat themſelves all the while the fleſh lay on the fire, and afterwards they feaſted on the remainder. The offerings of this

[c] Herod. l. 2. [d] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. p. 76.

this kind of cattle, whether young or old, were to be unblemiſhed males; for the females, being ſacred to Iſis, could not be offered. Whence it was, that the Egyptians paid the firſt degree of veneration to that creature, and abominated the Grecians for not doing the ſame. When a cow died, they threw her into the river; but a bull was buried without the cities, leaving one horn, and ſometimes both, ſticking up as a mark of the grave. The fleſh being perfectly conſumed, and nothing but the bare bones left, they were tranſported to an iſland of the Delta, called Proſopitis, from whence veſſels were diſpatched to ſeveral parts of the kingdom, to collect the bones, and carry them away, and bury them together: the ſame was obſerved in relation to other cattle, the Egyptians being forbidden to kill any [e].

Jupiter was principally worſhipped at Thebes, thence named Dioſpolis; they eſteemed the ram ſacred on that deity's account, and, abſtaining from ſheep, ſacrificed goats only; only once a year, at the feſtival of Jupiter, they killed a ram, and flaying the carcaſs, put the ſkin on the ſtatue of the god, bringing at the ſame time an image of Hercules into his preſence, in memory of the abovementioned paſſage between thoſe two deities: after which, every one preſent gave the ram a blow, and he was buried in a conſecrated coffin.

The inhabitants of Mendes, on the other hand, ſacrificed ſheep, and no goats, becauſe they worſhipped Pan, whom they took to be one of the eight moſt antient gods, and always repreſented him with the face and legs of a goat, juſt as the Grecians did. Not that they imagined him to have been really of that ſhape (for as to that they deemed him to be like other gods), but for ſome myſtical reaſon. Though the Mendeſians had a religious veneration for goats of both ſexes, yet they eſteemed the male above the female, and paid great reverence to goatherds; and particularly to one, who at his death was univerſally lamented. In the Egyptian tongue, Mendes ſignified both Pan and a goat [f].

To the moon it was their cuſtom to ſacrifice when ſhe was at the full. The victims offered to her were ſwine, which the Egyptians held to be impure animals, and were forbidden to offer them to any other deities, than to that planet and Bacchus. When they made their ſacrifice to the moon, and had

[e] Herod. ubi ſup. [f] Idem, ibid.

had killed the victim, they put the end of the tail, with the ſpleen and fat, into the caul, and burned them on the ſacred fire, and eat the reſt of the fleſh on the day of the new moon, though they would not have taſted it at any other time. Thoſe whoſe poverty would not admit of the expence of this ſacrifice, moulded a bit of paſte into the ſhape of a hog, and offered up that.

AT the feſtival of Bacchus, though every one was obliged to kill a hog before the door of his houſe in the evening, yet they inſtantly returned the carcaſs to the ſwineherd of whom it was bought. The reſt of this feſtival was celebrated in the ſame manner in Egypt as in Greece; excepting that, inſtead of the Phallus, the Egyptian women carried about little images of a cubit in height, each of which had a priapus almoſt as big as the reſt of its body, and ſo contrived with ſtrings as to move. With theſe the women marched in proceſſion, all the while ſinging the praiſes of Bacchus, and preceded by a flute [g].

THEY did not think it ſufficient in Egypt to ſolemnize the feſtivals of their gods at annual periods only; but they had ſeveral times in the year appointed for that purpoſe, when they viſited the ſeveral cities, where the particular deities were worſhipped, with great devotion.

THOSE of Iſis at Buſiris, and of Jupiter at Thebes, we have already mentioned; only, in reſpect to the former, we muſt add, that after the ſacrifices were duly performed, the men and women who met together on that occaſion, to the number of many thouſands, diſciplined themſelves with an inſtrument our author dared not diſcover. In which devotion the Carians who lived in Egypt ſurpaſſed all others, cutting their foreheads with ſwords. The other moſt remarkable feſtivals were thoſe of Diana, at Bubaſtis, which was the Egyptian name of that goddeſs; of Minerva, at Saïs; of the ſun, at Heliopolis; of Latona, at Butus; and of Mars, at Papremis. Thoſe who aſſembled on ſuch ſolemn occaſions, at Heliopolis and Butus, offered ſacrifices only, without any farther ceremony: but the other deſerve a more particular deſcription.

THE feſtival of Diana, in the city of Bubaſtis, was obſerved after this manner: great numbers of men and women embarked promiſcuouſly together, and during the voyage ſome of the women beat on the tabor, whilſt ſome of the men

[g] Idem ibid.

men played on the pipe; the reſt of both ſexes ſinging and ſtriking their hands together at the ſame time. They ſtopped at every city they came to; where during their ſtay, the women were partly employed in their muſic, and partly in railing at the women of the place where they had ſtopped, or in dancing, and ſhewing themſelves naked. At length being arrived at Bubaſtis, they celebrated the feſtival with numerous ſacrifices, and conſumed more wine than in all the reſt of the year; for the concourſe of people upon this occaſion was reported to have uſually amounted to 700,000 men and women, beſides children.

When they met to ſacrifice to Minerva at Saïs, they hung up by night a great number of lamps filled with oil mingled with ſalt, round every houſe, the tow ſwimming on the ſurface. Theſe burned during the whole night, and the feſtival was thence named, the lighting of lamps. The Egyptians, who were not preſent at this ſolemnity, obſerved the ſame ceremonies, where-ever they happened to be; and lamps were lighted that night, not only at Saïs, but throughout all Egypt. The reaſons for uſing theſe illuminations, and paying ſo great reſpect to this night, were kept ſecret.

At Papremis a very extraordinary cuſtom was obſerved; for after having gone through the uſual form of worſhip, a few of the prieſts, towards the ſetting of the ſun, attended about the image of Mars, whilſt the far greater part of them poſted themſelves before the gates of the temple with ſtaves or clubs in their hands; on the other hand, a company of men, who had devoted themſelves to this ſervice, and frequently amounted to above a thouſand, armed in like manner, drew up oppoſite to the prieſts, who guarded the avenues of the temple. The image of the god, which was kept in a gilded wooden ſhrine, and had been removed out of the temple on the eve of the feſtival, and placed in another chapel, was drawn by thoſe few who were appointed to attend it, together with the ſhrine in which it ſtood, on a four-wheeled chariot back again to the temple. But the prieſts who guarded the entrance refuſing to give them admittance, the beforementioned votaries, in duty to the god, began to lay on the opponents with their clubs, whereon a violent conflict enſued, the blows being chiefly dealt on the head: inſomuch, that in all probability many muſt have died of their bruiſes, though the Egyptians would never allow it. The inhabitants of the place accounted for this barbarous inſtitution, by relating, that Mars having been

educated

educated abroad till he attained to man's eſtate, and coming home to ſee his mother, who was an inhabitant of this ſacred place, her ſervants, having never ſeen him, refuſed to admit him, and forcibly drove him away. Whereupon, retiring to another city, he got together a good number of men, and returning, fell upon his mother's ſervants, and entered by force; in commemoration of which action this combat was inſtituted.

BUT there was nothing ſo remarkable in the Egyptian religion, as the prepoſterous worſhip that nation paid to animals; ſuch as the cat, the ichneumon, the dog, the ibis, the wolf, the crocodile, and ſeveral others; which they had in high veneration, as well dead as living. Whilſt they were living, they had lands ſet apart for maintenance of each kind; and both men and women were employed in feeding and attending on them, the children ſucceeding their parents in the office, which was ſo far from being declined, or thought deſpicable, by the Egyptians, that they gloried in it as a high honour, wearing certain badges and enſigns, by which being diſtinguiſhed at a diſtance, they were ſaluted by bending of the knee, and other demonſtrations of reſpect. To theſe, and to the deities to which they were ſacred, the inhabitants of the ſeveral cities, where they were worſhipped, offered up their prayers, and in particular for the recovery of their children, whoſe heads they ſhaved ſometimes all over, ſometimes only one half, or a third part, and putting the hair into one balance, and ſilver into the other, when the ſilver overbalanced, they gave it to the keepers of the animals; who therewith provided food for them, which was uſually fiſh cut in pieces; but the ichneumons and cats were ſometimes fed with bread and milk.

IF a perſon killed any of theſe ſacred animals deſignedly, he was puniſhed with death; if involuntarily, his puniſhment was referred to the diſcretion of the prieſts; but if a man killed either a cat, a hawk, or an ibis, whether with deſign or not, he was to die without mercy; the enraged multitude hurrying away the unfortunate perſon to certain death, ſometimes without any formal proceſs or trial [h]: an inſtance of which is given in a Roman, who happening accidentally to kill a cat, the mob immediately gathered about the houſe where he was, and neither the entreaties of ſome principal men ſent by the king, nor the fear of the Romans,

[h] Herod. & Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra.

Romans, with whom they were then negotiating a peace, could save the man's life [i]. For this reason, if any one by chance found one of these creatures dead, he stood at a convenient distance from it, and with great lamentation protested, that he found it dead. And, what may seem still more incredible, it is reported, that at a time when there was a famine in Egypt, which drove the inhabitants to so great a distress that they fed on one another, there was no one person accused of having tasted of any of these sacred animals.

The extravagant worship which the Egyptians paid to these deities, as to the bull at Memphis and Heliopolis, the goat at Mendes, the lion at Leontopolis, and the crocodile at the lake Mœris (D), and to many others in different places, exceeds all belief. For they were kept in consecrated enclosures, and well attended on by men of high rank, who at a great expence provided victuals for them, which consisted of the greatest dainties, such as the finest flour boiled in milk, cakes of several sorts made with honey, and the flesh of geese boiled and roasted: those who fed on raw meat were supplied with several sorts of birds. And not only this, but they were washed in hot baths, anointed with most precious ointments, and perfumed with the most odoriferous scents: they lay on the richest carpets and other costly furniture; and that they might want nothing to make their life as happy as possible, they had the most beautiful females of their several kinds provided for them, to which they gave the title of their concubines, bestowing extravagant attendance and expence upon them.

When

[i] Diod. ibid. p. 75.

(D) The crocodile seems to be the last animal to which mankind could be tempted to pay divine adoration. That it might be done with safety, one of these creatures was trained up to be tame and familiar for the purpose, and had his ears adorned with strings of jewels and gold, and his fore feet with chains. He was fed with consecrated provisions at the public charge; and when strangers went to see him, which often happened out of curiosity, they also carried him a present of a cake, dressed meat, and wine, or a drink made with honey, which was offered to him by the priests; one opening his mouth, and the other feeding him. When he died, his body was embalmed, and buried in a sacred coffin at Arsinoe (1).

(1) Herod. ubi supr. Strabo, l. 17. p. 165.

WHEN any of these animals died, they lamented them, as if they had been their dearest children, and frequently laid out more than they were worth in their funeral: as an instance of which, it is said, that in the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, the Apis dying of old age (E) at Memphis, his keeper bestowed no less than fifty talents of silver, or almost 13,000 l. over and above all his substance, in the burying of him. And lest this should seem improbable, we are told, that some keepers of these creatures had squandered away 100,000 talents, a most immense sum, in the maintenance of them [k]. In whatever house a cat died, all the family shaved their eye-brows; and if a dog, their whole body; nor would they make use of any provision which happened to be in the house at such times. In case of a fire, there was generally great lamentation among the Egyptians on account of their cats; for though, when such accidents happened, they took greater care to preserve the cats than their houses, yet those creatures, either by creeping slily on the ground, or leaping over the mens heads, for the most part found a way to throw themselves into the fire. The dead bodies of the sacred animals were wrapped up in fine linen, and carried to be embalmed, and being anointed with oil of cedar, and other aromatic preparations, to preserve them from putrefaction, were buried in sacred coffins. Dead cats were carried to be interred to the city of Bubastis; hawks and the venemous mole were carried to Butus; dogs, bears (of which there are but few in Egypt), and a small kind of wolves, no bigger than foxes, were buried where they were found dead. And in performing this last honour to them, the Egyptians were so exact, that when they had been abroad in foreign wars, they frequently brought home dead cats and hawks along with them for that purpose, with great demonstrations of sorrow, though at the same time they often wanted necessaries [l].

How

[k] Idem, ibid.

[l] Idem, & Herod. ubi supr.

(E) This contradicts that assertion of some, that the Apis was not suffered to live beyond a certain time; after which the priests drowned him in a sacred fountain (2).

(2) Ammian. Marcell. l. 22. p. 227.

How abſurd and ridiculous ſoever theſe ſuperſtitions may ſeem, yet they wanted not thoſe who endeavoured to defend them by various reaſons; though the prieſts generally affected ſilence on theſe occaſions, referring all to certain myſteries which they might not reveal.

1. The firſt reaſon alledged was from the fabulous tradition, that the gods, in the early ages, were obliged to transform themſelves into ſeveral kinds of animals, to avoid the aſſaults and cruelties of men, who had conſpired againſt them; but afterwards, out of gratitude for the many benefits beſtowed by them on mankind, thoſe in power ordained, that the creatures, whoſe ſhapes the gods had aſſumed, ſhould be well maintained while they lived, and honourably buried when they died.

2. Some pretended this worſhip had the following original; They ſay, that the antient Egyptians being often routed by their neighbours, for want of a regular diſpoſition of their troops, they at length invented the uſe of ſtandards, to diſtinguiſh the different companies; and for that end fixed the images of the animals they afterwards adored on ſo many ſpears, and cauſed the leaders to carry them at the head of each troop; by which means every man knew his poſt: their obſerving this order often gained them the victory, the honour of which they aſcribed to the animals whoſe figures they had uſed for enſigns. Others will have theſe images to have been made uſe of in the moſt early times, to diſtinguiſh the firſt civil ſocieties, who united for mutual defence againſt the violence of their fellow creatures.

3. A third reaſon is taken from the great uſe and ſervice the ſeveral animals are of to mankind: as the ox for tilling the land; the ſheep by ſupplying milk and wool; the dog for guarding the houſe and hunting; the ibis and hawk for deſtroying the ſerpents and noxious inſects; the crocodile for defending the country againſt the incurſions of the Arabian robbers; the ichneumon for preventing the too great multiplication of the crocodiles; and the cat againſt the aſp and other venemous reptiles [m].

4. But men of better judgment, not ſatisfied with these reaſons, which ſeemed to them too weak to excuſe practices ſo diſhonourable to paganiſm, and at which they bluſhed in private [n], urged ſomething more ſpecious in favour of it

[m] Vid. Diod. Sic. ubi ſupr. Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 38

[n] Vid. Plut. ibid. p. 379.

by pretending, that the worſhip paid by the Egyptians to animals, did not terminate in the animals themſelves, but in the gods, whoſe ſymbols they were, and to whom they had ſome peculiar relation. The philoſophers, ſay they, honoured the image of god where-ever they met with it, even in inanimate beings, and conſequently much more in thoſe which partook of life. They therefore are to be commended who worſhip not the creatures, but the ſupreme Deity through them; which ſhould be eſteemed as ſo many mirrors, offered us by nature, reflecting the divine image; or as ſo many inſtruments of God in the eternal ſupport and preſervation of the world. Wherefore, if ſtatues ſhould be adorned with all the gold and precious ſtones in the world, it is not to them that men ſhould direct their worſhip; for the divine nature cannot dwell in the artful diſpoſition of colours, nor in matter which is ſubject to decay, and deſtitute both of ſenſe and motion. And they add, that as the ſun, moon, heaven, earth, and ſea are common to all men, but have different names in different nations; ſo there is but one Mind, and one Providence, which governs the univerſe, and has ſeveral ſubordinate miniſters, though called by different names, and worſhipped in divers manners, and with different ceremonies, according to the laws and cuſtoms of every country [o].

AGREEABLY to this notion, they pretended, that the hawk was an emblem of the ſupreme Deity, becauſe of its piercing ſight and ſwiftneſs. The aſp, the cat, and the beetle were alſo honoured as images of the divine power; the firſt, as not ſubject to old age, and moving without the aſſiſtance of limbs; the cat, becauſe they imagined ſhe conceived by her ear, and brought forth her young by her mouth, repreſenting the generation of ſpeech; and the beetle, becauſe they ſuppoſed there was no female in the whole ſpecies. The crocodile alſo they took to be another image of the Deity, becauſe of all animals it has no tongue, which organ God has no occaſion for [p].

THE relation the ſacred animals bore to ſome particular gods, or the ſervices they had rendered on ſome particular occaſions, or their being typical reſemblances of ſome parts of nature, are alſo mentioned as further reaſons for the great reſpect ſhewn them. Thus it is ſaid, that dogs were worſhipped becauſe they guided Iſis when ſhe ſought for the body of Oſiris, which they had guarded from wild beaſts [q]; though this creature afterwards loſt much of its reputation, by eat-

[o] Idem, ibid. p. 377, 382, &c. [p] Idem, ibid. p. 363, 80, &c. [q] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 77.

ing part of the Apis, which had been killed by Cambyſes, when no other annimal approached the dead body [r]: that the hawk was deified becauſe one of thoſe birds in antient times, brought a book to the prieſts of Thebes, tied round with a ſcarlet thread, containing the rites and ceremonies which were to be obſerved in the worſhip of the gods; for which reaſon the ſacred ſcribes wore a ſcarlet fillet, with a hawk's feather on their head: that the wolf was adored becauſe Oſiris aroſe in that ſhape from the infernal regions, and aſſiſted Iſis and her ſon Orus, in the battle againſt Typhon, wherein that uſurper was ſlain; or elſe becauſe when the Ethiopians once broke into Egypt, a great company of wolves fell upon the invaders, and drove them beyond Elephantis; whence that nome was called Lycopolites; though others give no other reaſon for the reſpect paid them, than the near relation they bore to dogs: that the crocodile attained this honour becauſe one of thoſe creatures ſaved Menas, an antient king of Egypt, from being worried by his own dogs, which purſued him to the lake Mœris, where a crocodile took him on his back, and carried him to the other ſide of the lake [s]: that the cat was revered as an emblem of the moon, for its various ſpots, fruitfulneſs, and activity in the night [t]: and the goat, the moſt luſtful of all creatures, was the hieroglyphic of that violent impulſe by which men are urged to propagate their ſpecies; and in honouring this animal, they teſtified their gratitude to the gods for the populouſneſs of their country [u].

Not to take up the reader's time in enumerating the animals worſhipped in the ſeveral parts of Egypt, we ſhall conclude what we intend to ſay of them, with Herodotus's account of the Phœnix, which fable has given riſe to whatever has been ſince related of that imaginary bird. He tells us, that the Phœnix was one of the ſacred birds, which himſelf had never ſeen but in effigy; for he appeared in Egypt but once in five hundred years, immediately after the death of his father, as thoſe of Heliopolis affirmed. The painters repreſented him with a plumage of crimſon and gold, and of the ſhape and ſize of an eagle. They pretended, he came from Arabia, and brought the body of his father embalmed, which he buried in the temple of the ſun.

[r] Plut. ubi ſupr. p. 368. [s] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 78, &c. [t] Plut. ubi ſupr. p. 376. [u] Diod. ubi ſupr.

ſun. And this he performed in the following manner: firſt he moulded as much myrrh, as he could carry in the ſhape of an egg, and having tried its weight, hollowed the egg, and put his father into it; he then ſtopped up the aperture again with myrrh, in ſuch proportion that the weight of the whole might equal that of the egg before the body was put in, and carried it to Heliopolis [w].

Some other inſtitution of the Egyptians.

THE Egyptians are reported to have been the firſt who ordained, that men ſhould abſtain from women in temples, and not enter any ſacred place without waſhing after the uſe of women. They are alſo the firſt who aſſigned each month and day to a particular deity, and obſerved times of each perſon's nativity; by which they judged of their future fortunes. They carefully regiſtred all prodigies (in which their country is ſaid to have abounded more than any other) with an account of their conſequences; ſuppoſing, that if the like happened at another time, the event would be the ſame. However, they did not pretend to foretel any thing themſelves, but all predictions were delivered by the gods. For if they were not the firſt nation which erected oracles, and introduced the cuſtom of conſulting them, it is, however, allowed, that the moſt antient and famous oracle among the heathens, particularly thoſe of Jupiter in Libya and at Dodona, owed their original to Egypt [x]; as will be mentioned in a more proper place.

THERE were ſeveral oracles in Egypt, as thoſe of Hercules, Apollo, Minerva, Diana, Mars, and Jupiter; but that which they reverenced above all others was, the oracle of Latona, in the city of Butus [y]: and in aftertimes there was a very famous one of Serapis at Alexandria [z]. The ſacred animals alſo themſelves had their ſeveral oracles; as the Apis, the goat, the lion, and the crocodile [a]. The manner of conſulting the Apis was, by obſerveing into which chamber, of two that were prepared forhim, he entered; his going into one of them being conſtrued as a good omen, and into the other as a bad one: or elſe they offered him food, and from his accepting, or refuſing, of it, concluded the anſwer favourable, or the contrary. It is ſaid, that Germanicus Cæſar conſulting this oracle ſome

[w] Herodot. ubi ſupr. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Pauſan. l. 7. Rufin. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 23. [a] Vid. Van Dale de Orac. p. 274.

short time before his death, the beast would not eat out of his hand [b].

We must not omit to say something of the human sacrifices, which are said to have been offered by the antient Egyptians. As red oxen were allowed to be sacrificed, because of their resemblance to Typhon, who, it is said, was red-haired; so men of that complexion were reported to have been slain in former times by their kings at the tomb of Osiris: but few of the Egyptians having red-hair, strangers were the usual victims; whence it is supposed, the fable, so current among the Greeks, of the cruelty of Busiris to strangers, took its rise; not from any king of that name, but because Osiris's tomb was so called in the Egyptian tongue [c]. Men were also in old times sacrificed at Heliopolis, and to Juno, or Lucina, at a city in the upper Thebaïs, called by the name of that goddess, who was worshipped there under the form of a vultur. These human victims were to be approved of in the same manner as the calves that were searched and sealed as clean; and three were sacrificed every day, at a certain season in the dog-days, being burnt alive, and their ashes scattered abroad; to these unhappy men they gave the epithet of Typhonian [d]. This barbarous custom was abolished by Amosis, who ordered, that so many images of wax should be offered in their stead [e]: and there was so little remembrance of it left in the days of Herodotus, that mentioning a fable of the Grecians, that when Hercules arrived in Egypt, the Egyptians, designing to sacrifice him to Jupiter, conducted him to the altar with great ceremony; but that he delivered himself, by killing all that were present; that historian judges those who invented that story utterly ignorant of the Egyptian laws and customs; for how, says he, can we imagine, that a people forbidden to kill any kind of animal, except geese, swine, and such bulls, and calves as they find without blemish (F), would sacrifice men [f]? however, that there

[b] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 8. c. 46. Amm. Marcell. l. 22. c. 15. [c] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 79. [d] Manetho, apud Porphyr. de abstin. l. 2. c. 55. Euseb. de præp. ev. l. 4. c. 16. & Plut. de Isid. & Osir. p. 380. [e] Idem apud eosd. [f] Herod. ubi supr. c. 45.

(F) From this passage, and what has been said above, we cannot but think those mistaken who have asserted, that it was never lawful

there was really ſuch a cuſtom ſeems undeniable from good authority; and is confirmed by the impreſs of the prieſts ſeal, which was ſet on the oxen that were to be ſacrificed; and on which a man was engraved kneeling, with his hands bound behind him, and a ſword at his throat [g]. We have formerly mentioned the human ſacrifices which were offered to the Nile, according to a tradition of the Egyptians [h]; but we do not find any notice taken of them in antient authors.

WE have mentioned the worſhip of leeks and onions as one part of the Ægyptian ſuperſtition; but as the hiſtorians mention nothing of this, we imagine the ſatyriſt, to heighten the ridicule, might go a little beyond ſtrict truth [i]: though there might poſſibly be ſome foundation for ſuch an opinion, from the ſcrupulous abſtinence of ſome of that nation from particular vegetables, as lentils, beans, and onions; the latter of which the prieſts abominated, as ſome pretend, becauſe Dictys, who had been brought up by Iſis, was drowned in hunting after them; or rather becauſe onions alone of all plants thrive when the moon is in the wane [k].

BEFORE we quit this ſubject, the ſtructure of the Egyptian temples deſerves ſome notice. The firſt thing which offered itſelf to the view was, an avenue, or ſtone pavement, of a plethron in breadth, or ſomething leſs, and about three or four times as long; having on each ſide a row of ſphinxes, twenty cubits diſtant from each other. This avenue led to a portico, behind which was a ſecond, and ſometimes a third (the number of theſe porticoes being not always the ſame). The temple it ſelf conſiſted of a ſpacious and magnificent court, and a well proportioned chapel; in which was generally no image (for the Egyptians in the eldeſt times uſed none [l]), or if there was any, it was not of human form, but in the ſhape of ſome irrational animal [m].

[g] Plut. ubi ſupr. p. 363. [h] See before, p. 493. [i] Juven, Sat. 15. v. 10. [k] Plut. ubi ſupr. p. 353. Vid. Diod. p. 80. [l] Lucian. de Dea Syria. [m] Strabo, l. 17. p. 1158.

lawful for the Egyptians to appeaſe the gods with cattle or blood, but only with prayers and incenſe (1).

(1) Vid. Macrob. Saturnal. l. 1. c. 7.

The miscellaneous customs of the Egyptians.

Few nations in the world observed their original laws and customs so long as the Egyptians; and their exactness in observing ordinances of a higher nature was not to be admired, considering their strict attachment to their own usages and manners in trivial things; for a new custom was a prodigy in Egypt [n].

In the education of their children they were very careful; but they brought them up with great frugality, feeding them with cheap broths, made of common things, and with the stems of the papyrus roasted under the ashes, and the stalks and roots of other plants which grew in the marshes, sometimes raw, and sometimes dressed. They went for the most part naked and barefooted during their childhood, because of the warmth of the climate: so that the whole expence of a child, from his birth till he arrived at the state of manhood, did not exceed twenty drachmæ, or about thirteen shillings; which was one great cause that Egypt was so exceeding populous. As to the instruction they gave their children, the priests taught them two sorts of letters, those called sacred, and those in which their common learning was written: but exercised them chiefly in geometry and arithmetic: however, there were few of the inferior classes who learned to write and read, except the tradesmen. But that they might be useful members of the commonwealth, and be enabled to maintain themselves, they began very early to learn their paternal art, or profession, either from their fathers, or near relations. Music and wrestling they never taught their children, as disapproving them both: the first they esteemed not only useless, but rather hurtful, serving only to emasculate the mind; and the other they believed did not tend to the preservation of health, the strength gained by it being of short duration, and the exercise it self dangerous [o]. One particular of the education of the Egyptian youth was very commendable; for they were taught to behave with great respect towards their elders; being obliged to rise up from their seats, and to retire at the approach of those that were more aged; which custom was also practised at Sparta [p].

As to the diet of the Egyptians we have already made some occasional observations; to which we may add, that among them it was a reproach to eat bread made of barley

[n] Plato in Tim. p. 656.
[o] Diodor. ubi supr. p. 72.
[p] Herod. ubi supr.

ley or wheat; inſtead of which they uſed a fine flower, called by ſome olyra, and by others zea, or ſpelt; and this bread they named colleſtis, probably from its glutinous quality [q]. Their uſual drink was (as it is at this preſent) the water of the Nile, which is very agreeable to the taſte, and ſo fattening, that they never gave it to the Apis, leſt he ſhould grow too corpulent [r]. It is true, the water of this river is pretty muddy, but the Egyptians have a way of clarifying it by rubbing the veſſel with a little pounded almonds [s]. Their better ſort of drink, or wine, as Herodotus calls it, was made of barley, becauſe they had antiently no vines in that country [t], or rather did not cultivate them, nor do they yet in any other part than the province of al Feyyûm [u]. So that we are probably indebted to this nation for the invention of beer.

The Egyptians abſtained from different ſorts of animals, in different parts of the kingdom, according to the different deities they worſhipped; but they all agreed in the averſion they had to ſwine's fleſh; which was accounted by them ſo impure, that if a man but touched one of thoſe animals by accident, he went immediately and plunged himſelf in the river with his cloaths on. And for this reaſon hogherds alone of all the Egyptians were not ſuffered to enter any of their temples; neither would any man give his daughter in marriage to one of that profeſſion, or take a wife born of ſuch parents; ſo that they were forced to intermarry among themſelves. They eat fiſh, either pickled or dried in the ſun; and alſo quails, ducks, and ſmaller birds, preſerved in ſalt, without any other preparation: all other birds, or fiſhes, except ſuch as they accounted ſacred, they eat without ſcruple, either boiled or roaſted. Thoſe who dwelt in the marſhes made food of ſeveral plants, which annually grew there, particularly the lotus, of which they made a ſort of bread, and the lower ſtems of the papyrus, the head of which was reſerved for other uſes [w].

AT their principal feaſts it was their cuſtom, when they began to taſte the wine after ſupper, to bring in a coffin with the image of a dead man carved in wood and painted, of one or two cubits in length, or, as others ſay, a real corps [x];

[q] Idem ibid. [r] Plutarch. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 353. [s] Sicard. Mem. des Miſſ. v. 2. p. 13. [t] Herod. ubi ſupr. [u] Lucas, v. 2. p. 226. [w] See before, p. 503.

corps [x]; which was carried about to all the company by a a person appointed for that purpose, who repeated these words distinctly; Look upon this, and be merry; for such as this shalt thou be, when thou art dead [y]. This image some will have to be that of Maneros, in memory of whom they sung a mournful song at their entertainments, which they called by his name. Of this person there are various traditions: the Egyptians made him the son of their first king, who died in the flower of his age; others say, he was the son of a king of Byblus, in Phœnicia, and was frighted to death by the angry look of Isis, for his prying too near into her behaviour to the dead body of Osiris. This Maneros is reported to have been the first inventor of music; for which reason, and the conformity of the song to that sung by other nations in honour of the Grecian Linus, Herodotus supposes him to be the same with that poet: but after all, some pretend, Maneros was not the name of a person, but of the song itself; and that the dead image represented the fate of Osiris [z].

The Egyptians were very cleanly, both at their meals and in other respects; carefully scouring the drinking vessels, which were of brass, every day; and using frequent ablutions and purifications: they scrupulously avoided eating with strangers, as unclean [a]; and for neatness chiefly it was, that they circumcised themselves, which was a custom among them from time immemorial [b], and esteemed by them so necessary, that Pythagoras, to have the liberty of conversing with the Egyptian priests, and entering into their temples, was obliged to submit to this operation [c]. One of the fathers tells us, they were circumcised at the age of fourteen [d]; but whence he had his information we do not know. Whether the Jews learned this custom of the Egyptians, as some of the prophane historians pretend, is a point we shall consider in another place.

The habit of this nation was a linen vest, fringed at the bottom, which they called calasiris; and over that they wore a white mantle of woollen cloth. But to enter any of their temples in that upper garment, or to bury their dead in

[x] Lucian. de luctu. Silius de bello Pun. l. 3. [y] Herod ubi supr. [z] Plutarch. de Isid. & Osir. p. 357. Herod. ubi supr. [a] Gen. xliii. 32. Herod. ibid. [b] Herod ibid. Diod. Sic. ubi supr. p. 24. [c] Clem. Alex. Stromat. 1. p. 30. [d] Ambros. de Abrahamo, l. 2. c. 11.

in woollen, was accounted prophane. Their manner of saluting one another abroad, was by bowing very respectively, letting their hands fall down to their knees [d].

THE Egyptians, in several of their manners and customs, seemed industriously to act in contradiction to the rest of mankind. For amongst them it was the custom for the women to be employed in trade and business abroad, while the men staid at home to spin, and minded domestic affairs; and this perhaps gave occasion to that extraordinary law, by which the sons were not obliged to provide for their parents, but the daughters were. In carrying of burthens, the men bore them on their head, and the women on their shoulders; and when they made water, the women stood upright, but the men sat. They used to ease nature at home, and eat publicly in the streets; saying, very justly, that such things as were filthy, though necessary, should be done in private, and such as were decent in public. They kneaded dough with their feet, and tempered mortar with their hands. And whereas in other countries, the apartments of the cattle were separated from those of the men, in Egypt men and beasts dwelt together [e]. And we might mention several other instances of the like singularity.

THE great virtue of the Egyptians, and wherein they pretend to excel all mankind, was gratitude; which they esteemed to be of the greatest service in life, as the only encouragement to beneficent actions. And for this reason it was, that they honoured their princes as gods, supposing that those whom providence had exalted to the throne, and endued with both the power and will to do good to mankind, participated in some measure of the divine nature; hence also proceeded the great respect they shewed to the remains of their dead ancestors, and their constant endeavour to testify their gratitude to every person and thing from which they received benefit [f].

Of their funeral ceremonies.

THE Egyptians are said to have been the first who asserted the immortality of the soul, which, according to their doctrine, when the body was corrupted, entered into some other animal, and, passing by a continual metempsychosis through the different kind of animals, belonging to the air, earth, and water, returned again into a human body, after the revolution of 3000 years [g]. For this reason they

[d] Herod. ubi supr. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Diod. ubi supr, p. 81. [g] Herod. ubi supr.

they endeavoured by art to preserve the body as long as possible, that the soul might be obliged to continue with it, and not soon pass into another [h]: and as the dead bodies, by the means they used, were of long duration, they spared no labour nor cost in building their sepulchres which they termed their eternal mansions; at the same time being little curious in the structure of their houses, calling them inns, where they staid but for a short time whereas they remained in the other for a long course of years [i].

The mourning for the dead, and funeral rites, in Egypt, were antiently these: when a man of any consideration died, all the woman of that family besmeared their heads and faces with dirt, then making bare their breasts and girding their waists, they left the body at home, and marched through the streets of the city, lamenting and beating themselves as they went, attended by all their relations of the same sex; the men at the same time forming another company, mourned in the same manner. And this they continued till the corps was interred; abstaining in the main time from bathing, wine, and the more delicate meats, and laying aside their best attire. The first lamentation being over, the body was carried to those who professed the art of embalming, which, like other trades, they learned from their ancestors. These shewed the kindred of the deceased several models, or patterns, in wood, and painted, together with a bill of the charges of each manner of preparation, and asked them which they would choose: for there were three different ways of preparing dead bodies for burial. One was very exquisite and expensive, and came to a talent of silver, or about 258*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* the second was inferior, and of a moderate price, the charge being 20 minæ, or a fourth part of the former sum; and the third was very mean, and cost but a trifle. This preliminary being settled, the embalmers took the body, and first drew out the brains through the nostrils with a crooked instrument of iron, and filled the vacancy with certain medicaments. Then one, whom they called the scribe, marked out on the left side of the belly, how far the incision was to be made; and the parachistes, whose office it was to make the incision, taking a sharp Ethiopic stone,

[h] Servius in Virgil Æn. 3. v. 67. Vid. August. Serm. de diversis, & Platon. in Phædon. [i] Diod. ubi supr p. 47.

ſtone, cut open the body, as far as the law ordained, and immediately ran away as faſt as he could, all that were preſent purſuing him, throwing ſtones at him, and curſing him, to turn the execration upon him: for they thought it a very heinous crime to wound, or offer violence to a dead body; but the taricheutæ, or embalmers, were highly eſteemed and reſpected, converſing with the prieſts, and being with them admitted, as perſons of ſanctity, into the more ſacred parts of their temples. When theſe came to dreſs the diſſected body, one of them thruſt his hand into it by the wound, and drew out all the inteſtines, except the heart and kidneys; another cleanſed all the entrails, waſhing them with wine of palms and aromatic odours (G). Then the belly was filled with pounded myrrh, caſſia, and other odoriferous drugs (frankincenſe only excepted); and the inciſion being ſewed up, the body was carefully anointed with the oil of cedar and other things for above 30 days, or elſe laid in nitre for 70 days, which was the longeſt time allowed. At the expiration of which term, they waſhed the whole body, and bound fillets of fine linen round every part, covering it with gum, which the Egyptians uſed inſtead of glue. And all this was done without diſfiguring the body; ſo that the very hairs remained on the brows and eye-lids, and the reſemblance of the countenance was preſerved, and eaſy to be known (H). The embalmers having done their parts, the relations received the corps, and put it into a wooden coffin, ſhaped like a man, which they ſet upright againſt the wall of the edifice deſigned for that purpoſe (I). For ſeveral of the Egyptians kept

(G) Plutarch writes, that when the belly was opened, they firſt expoſed it to the ſun, and caſt the bowels into the Nile, as what defiled the body (1).

(H) This ſeems a little extraordinary, conſidering how the fleſh of the face muſt have been dried by the ſalt; but an eye witneſs aſſures us, that he ſaw ſome embalmed bodies in Egypt, with the hair, beard, and nails, the fillets which covered the head and feet being rotted off (2).

(I) To the deſcription of Herodotus and Diodorus given above, we beg leave to add ſome obſervations as to thoſe embalmed bodies, or mummies, as they are now called, which are frequently taken up and brought from Egypt.

The

(1) Plut. apud Greaves, ubi inf.

(2) Voyages de M. de Breves.

kept their dead at home with them above ground [k], in magnificent apartments, having by this means the pleasure of

[k] Cicer. Tusc. quæst. l. 1. c. 9.

The coffins in which they lie are very thick, and generally of sycamore, which in Egypt they call Pharaoh's fig-tree, and does not rot so soon as other wood; though some are of stone, and others of cloths pasted together and very strong. The top of the coffin is usually cut into the shape of a head, with a face painted on it, resembling a woman; the rest is one continued trunk, and at the end of it is a broad pedestal, to set it upright upon in the reconditory. Some of these coffins are handsomely painted with several hieroglyphics.

The bodies appear in this manner: they are wrapped up in a shroud of linen, upon which are fastened divers scrolls of linen also, painted with sacred characters: these scrolls generally run down the belly and sides, or else are placed on the knees and legs. The face is covered with a kind of head-piece of linen cloth fitted with plaister, on which the countenance of the person is represented in gold; and the feet have also a cover of the same, painted with hieroglyphics, and like a high slipper. The whole body is swathed with fillets, or narrow bands of linen, beginning with the head and ending with the feet, so artificially, and in so inimitable a manner wound round with so many casts and turnings, and so often one upon another, that there cannot be less than a thousand ells of filletting upon one body. Those which cover the head and face being so neatly done, that they hinder not, but one may see the shape of the eyes, nose, and mouth. On the breast is a sort of breast-plate, made with folds of linen cut scollop-wise, richly painted and gilt: on which is usually the face of a woman with her arms expanded.

The inside of the body is filled with medicaments of the consistence, colour, and scent of pitch, or bitumen, which waxes soft by the heat of the sun. In a scull of one of these bodies, there was found the quantity of two pounds of this preparation, which could not be infused any other way than by the nostrils, as Herodotus intimates. And the tongue of one being weighed, was less than seven grains English (3). Some curious persons in vain searched one of these mummies for the piece of money, which the antient Grecians are said to put in the mouths of the dead, to pay Charon his fare (4). We are told, however, that the greater part of these embalmed bodies have under the tongue a small plate of gold, worth about two pistoles (5).

(3) Thevenot. Voy. part. 1. c. 6. Greaves Pyramidogr. p. 49, 50. (4) Vid. Gassend. de vita Peiresc. l. 4. (5) Buretini apud Thevenot, Relat. part. 1. p. xxv.

of ſeeing the lineaments of their anceſtors, who died many ages before they were born; and they often brought the dried corps of a friend as a gueſt to their feaſts [l]. The way of embalming, which we have deſcribed, was the moſt coſtly manner of preſerving the dead: thoſe who were unable or unwilling to be at ſo great an expence, were contented with a more ordinary preparation, which was done in this manner: they injected a clyſter of oil of cedar by the common way, without opening the belly, or taking out the bowels, and laid the body in nitre the number of days abovementioned; at the end of which they let out the oil of cedar by the fundament, which by a peculiar efficacy, brought away the whole paunch and intrails ſhrunk and putrified; the nitre having conſumed the fleſh, and left nothing but the ſkin and bones. And when this was done, they delivered the body to the relations without any further operation. The third and laſt manner of preſerving the dead, uſed only for the poorer ſort, was performed by cleanſing the belly by injected lotions, and ſalting the body for ſeventy days; after which it was taken away [m]. The wives of conſiderable perſons, and all women who had been beautiful and dear to their relations, were not delivered to the embalmers preſently after death: but were kept at home three or four days before they were carried out, to prevent thoſe artiſts from abuſing the bodies of ſuch perſons; for one of them was caught in ſuch an action, and accuſed of it by his companion. If any Egyptian, or even a ſtranger, was found killed by a crocodile, or drowned in the river, where-ever the body came aſhore, the inhabitants were by law obliged, at their own charge, to embalm and place it among the conſecrated monuments, in the moſt coſtly manner; for none of his friends, or relations, or any other might touch his body, except the prieſts of the Nile, who buried him with their own hands, as ſomething more than human [n].

WHEN the corps of the deceaſed was prepared for the ſepulchre, his neareſt relations gave public notice of the day when ſuch a one, by name, was to paſs the lake, in order for his interment; to which the judges and all his friends were invited. At the time prefixed, above forty judges aſſembled, and ſat in a ſemicircle in a certain place beyond the lake (which we ſuppoſe to be that of Mœris). The

[l] Lucian. de luctu.
[m] Herod. & Diodor. ubi ſupr.
[n] Herod. ibid.

The veſſel, whoſe pilot was, in the Egyptian tongue, called Charon, being ready hauled up to the ſhore, before the coffin which contained the body was ſuffered to imbark (K), every one was at liberty to accuſe the deceaſed. If an accuſer appeared, and made good his charge, that the deceaſed had led an ill life, the judges gave ſentence accordingly, and the body was denied the uſual burial: but if the accuſer was convicted of having accuſed him unjuſtly, he incurred a ſevere puniſhment. If no accuſer appeared, or if the accuſation proved falſe, then the relations, laying aſide their lamentation, proceeded to recite the praiſes of the deceaſed; in doing which they took no notice of his deſcent, for all the Egyptians were held equally noble; but having mentioned in what manner he had been brought up and educated, they declared how he had lived and behaved himſelf after he became a man, enlarging on his piety, juſtice, temperance, and other virtues; and beſeeching the infernal gods to give him a favourable reception among the pious. The aſſiſtants joined their acclamations to this funeral oration, and celebrated the praiſes of the departed, as of one who was going to dwell for a long ſpace of time with the juſt below. After this the body was depoſited in the ſepulchre of the family, if they had one; and if they had not, they kept it at home with them in the manner abovementioned. Thoſe that were forbidden to be interred, either for crimes by them committed, or for debt, were depoſited privately in their own houſes. But it often happened, that the poſterity of ſuch perſons growing rich, paid their debts, or obtained their pardon, and buried them in an honourable manner.

It muſt be acknowledged, that this inſtitution of the Egyptians, in relation to their treatment of dead bodies, was excellently contrived for the encouragement of virtue, and the diſcouragement of vice. It is very plain, that the Greeks took all they fabled concerning the infernal judges, and the happineſs and puniſhments of men after death, from this practice of the Egyptians: but Diodorus obſerves, that inſtead of bringing men to amendment of life by thoſe fables, they incurred the ridicule and contempt of profligate perſons: whereas in Egypt the reward of the good and puniſhment

(K) This is the ſenſe of the original; though it ſhould rather ſeem, by the judges ſitting on the farther ſide of the lake, that the corps was actually ferried over, but was not ſuffered to be diſembarked, till ſentence had paſſed.

punishment of the wicked, after death, was not fabulous or imaginary, but really and daily distributed in public, in the sight of all men [o].

THE sepulchres, wherein the Egyptians deposited the bodies of their dead, were built in various manners, according to the person's condition. The magnificence of the royal tombs have been already hinted; those of the antient kings at Thebes, it is said, could not be exceeded by their posterity. The sacred commentaries mentioned forty seven of them; but in the time of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, there were but seventeen remaining; most of which where quite decayed when Diodorus visited those parts in the 180th Olympiad. Of the pyramids, which were built for the same purpose, we have spoken sufficiently; and the sepulchre of Osymandyas we may mention hereafter. The Egyptians of lower quality, at a great expence, cut subterraneous grots, or dormitories, in the rocks; such as those in the Libyan deserts, of which travellers speak so much, calling them catacombes, or mummy-pits. The entrance into them is by a square well, by which one may descend, setting the feet in the holes cut on each side for that purpose. These wells are not of equal depth, but the shalloweſt are above six men's height. At the bottom of the well there is a square opening, and a passage of ten or fifteen feet long, leading into several square vaulted chambers, each side of which are usually fifteen or twenty feet; and in the midst of every one of the four sides of the chamber is a bench cut out of the rock, upon which the embalmed bodies lie. At the head of them there is commonly an idol, at the feet the image of a bird; and on the walls are several hieroglyphics, which might serve for epitaphs. Besides the principal bodies, there are other smaller ones, and particularly of children, which lie on the ground. Sometimes there are no less than twenty five or thirty of these chambers, or grots, having communication with one another; and the descent to them all is by one well [p]. The stones, of which Strabo observed a great number in a plain between Syene and Philæ, are also by some thought to have been tombs. That author calls them Hermæa, from the resemblance they bore to the heaps of stones frequently erected by the highways in honour

[o] Diod. ubi supr. p. 82, &c:

[p] Burrettini, ubi supr.

nour of Mercury ; and he describes them to be a great smooth stone, almost spherical, of that hard and black marble of which mortars were made, placed upon a greater stone, and surmounted by another ; some of them lying by themselves : the greatest of them was no less than twelve feet diameter, and all of them above half so big [q].

The antient Egyptians were the inventors of many useful arts and sciences : and though they did not perhaps carry them afterwards to that perfection which might have been expected from them, since among them every man was obliged to apply himself to his paternal profession, and was confined to one particular art, or branch of learning only ; yet, whoever considers how difficult it is to lay the first foundations of any science, be they ever so small, will allow them great commendation.

Of their arts and sciences.

As they acknowledge themselves indebted to their first kings for instructing them how to provide the common necessaries and conveniences of life, so they attributed the honour of the first invention of the sciences to their Hermes, or Mercuries [r]. How many there were of this name, when they lived, and what they invented, or wrote, we shall enquire in another place, contenting ourselves here with a short account of the arts and learning which the Egyptians are supposed to have communicated to the rest of mankind, and the progress they made therein.

That the Egyptions were early famous for wisdom and learning, appears from many antient writers, and even from the scriptures themselves : it is said, among other things, to the honour of Moses, that *he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egpptians* [s] ; and to magnify the wisdom of Solomon, we are told, that *it excelled all the wisdom of Egypt* [t]. Prophane authors also unanimously testify this nation to have been the parents of all philosophical knowledge, and the only men that perfectly understood divine things [u].

Of their geometry.

Geometry is on all hands agreed to have been first found out in Egypt [w] ; and is said to have owed its rise to the setting out and measuring of their lands, the bounds of which were annually disturbed by the overflowing of the

[q] Strabo, l. 17. p. 1173. [r] Diodor. ubi supr. p. 41. [s] Acts vii. 22. [t] 1 Kings iv. 30. [u] Macrob. in Somn. Scip. l. 1. c. 19. & Saturn. l. 1. c. 14. & l. 7. c. 13. [w] Diog. Laert. in Proœm. Strabo, l. 16, 17. Plato, in Phædro, Achill. Tatius ad Arati Phæn. Jamblich, de vita Pythag. p. 144.

the Nile [x]. How far the Egyptians improved this ſcience, is not very certain; but their ſkill therein ſeems not to have been very profound, or to have extended to all geometrical quantities and ſubtile theories, like that of the moderns: the utmoſt they knew was probably no more than plain meaſuring, and ſuch rules as were of common uſe in life. For Pythagoras, who travelled into Egypt for the ſake of their learning, after his return home offered an hecatomb, on his finding out the proportion of the longeſt ſide of a right-angled triangle to the other two [y]; and Thales, who alſo learned geometry in Egypt, ſacrificed an ox to the gods, for joy that he had hit on a method of inſcribing a rect-angled triangle within a circle [z]: both which inventions they could not have had from the Egyptians; unleſs we ſhould ſay that the Egyptians did not teach them all they could, or that thoſe two philoſophers unjuſtly arrogated to themſelves what they were beholden to their maſters for. Now, if theſe more ſimple, though noble, propoſitions, were not then to be found in the Egyptian geometry, much leſs can it be ſuppoſed to have contained thoſe more abſtruſe theorems, and analytical methods, which were afterwards known, and for which we are indebted to the Greeks, who built ſo fine a ſuperſtructure on the old Egyptian foundation [a].

Arithmetic. As arithmetic is not only of great uſe in itſelf, but abſolutely neceſſary both in the theory and practice of geometry, that ſcience was diligently cultivated in Egypt. That there was in later ages a kind of algebra known in that country, appears from the writings of Diophantus; but whether it was not an improvement made by the Grecians, after their ſettling there, cannot be affirmed; however, it was greatly inferior to the modern algebra in many reſpects [b].

Aſtronomy. IT is generally ſuppoſed, that aſtronomy was alſo an invention of the Egyptians [c], who, by reaſon of the conſtant ſerenity of the air and the flatneſs of their country, might obſerve the heavenly motions earlier, and with more eaſe than other people. Herodotus indeed gives the honour of this

[x] Herod. ubi ſupr. Diod. p. 73. [y] Diog. Laert. in Pythag. [z] Idem in Thalete. [a] Vid. Burnet Archæol. l. 1. p. 72. Wotton's Reflections on antient and modern learning, c. 9. p. 115. [b] Ibid. c. 14. p. 180. [c] Plato, in Epinom. Ariſtot. Metaph. l. 1. Diog. Laert. & Achill. Tatius, ubi ſupr. Manil. Aſtron. l. 1.

to the Babylonians [d]; but Diodorus makes the Babylonians themselves, as well as their sciences, to have been transplanted from Egypt. He attributes the first invention to those of Thebes; and says, the Egyptians were accurate observers of the places and motions of the stars, and kept registers of their observations for an incredible number of years, having addicted themselves to this study in the most early ages; that they were well acquainted with the motions, periods, and stations of the planets, and with their influences and effects; and by long experience were often able to make surprizing predictions of events in life, and to foretel famines, plenty, pestilential diseases, earthquakes, the appearances of comets, and other things which seemed to exceed human capacity. The phænomena they seem to have observed were indeed the most obvious and easy; but thereby they were directed to adjust the length of the year to the annual revolution of the sun, which this nation first did, by adding to their twelve months, of thirty days a-piece, five additional days and six hours, while the Greeks and Romans used the more rude and inconvenient form of lunar years, intercalating a month every third year [e]. But the great use they seem to have made of their astronomy was, either for the use of husbandry, or else for astrological calculations, with which the Egyptians were much in love. It is probable, they might have a true notion of the system of the world, and of the matter of the planets and fixed stars; for they called the moon, an ethereal earth, and affirmed the stars to be fire [f]; however, they were far from having an exact knowledge of the theory of the planetary motions, so as to make any artificial calculations; since Thales was the first man who ventured to foretel an eclipse [g], and Eudoxus and Ptolemy first reduced the heavenly motions into hypotheses and tables [h]

Physic. The science of physic seems also to have owed its original to the Egyptians [i]. The invention of it is generally ascribed to Æsculapius, which name was given to Tosorthrus,

[d] Herod. ubi supr. [e] Diodor. ubi supr. p. 46. Herod ubi supr. [f] Procl. in Tim. Platonis, l. 1 p. 45. [g] Diog. Laert. in Thalet. Cicer. de Divinat. l. 1. Plin. l. 2. c. 12. [h] Vid. Burnet ubi supr. p. 73, &c. [i] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 7. c. 56.

ſorthrus, or Seſorthrus, a king of Memphis, and the ſecond of the third dynaſty of Manetho, for his great ſkill in that art [k]. This prince was much more antient than the Grecian Æſculapius; and though Africanus places him ſome ages after Athothis, the ſucceſſor of Menes, and ſuppoſed to be the ſame with Thoth, or the firſt Hermes; yet others make them contemporaries [l], as they muſt have been, if this Æſculapius was the ſame with the ſon of Sydyc, and the brother of the Cabiri [m]. Athothis is alſo ſaid to have been a phyſician, and to have written ſome books of anatomy [n], unleſs we rather aſcribe thoſe writings to the ſecond Hermes, who might publiſh ſeveral inventions of the firſt Hermes, and of Æſculapius; for we are told, that among the Hermaic books there were ſix which treated of phyſic, and that the firſt of them was anatomical [o]. Iſis herſelf is ſaid alſo to have invented ſeveral medicines, and to have taught the art to her ſon Orus, or Apollo; whence ſhe was held by the Egyptians to be the goddeſs of health [p].

THE Egyptian phyſicians mentioned by Moſes [q], ſeem rather to have been embalmers than phyſicians, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word; unleſs we ſuppoſe both arts were originally profeſſed by the ſame perſon, which poſſibly might be the caſe, though in after-times it was otherwiſe. For every phyſician was not permitted to practice every branch of the art; but it was diſtributed into diſtinct parts, and each man applied himſelf to the cure of one diſeaſe only, pretending to no more. This occaſioned a great number of phyſicians in Egypt: ſome profeſſing to cure the diſeaſe of the eyes; others thoſe of the head, teeth, or parts about the belly; ſome applied themſelves to chirurgical operations, whilſt others undertook the care of internal diſtempers [r]: by which regulation great improvements might have been expected from them in their ſeveral provinces, had not the laws as it were ſhut the door to any future diſcoveries, by obliging the phyſicians to preſcribe according to fixed rules and receipts, ſet down in their ſacred regiſters, which had

[k] Vid. Syncell. Chronogr. p. 56, 57. [l] Marſham. Canon. Chron p. 40. [m] See before, p. 395. [n] Syncell. ubi ſupr. [o] Clem. Alex. Str. l. 1. p. 634. [p] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 22. [q] Geneſ. l. 2. [r] Herod. ubi ſup.

been collected from long observation and experience, and approved by the most famous men of the profession. So long as the physician followed these legal prescriptions he was safe, let the success of the medicines be what it would; but if once he ventured to depart from them, and to follow his own private judgment, he was answerable for the event, and run the hazard of his life in case the patient died [s]. It must be confessed, however, that this was a most essential method to prevent the mischievous practice of empirics. Another thing observable, in respect of the Egyptian physicians, is, that they had a public provision made for them by law; for which reason they were not to take any fee from those who happened to be sick in the army, or on a journey within the kingdom.

The Egyptian medicines seem rather to have been calculated for prevention than cure; they chiefly prescribed evacuations, which they effected either by glisters, potions, or emetics, or else by fasting; and this they repeated every day, or let the patient rest three or four days, according to the case: for they were of opinion, that in the digestion of all food, the greater part was superfluous, and loading nature caused diseases [t]; for which reason those who lived in the corn country used to vomit and purge themselves every month, three days successively, to preserve health, though otherwise they were by nature one of the most healthful people in the world [w]. The better to promote the operation of their medicines, the physicians, together with their proper art, also studied astrology and their ritual mysteries [x]; for the Egyptian practice of physic depended much on astrological and magical grounds, either the influence of some particular planet, or some tutelar dæmon were still considered [y]; which precarious foundations must needs depreciate their skill, and stop any increase of knowledge which might be made on other principles. However, we cannot wholly assent to the opinion of a modern writer, who thence imagines the antient Egyptian prescriptions were not medicinal, but religious purifications only; and their pharmaceutic books were filled, not with recipes for sickness and distempers, but with meats and drinks

[s] Diodor. ubi supr. p. 74. [t] Idem, ibid. [u] Idem ibid. p. 73. [w] Herod. ubi supr. [x] Scholiast. in Ptolem. Tetrabibl. l. 1. [y] Vid. Conringium de Hermetica. Ægyptior. vetere, & Paracelsica novâ medicina, and Wotton's Refl. on antient and modern learning, p. 119, &c.

drinks, unguents, lotions, and purgations, proper to be used in the several services of each deity [z]. What we have already observed from good authority, cannot agree with this notion.

THERE seems much less foundation for the assertion of some moderns who tell us, there was a particular medicine used only among the Egyptian priests, and kept secret from the Greeks, and the generality of the natives themselves; which medicine was of such efficacy, that it could do any thing but restore life to the dead. This, they say, was the grand Elixir, a chymical preparation made with the philosophers stone, the invention of Hermes; by the help of which the Egyptian kings were enabled to build the pyramids with the treasures their furnaces afforded them [a]. But such fancies are sufficiently confuted by the profound silence of antient authors in the matter, and the weak arguments of those who contend for this antiquity of chymistry, built on suspicious authorities, uncertain conjectures, and allegorical interpretations of the fabulous stories of the Greeks, which they will have to be chymical secrets disguised; fancying the golden fleece, which Jason fetched from Cholcis, was only a receipt to make the philosophers stone; and that Medea restored Æson, his father, to his youth again, by the grand elixir [b]. Chymistry.

As they began to cultivate anatomy in Egypt very early, if credit may be given to what is said above, and their kings ordered dead bodies to be dissected for the perfection of this part of physic, it might be presumed, they made greater progress therein than we can allow, if two instances that are given of the accuracy of the Egyptian anatomists be genuine. One of their observations was, that there is a particular nerve which goes from the heart to the little finger on the left hand; for which reason the Egyptians always wore rings upon that finger, and the priests dipped that finger in their perfumed ointment [d]. And the following reason is given, why a man cannot live above one hundred years; because the Alexandrian embalmers observed a constant encrease and diminution of the hearts of those found persons whom they opened, whereby they judged of their age; finding, that the hearts of infants of a year old Anatomy

[z] Shuckford's Connection, vol. ii. p. 408, &c. [a] Vid. Borrichium de ortu & progressu Chemiæ. [b] Vid. Wotton, ubi supr. p. 120, &c. [c] Plin. l. 19, c. 5. [d] A. Gellius Noct. Attic. l. 10. c. 10. Macrob. Sat. l. 7. c. 13.

weighed two drachms, and this weight encreased annually by two drachms every year till men came to the age of fifty; from which time they as gradually decreased till they came to an hundred; when, for want of a heart, they must necessarily die [e].

Natural philosophy.

Of the Physiology of the old Egyptians (to consider it here distinctly from their theology, which two the ancients constantly joined together) we have not much to say. Their opinion as to the origin of things, and the mundane revolutions, we have considered elsewhere [f]. Their philosophical doctrines, as it seems, may best be known by looking into that of the ancient Greeks, who were their scholars, and travelled into Egypt for instruction in these higher parts of learning; from whence it was, in all probability, that Pythagoras brought home the knowledge of that antient system of the world which bears his name, and is now so generally received; though it seems to have been part of the secret doctrine of the Egyptians, and not revealed to the vulgar. It may not be amiss to observe, that the antient Barbarian philosophers did not employ their studies in the explication of this or that particular phænomenon, or direct their enquiries to the examination of things taken singly; it being in vain to expect from them, for example, the cause of the attractive power of the loadstone, or the colours of the the rainbow; what is the substance of fire, and what the particles of water, or how great the force of compressed air? but their speculations were about the mundane phænomena, or those which affected universal nature; such as the first beginning of things, their revolutions, periods, and final catastrophe [g].

But the science for which the Egyptians were particularly famous, and the attainment whereof was esteemed the highest pitch of knowledge [h], was magic. Some, imagining the invention of this art to exceed human capacity, pretend, the angels, who fell in love with the antediluvian women, first taught it; that Ham preserved the principal rules of it from being lost at the deluge; and that Mizraim learned those secrets of his father [i]. But others ascribe the invention

[e] Plin. l. 9. c. 37. Censorin de die natali, c, 17. [f] Introd. p. 98, &c. [g] Burnet Archæol. l. 1. p. 78. Vid. Strabon. l. 17. [h] Plin. l. 30. c. 1. [i] See before, p. 247, and 354, in the notes.

invention to Hermes [k]; though it is said to have been much improved by Nechepsos, a king of Egypt [l]. However, the art was certainly very antient in Egypt; they had magicians, who pretended to the interpretation of dreams, and a way of divining by a cup in the time of Joseph [m]; and very extraordinary instances were given of the power of inchantments in the days of Moses [n]. The professors of magic among the Egyptians were the priests and sacred scribes, two of which order, named Jannes and Jambres, were pitched upon to withstand that prophet [o]. Nor was this science confined to that nation in those early times: from the caution given by Moses to the Israelites against them [p] it is evident, there was pretenders to it under various denominations, among most of the idolatrous people; and Balaam, in particular, seems to have been a considerable proficient therein [q]. The claim of Zoroastres, and the Babylonians, to the honour of the first practising and teaching magic, shall be considered in another place.

WHAT were the real grounds of this science we cannot say; there is an innocent kind of magic, which consists only in an excelling knowledge of nature, and its various powers and qualities in its several productions, and the application of certain agents to certain patients, which, by force of some peculiar qualities, produce effects very different from what fall under vulgar observation and comprehension [r]; but the magical wisdom of the Egyptians must have been something very different from this, or have gone much beyond what we are now masters of, notwithstanding those vast and various discoveries which have been lately made in the properties of natural bodies; there being no one, as we presume, who will now pretend to do those wonderful things, which Pharoah's magicians did when they contended with Moses, not to insist on the improbability, that the law-giver would forbid the practice of an art, which he must know to be not only innocent, but valuable.

IT is therefore supposed, that these antient magicians formed the rules of their art either from their superstitious belief

[k] Vid. Philastrium Brixiens. Hæres. n. 3. [l] Auson. Ep. 19. [m] Gen. xli. 8. xlv. 5, 15. [n] Exod. vii. 11, &c. [o] 2 Tim. iii. 8. Numenius apud Euseb. de præp. ev. l. 8. c. 8. Artapanus apud eund. ibid. l. 9. c. 27. [p] Deut. xviii. 10, &c. [q] Ibid. c. xxiii. 23. and xxiv. 1.
[r] Vid. Sir W. Temple's Essay on the wisdom of the ancients.

belief of the great influence the heavenly bodies had on this lower world; or, from that other, though more late, opinion, that the world was governed by inferior intelligences, or dæmons, and the spirits of heroes and extraordinary men deceased. As to the first foundation of this science, we have already observed, that the Egyptians assigned each month and day to a particular god; they imagined, that seven planets governed the seven days of the week [s]; and pretended, that, by the observation of the motion of the celestial bodies, through a long series of years, they had obtained the art of foreseeing future events [t]. They also thought the influence of those heavenly bodies on the elements caused such effluxes, as might affect the mind of those who were duly prepared to receive them, so as to enable them to deliver oracles; and even that they might, by a proper discipline, make them capable of working wonders, and procuring prodigies [u]. For they believed the sun, moon, stars, and elements were endued with intelligence, and appointed by the supreme Deity to govern the world [w]; and though they acknowledged, that God might [x], upon extraordinary occasions, work miracles, reveal his will by audible voices, divine appearances, dreams, or prophecies; yet they imagined also, that, generally speaking, prodigies were caused, oracles given, and visions occasioned in a natural way, by the observation, or influence of the courses of Heavenly bodies, and by the operations of the powers of nature: and they conceived, that their learned professors could work miracles, obtain oracles and omens, and interpret dreams, by a deep study of, and profound enquiry into, natural knowledge, and, assisted by a proper temper and disposition of mind, attainable by the use of such means as they thought had a natural power to raise warm conceptions, produce enthusiastic fury, and fetter their reason, which they fancied averted the divine instinct, such as inebriating liquors, music, and the like [y]; and in all these things they supposed the Deity not immediately concerned, but that they were the natural effects of the influence of the planets and elements, seeming strange and unaccountable to the vulgar and unlearned, but fully understood by persons

[s] Dion Cassius, l. 36. p. 37. [t] Cicero de divin. l. 1. c. 1. [u] Plutarch. de defect. orac. [w] Vid. Cicer. de nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 15. & Acad. quæst. l. 4. c. 34, 37. [x] Vid. eund. de divinat. l. 1. c. 55. [y] Vid. Plut. ubi supr. p. 432.

perſons of ſcience and philoſophy [z]. The other foundation of magic was built on an opinion which was ſomething laterthan the former, viz: that ſpirits, or dæmons, of a nature ſuperior to men, were employed in the government of the world, and had their ſeveral provinces appointed them by God [a]; and to this honour they imagined the ſouls of departed heroes and extraordinary men were alſo admitted: for which reaſon they ſuppoſed, they had not only powers far exceeding thoſe of mortal men, but aſcribed oracles, viſions, and omens to the miniſtry of ſuch ſpirits. And thoſe notions are not greatly different from the almoſt unanimous opinion of the Jews and Chriſtians, who acknowledge the ſuperintendence of angels over human affairs, the malicious intermeddling of evil ſpirits therein, and the great knowledge and abilities of both [b]. Whether, by the law of nature all kind of commerce with theſe inviſible agents was prohibited, or not, has been thought not ſo clear; though it be plainly forbidden to Chriſtians, either becauſe the government of the intellectual world was changed at the coming of Chriſt [c]; or rather becauſe of the miſchiefs that ill-deſigning men might thereby be enabled to do, and the door it might open to idolatry and ſuperſtition. That ſuch a commerce is, or at leaſt formerly was, poſſible, we cannot but confeſs; and we conceive it very difficult to account for ſeveral paſſages in ſcripture, without allowing it to have been practiſed; as we may obſerve hereafter: however, much the greater part of what has been attributed to this ſort of magic, was undoubtedly the effect of impoſture and deluſion, which have been ſo apparent in ſeveral inſtances, as to tempt one almoſt to believe the ſame of all the reſt.

And other arts.

SOME of the other arts of the Egyptians, which were leſs conſiderable, we have already occaſionally taken notice of. The Greek writers tell us, that all trades and profeſſions in Egypt, even the moſt inferior, were not reckoned ignoble; huſbandmen [d] and thoſe who fed cattle, in particular, were much conſidered [e]; though theſe latter, in ſome parts of the country, were not ſuffered, but counted an abomination [f]; the reaſon of which was chiefly the difference in religion. For the ſkill of the Egyptians in architecture, mechanics, painting, and ſculpture, we need only refer to what

[z] Vid. Shuckford. ubi ſupr. p. 391, &c. [a] Plut. ubi ſupr. p. 418. [b] See before, p. 176, 177. [c] See Burnet Archæol. l. 1. p. 203. [d] See before, p. 543, 568. [e] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 67, &c. [f] Geneſ. xlvi. 34.

what we have ſaid in the preceding ſection; yet, as to the laſt, we may add, that their ſtatuaries worked by the moſt methodical rules of proportion, and not by the eye, as the Grecians did; and they judged of the exactneſs of the ſymmetry by the ſame. For they divided the whole body into twenty one parts and one fourth; and after the artiſts, who were employed, had come to a reſolution as to the ſize of the ſtatue, they went home, each taking his taſk, which they performed with ſuch ſingular ſkill, and made the ſeveral parts ſo accurately proportionable to one another as was wonderful. It is ſaid, the moſt famous ſtatuaries among the antients lived ſometime in Egypt; particularly Telecles and Theodorus, the ſons of Rhœcus, who made the famous ſtatue of Apollo Pythius in Samos, after the Egyptian manner; for it was divided into two parts, from the head to the groin; Telecles cutting one half in Samos, and his brother the other half at Epheſus; which being joined together, fitted ſo exactly, that they ſeemed to have been made by one hand: and this ſeemed the more admirable, conſidering the attitude of the ſtatue, which had its hands ſtretched out, and its legs at a diſtance from each other, in a moving poſture [g].

Of the Navigation of the Nile.

We had almoſt forgot to ſpeak of the extraordinary conſtruction of the veſſels which the old Egyptians made uſe of on the Nile. Their ſhips of burthen were made of the Acantha, or Egyptian thorn [h]; from which they cut ſmall planks about two cubits ſquare: theſe pieces of timber they ſet together like tiles, and faſtened with a great number of long pins: and when the whole was thus well compacted, they erected benches for the rowers. For they uſed no kinds of ribs, or bent timber in their work, but ſecured the joints of the inſide with band of Papyrus. They had but one rudder, which paſſed quite through the keel, a maſt of Acantha, and a ſail made of the Papyrus. Theſe veſſels were very unfit to mount the river againſt the ſtream, and therefore were always towed up, unleſs the wind proved very freſh and favourable. But when they came down with the current, they faſtened a hurdle of Tamariſk with a rope to the prow of the veſſel; which hurdle they ſtrengthened with bands of reeds, and let it down into the water: they alſo hung a ſtone, pierced through the middle, and of a conſiderable weight, by another rope to the poop. By this means the ſtream bearing on the hurdle, carried down the boat with great expedition,

[g] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. p. 88.

[h] See before, p. 503.

expedition, the ſtone at the ſame time balancing and keeping it ſteady. Of theſe veſſels they had great numbers on the river, and ſome very large [i]. The Egyptian navigation by ſea we ſhall mention by and by, when we come to ſpeak of their trade.

How the Egyptians preſerved their knowledge.

THE manner wherein the old Egyptians preſerved their knowledge, and tranſmitted it to poſterity, deſerves to be particularly conſidered. Their prieſts, as we have already intimated, were the depoſitaries of all their learning; they had the care of their philoſophy and other ſciences, as well as of their religion and ſacred rites [k]; and were the perſons to whom thoſe who deſired to be inſtructed therein were obliged to apply themſelves [l]; for which purpoſes they had divers colleges, or academies, in ſeveral parts of the kingdom: one of which, at Heliopolis, is mentioned by Strabo, who viſited the apartments where Eudoxus and Plato had ſtudied for ſeveral years [m]. The Egyptian learning was partly inſcribed on columns, and partly committed to writing in the ſacred books. Not only the Egyptians, but ſeveral other antient nations uſed to preſerve the memory of things by inſcriptions on pillars: to ſay nothing of thoſe which Seth, as it is pretended, erected before the flood for the ſame purpoſe [n]; we are told, the Babylonians kept their aſtronomical obſervations engraven on bricks [o]; and Democritus is ſaid to have tranſcribed his moral diſcourſes from a Babyloniſh pillar [p]. But the moſt famous of all others were the columns of Hermes in Egypt, mentioned by ſeveral valuable authors: upon them he is reported to have inſcribed his learning, which was afterwards explained more at large by the ſecond Hermes in ſeveral books. It is certain, at leaſt, that from theſe pillars the Greek philoſophers and Egyptian hiſtorians took many things. Pythagoras and Plato both read them, and borrowed their philoſophy from thence [q]: Sanchoniatho and Manetho likewiſe made uſe of the ſame monuments [r], which were ſtill remaining in the time of Proclus, or not long before [s]. They ſtood in certain ſubterraneous apartments near Thebes [t]. To theſe inſcriptions ſucceeded

[i] Herod. l. 2. [k] Vid. Porphyr. de Abſtin. Strab. l. 17. p. 1159. [l] Clem. Alex. Str. 1. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 86. [m] Strabo, ubi ſupr. [n] See before, p. 346. [o] Plin. l. 7. c. 56. [p] Clem. Alex. ubi ſupr. [q] Iamblich. de Myſt. § 1. c. 2. Proclus apud Burnet, ubi infra. [r] Euſeb. de præp. ev. l. 1. c. 9. & 10. & Chronic. Gr. p. 6. [s] Proclus, ubi ſup. [t] Pauſan. l. 1. p. 78. Ammian. Marcell. l. 22. p. 232.

ſucceeded the Sacred Books, ſomewhat more recent, but not leſs famous; to which Sanchoniatho [u] and Manetho [w] are alſo ſaid to have been beholden for the perfecting of their hiſtories. For theſe books did not only contain what related to the worſhip of the gods, and the laws of the kingdom, but hiſtorical collections, nay, even all kind of miſcellaneous and philoſophical matters of conſiderable moment. For it was part of the buſineſs of the prieſts, or ſacred ſcribes, to inſert in thoſe public regiſters whatever deſerved to be recorded and tranſmitted to poſterity, as well as carefully to preſerve what had been delivered down to them from their anceſtors [x].

These were the literary monuments of the Egyptians. Of each kind there were ſome that were obvious and plain to be underſtood by the common people and ſtrangers; and others more dark and myſterious, which were laid up in the inner receſſes of the temples, and communicated but to a very few. For there were two ſorts of learning among the ancients, and particularly the Egyptians, the vulgar and the ſecret; the difference between which conſiſted not ſo much in the matter, as in the manner of delivering it [y]. The firſt was open to all, who might be inſtructed therein by the public monuments, and the ordinary maſters; but the other, leſt it ſhould grow cheap, or be corrupted by paſſing through vulgar hands, was veiled and diſguiſed by more methods than one. For the monuments of this ſuperior ſort of learning, beſides being hidden in the private apartments of the temples, were written in a character not commonly underſtood, and guarded by the prieſts, who were extremely difficult of acceſs, and could not be prevailed on to explain them, but after abundance of preparation and initiatory ceremonies [z]; a memorable inſtance of which was their uſage of Pythagoras. This perſon, deſigning to travel into Egypt, deſired Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, to recommend him by letter to Amaſis king of Egypt, who was his particular friend, that he might have the free admiſſion to the ſecret learning of the prieſts; and when he came to Amaſis, he obtained alſo of him letters to the prieſts, ordering them to communicate their knowledge to him. Thence he went, firſt to thoſe of Heliopolis, who referred him to the college at Memphis, as their

[u] Euſeb. de præp. ev. l. 1. c. 9. [w] Joſeph. cont. Apion. l. 1. [x] Vid. eund. ibid. Plat. in Tim. Strab. l. 17. p. 139. [y] See before, p. 197. [z] Plutarch de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 354. Strab. l. 17. p. 1159.

their ſeniors; and from Memphis he was ſent, under the ſame pretext, to Thebes: after much tergiverſation, not daring to diſobey the king's command, by any farther dilatory excuſes, they endeavoured to deter Pythagoras from his purpoſe, by the infinite labour and trouble he was to expect, injoining him, in his noviciate, things that were very hard, and contrary to the religion of the Greeks [a]. And when he had undergone all this with invincible courage, he obliged them at length, againſt their wills, to admit him to a participation of their ſacred myſteries and profoundeſt learning [b].

THE laſt method, which the Egyptians took to conceal their doctrines from popular conception was, by wrapping it up in hieroglyphics, ſymbols, ænigmas, and fables. Of the hieroglyphic figures we ſhall take notice immediately. As to the reſt, it is well known, that the antients in general uſed to deliver their inſtructions under thoſe dark veils of allegory and fiction; inſtances of which are too frequent, both in ſacred and prophane writers, to need quotation: there being few, or none, in the moſt early times, either among the Greeks or Barbarians, who taught any part of philoſophy plainly or intelligibly [c]; as if they thought, that to expreſs things in a familiar and eaſy manner argued want of acuteneſs; or elſe imagined, that modeſty forbad them to ſhew truth naked to the vulgar. The Egyptians ſeem to have excelled other nations in the obſcurity of their fictions; wherein the footſteps of truth were often ſo faint, that they required a ſagacious tracer, and one able to diſcern things of moment from trifles [d].

IN their inſcriptions and writings, the Egyptians made uſe of three ſeveral ſorts of characters; the firſt and moſt antient was that of hieroglyphical figures of various animals, the parts of human bodies, and mechanical inſtruments; of which three things the hieroglyphics, both of the Ethiopians and Egyptians, conſiſted [e]: though there is reaſon to think, the Egyptians had alſo another ſort of characters, called hieroglyphical, and made uſe of by the prieſts, ſomething reſembling the preſent Chineſe characters [f]. They are ſaid to have been the invention of Hermes; and a ſpecimen of his performance therein is given us by Sanchoniatho [g]. The conjecture

[a] See before, p. 570. [b] Porphyr, de vita Pythag. [c] Vid. Diog. Laert. in præm. Phornut. cap. de fab. antiq. trad. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. p. 556, &c, [d] Plut. Erotic, p. 762. [e] Diod. Sic. l. 3. p. 145. [f] Vid. Porphyr, de vita Pythag. p. 13. [g] See before, p. 401.

conjecture of Sir John Marsham is by no means improbable, that the use of these hieroglyphical figures of animals introduced the strange worship which was paid them by that nation [h]; for as those figures were made choice of according to the respective qualities of each animal, to express the qualities and dignities of the persons they represented, which were generally their gods, princes, and great men; the people became gradually accustomed to these figures, which they used to place in their temples as the images of their deities; whence it is not absurd to imagine, that they came at length to pay a superstitious veneration to the living animals themselves. And this opinion we rather approve, than the contrary one of a late learned writer, who supposes the sacred animals were first appointed and consecrated to each god, and the hieroglyphics afterwards formed from them [i].

There are large collections among the antiquaries of hieroglyphical inscriptions, images, and pictures, which they have taken a great deal of pains to explain, but with very little success [k]; for if we except a few of these characters, the meaning of which has been preserved by old writers (L), there is great reason to suspect their conjectures are very ill founded; and particularly as to those figures which they suppose to represent the old Egyptian gods; the greater part of them being in human form, with the head of some animal, or else distinguished by some animal representation set upon their heads, or near them; whereas images of human form, as we have observed, were not introduced among the Egyptians till later times; and why such figures might not be made in memory of some of their most famous men, we cannot see, since it was the old Egyptian custom to represent, not the man's person, but his manners, characters, station, and honour [l]; and this they did by hieroglyphics.

Besides

[h] Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 38. [i] Shuckford, Connect. vol. ii. p. 331, &c. [k] Vid. Kircher. Oedip. Montfaucon, Antiq. expliq. Pignorii Mens. [l] Vid. Plut. ubi sup. See Shuckford, Connect. vol. ii. p. 348, &c.

(L) Thus we are told, they represented the supreme Deity, by a serpent with the head of a hawk (1). The hawk itself was the hieroglyphic of Osiris; the river-horse of Typhon; the dog of Mercury; the cat of the moon, or Diana; the beetle of a couragious warrior; a new-born child of the rising sun, and the like (2).

(1) Euseb. de præp. ev. l. 3. c. 10. p. 41. (2) Vid. Plut. de Isid. & Osir. Diod. l. 3. p. 145. Clem, Alex, Strom. l. 5, p. 566.

BESIDES theſe, the Egyptians alſo uſed literal characters, of which they had two ſorts, one of them they called the ſacred letters, in which their public regiſters, and all matters of a higher nature were written; and the other the vulgar, or epiſtolographic, made uſe of by every body in common buſineſs [m]. The Egyptians were not the only people who obſerved ſuch a diſtinction in their writing; ſeveral of the eaſtern nations, particularly the Ethiopians and Babylonians, had two different kinds of letters [n]; and the modern Bramins among the Indians, have not only a ſacred character, but a ſacred language alſo, in which they are very ſhy of inſtructing ſtrangers [o].

WHEN, and by whom, letters were invented, we ſhall not now enquire; it will be ſufficient to obſerve here, that though moſt other nations are ſuppoſed to have received them from the Egyptians, yet themſelves poſſibly learned them of their neighbours the Ethiopians, among whom letters were in uſe very early, and whoſe vulgar character became the ſacred one of the Egyptians [p]. Both theſe ſorts of old Egyptian letters are now loſt, or if the forms of them remain in any old inſcriptions, they are unintelligible, and cannot be decyphered. All that we know of them is, that the alphabet conſiſted of twenty-five letters [q], and that they wrote from the right hand to the left [r], as moſt of the oriental nations ſtill do. We can by no means come into the opinion of thoſe who imagine the preſent Coptic letters to have been thoſe of the antient Egyptians (M); for the Coptic

[m] Herod. l. 2. Diodor. l. 1. p. 72. Vid. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. p. 555. Porphyr. de vita Pythag. p. 185. [n] Vid. Diodor. l. 3. p. 144. Diog. Laert. in Democrito. Lucian. de Macrob. [o] Vid. Burnet Archæol. l. 1. cap. 8. [p] Diodor. ubi ſup. [q] Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 374. [r] Herod. ubi ſup.

(M) Della Valle thinks the modern Coptic letters were the vulgar letters of the antient Egyptians, and not taken by them from the Greeks; becauſe, 1. the Greeks, when they expreſs numbers by letters, according to the order of the alphabet, for the number 6, uſe ϛ, which is ſuppoſed to be not a ſingle letter, but the compound character Sigma-tau; for which they are not able to give any reaſon; whereas by the Coptic alphabet it appears

Coptic alphabet is manifestly nothing else but the Greek; with the addition of some few letters, to express sounds which

pears to have been originally the sixth letter, though it be wanting in the Greek. 2. The Copts pronounce the vowels and diphthongs, not according to the corrupt pronunciation of the modern Greeks, but after the antient manner. 3. He found some Coptic letters on a mummy among hieroglyphics; which shews they were in use before that way of writing was lost (3). But it may be answered, that the Greek numeral ϛ, and the Coptic So, are really no other than the Samaritan Waw set backwards, or the Æolic Digamma, which the Greeks afterwards threw out of their common alphabet, as they did the Koppa and Sanpi (the Samaritan Koph and Sade), they being also used as numerals only; but the Copts have retained the figure of the Waw, calling it So, or Sou which signifies six, the number it stands for) though they never use it, we believe, otherwise than as a numeral; nay, in some Coptic alphabets, the Koppa or Sanpi are still inserted (4). Which joined with the other two arguments of Della Valle, may prove the Greek letters to have been used very early in Egypt, but not that they were originally Egyptian.

Kircher (5) goes something farther. He endeavours to prove Coptic letters were invented by Hermes, and most of them formed from some of the sacred animals, as the ibis, the serpent, the bull, the ram, and the hawk. And to such as have not pertinent names, he gives others, which have an apt signification in Coptic: Zida, for example, he calls Zeuta, i. e. Life, of which the serpent, whose form this latter bears, is the symbol; & Xi he calls Xanuti, i. e. A Chain, the links of which it seems to resemble. Plutarch indeed tells us, that the first Egyptian letter was the ibis (6); that bird, with its legs devaricated, and bill inserted between them, making the form of an equilateral triangle (7). which comes something near the Coptic Alpha; but we know not how this can be carried farther with any certainty. Clemens Alexandrinus mentions four golden images of gods, viz. two dogs, a hawk, and an ibis, which used to be carried in procession at a certain solemnity, and that they called them Four Letters (8). Now though Kircher has derived seven letters from the ibis, and one from the hawk, yet he could find none that seemed to have any affinity with the dog; which shews how precarious

(3) Della Valle, viag. let. ii. (4) Vid. Ed. Bernardi Tab. alphabetor. n. xxvi (5) In Oedip. Ægyp. tom. 3. p. 42, &c. (6) Plut. sympos. l. 4. quæst. 5. (7) Ibid. l. 9. quæst. 3. (8) Clem. Alex. strom. l. 5. p. 567.

which the Grecians had not, and probably came to be uſed in Egypt after the time of Alexander, though we know the Greek language, and perhaps their letters alſo, was taught there long before, in the reign of Pſammitichus [s]. That the reader may judge of this affinity, we have here inſerted the Coptic alphabet.

[s] Idem. ibid. Diodor. l, 1. p. 61.

carious thoſe conjectures are, though we confeſs them to be ingenious. It is not improbable, that the Egyptians in later times, when they had loſt their antient letters and learning, and had for ſome centuries made uſe of the Greek alphabet only, the introduction of which they had forgotten, might imagine their preſent letters to be thoſe antient ones uſed by their anceſtors, and thereupon endeavour to find myſteries in them, which it is eaſy for men of warm conceptions, and a peculiar way of thinking, to do in the moſt trivial things.

Another learned author ſeems alſo to have been once of opinion, that the Greek alphabet was derived from the Coptic; for he ſays, the letters uſed by Moſes, and throughout all Aſia, have not the leaſt affinity with the Greek (contrary to the ſentiments of almoſt all learned men beſides); but that the Coptic, or Egyptian, letters have the utmoſt reſemblance to them, and, which he thinks more obſervable, the manner of writing in all Aſia is from the right hand to the left; but the manner of writing in Egypt and Greece, is from the left hand to the right; and this he wonders Sir Iſaac Newton could not diſtinguiſh (1). We agree, that the manner of writing in Egypt is now, as this gentleman ſays, (we mean when they write Coptic) but that it was ſo antiently he would have been much in the wrong to affirm, Herodotus expreſly teſtifying the contrary (2); and the derivation of the Greek alphabet from the Samaritan is ſo apparent, that this writer himſelf, in a later work of his, ſeems to make no doubt of it; and goes a little too far, as we apprehended, on the other ſide, in aſſerting the Samaritan characters to have been the old Egyptian (3); which may poſſibly be true, but is more, we believe, than he is able to prove.

We will not deny, however, but that the ſeven letters added by the Egyptians to the Greek alphabet, may be the remains of their antient character; though we are rather of a contrary opinion.

(1) Bedford's animadv. on Sir Iſaac Newton's chronol. p. 27, 68. (2) See page, 593. (3) Bedford's Script. Chronol. P. 494.

The COPTIC ALPHABET.

Figure.	Name.	Power.	Figure.	Name.	Power.
ⲁ Ⲁ	Alpha	A.	ⲡ Ⲡ	Pi	P.
ⲃ Ⲃ	Bita	B. V.	ⲣ Ⲣ	Ro	R.
ⲅ Ⲅ	Gamma	G.	ⲥ Ⲥ	Sima	S.
ⲇ Ⲇ	Dalda	D.	ⲧ Ⲧ	Tau	T.
ⲉ Ⲉ	Ei	E.	ⲩ Ⲩ	Ypſilon	Y. U.
ⲍ Ⲍ	So	S.	ⲫ Ⲫ	Phi	Ph.
ⲍ ⲍ	Zita	Z.	ⲭ Ⲭ	Chi	Ch. Græc.
ⲏ Ⲏ	Hita	I. Æ.	ⲱ Ⲱ	O	O long.
ⲑ Ⲑ	Thita	Th.	ⲯ Ⲯ	Shei	Sh.
ⲓ Ⲓ	Iauda	I.	ϥ Ϥ	Fei	F.
ⲕ Ⲕ	Kappa	K.	ϧ Ϧ	Khei	Kh.
ⲗ Ⲗ	Lauda	L.	ϩ Ϩ	Hori	H.
ⲙ Ⲙ ⲙ	Mi	M.	ϫ Ϫ	Janja	J.
ⲛ Ⲛ	Ni	N.	ϭ Ϭ	Shima	Sh.
ⲝ Ⲝ	Xi	X.	ϯ Ϯ	Dhei	Dh.
ⲟ Ⲟ	O	O ſhort.	ⲯ Ⲯ	Epſi	Pſ.

Of their language.

The Egyptian language is certainly one of the moſt antient in the world, and in all probability an original, or mother, tongue, formed at the confuſion of Babel [t]. It was certainly a diſtinct tongue, at leaſt ſo early as the time of Joſeph, who, when he was made governor of Egypt, had a new name given him of Egyptian derivation [u], and ſpeaking to his brethren in that language, was obliged to make uſe

[t] See before, p. 442.

[u] Geneſ. lxi. 45.

uſe of an inrerpreter [x] : and yet this very language is in a great meaſure preſerved to our own times in the preſent Coptic, though, by reaſon of the almoſt continual ſubjection of that nation to foreigners, ever ſince their conqueſt by Cambyſes, a conſiderable part of it has been loſt ; in return for which it has received a great number of Greek, and ſome Perſian, Latin, and Arabic words, during the long time they were under the ſucceſſive government of thoſe people. The Arabic at preſent prevails ſo univerſally in Egypt, that the Copts, or native Egyptians themſelves, generally ſpeak no other, the common people having utterly loſt the knowledge of their antient tongue, which few, even of their prieſts, underſtand to any degree of perfection [y].

THE Coptic tongue at preſent conſiſts chiefly of the old Egyptian and Greek ; ſtill bearing evident marks of primitive antiquity in its ſtructure and conſtitution, wherein it differs ſo widely from all the oriental and European languages, that it is impoſſible to conceive it derived from any of them. For the Copts neither decline their nouns, nor conjugate their verbs (not even thoſe of foreign extract) otherwiſe than by prefixing particles ſometimes of one or more ſyllables, and ſometimes of a ſingle letter, which denote the caſe, gender, number, and perſon ; ſeveral of them being often joined together in one word, and the primitive word uſually placed laſt. So that the difficulty of this tongue conſiſts in the incredible combination of the words and particles, in the change of the vowels, and in tranſpoſing the middle part of the word, and adding of ſuperfluous letters ; to diſtingniſh which requires great labour and ſkill [z].

Of their trade and navigation.

As Egypt is excellently ſituated for commerce, the trade of the weſtern parts of Aſia, all Europe, and the north lying open to it by the Mediterranean ſea, and that of Arabia, Perſia, India, and the ſouthern and weſtern coaſts of Africa by the red ſea ; the eaſtern merchandizes being commodiouſly brought into Egypt on camels by the iſthmus of Sues ; it is to be preſumed, ſo induſtrious and ſenſible a people were not long without making uſe of thoſe advantages ; which they might be induced to, not only by the proſpect of gain, but alſo to ſupply themſelves with thoſe things which their country wanted, ſuch as metals, wood, pitch, roſin, and the like ; which they might do by diſpoſing of

[x] Geneſ. lxii. 23.

[y] Vid. Sicard. dans les Memoires des Miſſions, tom. ii. p. 61.

[z] Vid. Wilkins, Diſſert. de ling. Coptica, p. 120, &c.

of their own, many and rich productions and manufactures, such as corn, linen, paper, glass and several other valuable commodities. Sir John Marsham [a] supposes, that the Egyptians did not apply themselves to merchandize till the time of the Ptolemies; but in this he seems to be mistaken; for though those princes did very much encourage trade, recovering that of the east of their subjects, by building of Berenice, Myos hormos, and other ports on the Arabian gulph, so that Alexandria became the greatest mart in the world; yet the Egyptians certainly traded very considerably with foreigners long before. For, not to insist on their claim to the first invention of commerce, which they say was found out by Osiris, and their Mercury [b], Diodorus does not only tell us, that Psammitichus gained great riches by trade before he was king of Egypt [c], but we learn from scripture, that the Midianites and Ismaelites traded thither so early as the time of Jacob [d]; and it is presumed, that they had antiently the sovereignty of the red sea, by which means they engrossed all the trade of the Indies, and other parts which were then carried on that way [e]. They seem indeed to have been dispossessed of it, if what Philostratus [f] relates be true, by a certain prince named Erythras (whom some imagine to be the same with Esau, or Edom); for he, being master of the red sea, made a law, or regulation, that the Egyptians should not enter that sea with any ships of war, and with no more than one merchant ship at a time. To evade which, the Egyptians built a vessel so large and capacious, that it might supply the place of several. However, afterwards David became master of Elath and Esiongeber, two ports on the red sea belonging to Edom, which he had conquered, built ships there, as some say, and fetched gold from Ophir [g]; but whether that be true or no, Solomon his son certainly established a very great trade there [h], which it is not improbable he might do by permission, or connivance of the Egyptians, to whose king he was son-in-law. And this trade the Jews continued to share with

[a] Canon. Chron. Sec. 14, p. 367. [b] Vid. Huet. Hist. du Commerce & de la Navig. des anciens, c. 7. [c] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 60. [d] Genes. xxxvii. 25, 36. [e] Vid. Huet. ubi supr. c. 48. [f] De vita Apollonii, l. 3. c. 35. [g] Eupolem, ap. Euseb. de præp. evang. l. 9. c. 30. [h] 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18. 1 Kings ix. 26, &c.

with them, with ſome little interruption, till the time of Ahaz, when they entirely loſt it, and it fell into the hands of the Syrians [i], and after of the Tyrians [k], till the Ptolemies recovered the whole again to their own ſubjects, as has been ſaid.

SOME writers [l] have indeed expreſly aſſerted, that Pſammitichus was the firſt king of Egypt who opened the ports to ſtrangers, and granted foreign traders ſecurity in his dominions; and that the antient princes, being content with the abundant riches of their own country, permitted ſtrangers to have no acceſs to it, fortifying the frontiers againſt them, and particularly againſt the Greeks. But this cannot be underſtood of any other commerce than that which was driven by the Mediterranean ſea, where the Greeks exerciſed their piracies along the coaſts of Egypt [m], and being themſelves excluded thence on that account, complained of ſuch treatment as a great injuſtice, and an attempt againſt the law of nations, repreſenting the Egyptians as a barbarous nation, which had renounced all humanity and hoſpitality; whence aroſe the fable of the cruelty of Buſiris: for that the Egyptians did before this trade with other nations, is evident from the abovementioned inſtance of the Midianites and Iſmaelites, the eaſy acceſs which Abraham and the ſons of Jacob had to Egypt [n], and from Solomon's having horſes from thence [o].

TOWARD the Greeks indeed they behaved themſelves with ſome caution and reſerve, even after they were admitted; for after the time of Pſammitichus, though Amaſis, who was their great friend, ſuffered them to build the city of Naucratis for the ſettlement and reſidence of their merchants; yet that was the ſole place in the whole kingdom where he allowed them to have a factory. They ſailed up to it by the Canopic mouth of the Nile (N); and if by any accident a veſſel entered any other mouth of that river, the owners, after making oath that they were forced in there againſt their will, were obliged to go back to that channel; or if the winds were contrary, to unlade, and ſend up their goods to Naucratis by the river veſſels [p].

THOUGH

[i] 2 Kings xvi, 6. [k] Vid. Strab. l. 16. [l] Strab. l. 17. p. 1142. Diod. Sic. l. 1, p. 61. [m] Vid. Strab. ubi ſupr. [n] Geneſ. xii. 10, lxii. 1, &c. [o] 2 Chron. ix. 18. 1 Kings x. 28. [p] Herod. l. 2. ſub. finem.

(N) Yet others make this city of Naucratis to be a colony of the

Though the Egyptians, on a religious account, bore a great averſion to the ſea, which they called Typhon, becauſe it ſwallows up their Nile, and hated ſailors ſo much that they would not ſpeak to them [q]; and though they were not fond of going out of their own country, for fear of introducing foreign luxury and cuſtoms [r], yet were they not ignorant of ſea affairs, having an order of men among them who followed nothing elſe; nay, the Grecians confeſs, they learned navigation from them [s]. Seſoſtris built a formidable navy of four hundred ſhips of war for his expedition to the ſouthern ſeas; and alſo a very large veſſel of cedar, two hundred and eighty cubits long (O), gilt without, and beautified with ſilver within, which he dedicated to Oſiris [t]. And it is to be preſumed, they improved in this art in ſucceeding times.

We ſhall here conclude this account of the antient Egyptians, and hope we may be excuſed, if we have been ſomewhat prolix in ſpeaking of ſo extraordinary a people.

SECT. III.

Of the Egyptian chronology to the time of Alexander the Great.

Before we enter on ſo intricate a ſubject as the Egyptian chronology, it will be neceſſary, for the better underſtanding of what ſhall be ſaid, to exhibit the ſeries of the kings of Egypt, according to the ſeveral authors who have recorded their ſucceſſions.

I. A

[q] Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 363. Sympoſ. l. 8. p. 729. [r] Clem. Alex. ſtrom. 1. p. 302. Euripid. in Troad. [t] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 50, 52.

the Mileſians, and to ſtand on the Bolbitic, or Heracleotic, mouth of the Nile (4). But this we ſhall examine hereafter.

(O) This ſhip muſt vaſtly exceed any modern veſſels in bulk, being near twice as big as one of our largeſt firſt rates; the length of the royal Sovereign being no more than 175 feet on the middle gun-deck; and the breadth about 70 feet by the beam.

(4) See Bayle Dict. Hiſt. Art. Naucratis. Rem. A. B.

I. A TABLE of the laſt ſixteen of the thirty Dynaſties, according to the old Egyptian chronicle [a], the fourteen firſt Dynaſties being wanting.

Dynaſty.	Generations.		Years.
XV.	— —	15 Of the Cynic circle reigned	443
XVI.	—— —	8 Tanites ———	190
XVII.	—— —	4 Memphites ———	103
XVIII.	—— —	14 Memphites ———	348
XIX.	—— —	5 Dioſpolites ———	194
XX	—— —	8 Dioſpolites ——	228
XXI.	—— —	6 Tanites ———	121
XXII.	—— —	3 Tanites ———	48
XXIII.	—— —	2 Dioſpolites ——	19
XXIV.	—— —	3 Saïtes ———	44
XXV.	———	3 Ethiopians ———	44
XXVI.	———	7 Memphites ——	177
XXVII.	———	5 Perſians ———	124
XXVIII.	* * * *	* * * * * *	
XXIX.	* * * *	* * * * * *	39
XXX.	— — —	1 Tanites —— ——	18
	The ſum of the thirty Dynaſties is,		36525

II. A TABLE of the Egyptian Dynaſties from Manetho.

TOME I.

According to Africanus.	According to Euſebius.
The I. Dynaſty of Thinites, or kings of This; conſiſting of eight princes.	The I. Dynaſty of Thinites, or kings of This; conſiſting of eight princes.
Years	Years.
1. Menes (A), reigned 62	1. Menes reigned — 60
2. Athothis (B) —— 57	2. Athoſthis —— 27
3. Cencenes —— 31	3. Cencenes ——— 39
4. Venephes (C) — 23	4. Venephes — — 42
5. Uſaphedus — — 20	5. Uſaphaes — — 20
6. Miebidus — — 16	6. Niebes —— — 16
7. Sememphis. ——— 18	7. Sememphis — — 18
8. Bienaches —— 26	8. Ubienthes — — 26
253	252

[a] See before, p. 272. Syncell. chronogr. p. 51, 52. Euſeb. chron. Græc. p. Syncell. p. 45. &c. Euſeb. p.

(A) This prince, they ſay, was the firſt man who reigned in Egypt, and ſucceeded the demi-gods; he was killed by a Hippopotamus (1).

(B) Athothis, ſuppoſed to be the ſame with Thoth, or Hermes, practiſed phyſic, and wrote ſome books of anatomy. He alſo built the palace at Memphis (2).

(C) He built the pyramids at Cochome (3).

(1) Syncell. p. 54, 55. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. Ac-

According to Africanus.			According to Euſebius.		
The II. Dynaſty of Thinites, conſiſting of nine kings.			The II. Dynaſty of Thinites, conſiſting of nine kings.		
		Years.			Years.
1	Boethus reigned —	38	1	Bochus reigned —	
2	Cæachos (D) ——	39	2	Chöus (D) ——	
3	Binothris — —	47	3	Biophis ——	
4	Tlas —— —	17	4	—— ——	
5	Sethenes —— —	41	5	— ——	
6	Chœres —— —	17	6	—— —	
7	Nepherchéres ——	25	7	—— —	
8	Sefochris (E) ——	48	8	Sefochris — ——	48
9	—— — ——		9	Cheneres — —	30
		297			302

The III. Dynaſty of Memphites, conſiſting of nine kings.			The III. Dynaſty of Memphites, conſiſting of eight kings.		
		Years.			Years.
1	Necherophes reigned	28	1	Nacherochis ——	
2	Toſorthrus (F) —	29	2	Seſorthus — ——	
3	Tyris —— —	7			
4	Meſochris ——	17			
5	Soïphis — ——	16			
6	Toſertaſis — —	19	*	* * *	
7	Achis —— —	42			
8	Siphuris —— —	30			
9	Cerpheres ——	26			
		214			198

Ac-

(D) In his reign the ox Apis began to be worſhipped at Memphis, Mneuis, at Heliopolis, and the goat at Mendes (4).

(E) This prince is ſaid to have been of very large ſtature, that is, five cubits high, and three broad (5).

(F) Toſorthrus was the Egyptian Æſculapius, excelling in the art of phyſic. He firſt found out the manner of building with hewn ſtones, and improved letters (6).

(4) Ibid. (5) Idem, p. 56, 57. (6) Ibid.

According to Africanus.

The IV. Dynasty of Memphites, consisting of eight kings.

		Years.
1	Soris reigned —	29
2	Suphis (G) —	63
3	Suphis — —	66
4	Mencheres —	63
5	Rhatœses — —	25
6	Bicheres —	22
7	Sebercheres —	7
8	Thampthis —	9
		274

The V. Dynasty of Elephantines.

		Years.
1	Usercheris reigned —	28
2	Sephres — —	13
3	Nephercheres —	20
4	Sisiris — —	7
5	Cheres — —	20
6	Rathuris — —	44
7	Mercheres —	9
8	Thercheres —	44
9	Obnus — —	33
		248

According to Eusebius.

The IV. Dynasty of Memphites, consisting of seventeen kings.

		Years.
	— reigned —	
3	Suphis (G) —	
	* * * *	
		448

The V. Dynasty of Elephantines, consisting of thirty one kings.

		Years.
1	Othoes reigned	—
	* * *	
4	Phiops — —	100
	* * * *	

(G) This king is reported to have seen the gods, and repenting of it, to have wrote a sacred book, greatly esteemed by the Egyptians. It is also said he built the largest pyramid near Memphis, attributed by Herodotus to Cheops (7).

(7) Ibid.

According

According to Africanus.	According to Euſebius.
The VI. Dynaſty of Memphites, conſiſting of ſix princes.	The VI. Dynaſty of Memphites.
Years.	Years.
1 Othoes reigned —	* * * *
2 Phius — — 53	
3 Methuſuphis — 7	
4 Phiops — — — 94	
5 Menteſuphis — 1	
6 Nitocris (H) — — 12	Nitocris — — 3
203	203
The VII. Dynaſty of Memphites, conſiſting of ſeventy kings, who reigned 70 days.	The VII. Dynaſty of Memphites, conſiſting of five kings, who reigned 75 days.
* * * *	* * * *
The VIII. Dynaſty of Memphites, conſiſting of twenty ſeven kings, who reigned 146 years.	The VIII. Dynaſty of Memphites, conſiſting of five kings, who reigned 100 years.
* * * *	* * * *
The IX. Dynaſty of Heracleots conſiſting of nineteen kings.	The IX. Dynaſty of Heracleopolites, conſiſting of four kings.
Years.	Years.
1 Achthoes (I) reigned —	1 Achthus — —
* * * *	* * * *
409	100

(H) A moſt illuſtrious and beautiful woman, who built the third pyramid near Memphis, which Herodotus attributes to Mycerinus (8).

(I) Achthoes was a moſt inhuman prince: after ſeveral cruelties by him exerciſed on his ſubjects, he fell into madneſs, and was ſlain by a crocodile (9).

(8) Idem, p. 58. (9) Ibid. p. 59.

The

According to Africanus.

The X. Dynasty of Heracleots, consisting of nineteen kings, who reigned 185 years.

* * * *

The XI. Dynasty of Diospolites, consisting of sixteen kings, who reigned 43 years.

* * * *

After whom Ammenemes reigned 16 years.

The XII. Dynasty of Diospolites, consisting of seven kings.

		Years.	
1	Gefon, Gofes, or Sefonchoris reigned		46
2	Ammanemes		38
3	Sefoftris		48
4	Lachares (K)		8
5	Ammeres		8
6	Ammenemes		8
7	Scemiothris, his sister	4	
			160

According to Eusebius.

The X. Dynasty of Heracleopolites, consisting of nineteen kings, who reigned 185 years.

* * * *

The XI. Dynasty of Diospolites, consisting of sixteen kings, who reigned 43 years.

* * * *

After whom Ammenemes reigned 16 years.

The XII. Dynasty of Diospolites, consisting of seven kings.

		Years.	
1	Sesynchoris reigned		46
2	Ammenemes		38
3	Sesoftris		48
4	Labaris (K)		8
5			42
6			
7			
			245

TOME II.

(K) This prince made choice of the labyrinth at Arsinoe for his sepulchre (10).

(10) Ibid. & p. 60.

According

According to Africanus.

The XIII. Dynasty of Diospolites, consisting of sixty kings, who reigned 184 years.

* * * *

The XIV. Dynasty is wanting.

* * * *

The XV. Dynasty of Phœnician shepherds, consisting of six kings.

		Years.
1	Saïtes reigned ——	19
2	Byon, or Beon —	44
3	Pachnan, or Apachnas	61
4	Staan —— ——	50
5	Archles — ——	49
6	Aphobis (L) ——	61
		284

The XVI. Dynasty of Greek shepherds, consisting of thirty two kings, who reigned 518 years.

* * * *

The XVII. Dynasty, consisting of forty three other pastor kings, and forty three Thebans, who reigned together 153 years.

* * * *

According to Eusebius.

The XIII. Dynasty of Diospolites, consisting of sixty kings, who reigned 453 years.

* * * *

The XIV. Dynasty of Xoïtes, consisting of seventy six kings, who reigned 184, or 484 years.

* * * *

The XV. Dynasty of Diospolites, who reigned 259 years.

* * * *

The XVI Dynasty of Thebans, consisting of five kings, who reigned 190 years.

* * * *

The XVII. Dynasty of Phœnician shepherds.

		Years.
1	Saïtes reigned ——	19
2	Beon — ——	43
3	Aphophis (L) ——	14
4	Archles — ——	30
		106

(L) This prince is supposed by some to be the Pharaoh who advanced Joseph (11).

(11) Ibid. p. 69.

According to Africanus.			According to Eusebius.		
The XVIII. Dynasty of Diospolites, consisting of sixteen kings,		Years.	The XVIII. Dynasty of Diospolites, consisting of sixteen kings.		Years.
1	Amos (M), called also Amosis and Tethmosis, son of Asseth, reigned		1	Amosis reigned —	25
2	Chebros — — —	13	2	Chebron. — — —	13
3	Amenophthis — —	21	3	Ammenophis — —	21
4	Amersis — — —	22	4	Miphris — — —	12
5	Misaphris — — —	13	5	Misphragmuthosis —	26
6	Misphragmuthosis, or Amosis II. — —	26	6	Tuthmosis — — —	9
7	Tuthmosis — — —	9	7	Amenophis — —	31
8	Amenophis, or Memnon	31	8	Horus — — —	36
2	Horus — — — —	37	9	Achencheres — —	12
10	Acherres I. — —	32	10	Athoris — —	39
11	Rathos — — —	6	11	Chencheres — — —	16
12	Chebres — —	12	12	Acherres — — —	8
13	Acherres II. —	12	13	Cheres — — —	15
14	Armeses — —	5	14	Armais, or Danaus	5
15	Rammesses — —	1	15	Ammeses, or Ægyptus	68
16	Amenoph — — —	19	19	Memnophis — — —	40
		263			348
The XIX. Dynasty of Diospolites, consisting of six kings.		Years.	The XIX. Dynasty of Diospolites, consisting of five kings.		Years.
1	Sethos reigned — —	51	1	Sethos — — — —	55
2	Rhapsaces — — —	61	2	Rhapses — — —	66
3	Ammenephthes —	20	3	Ammenephthes —	40
4	Rameses — — —	60	4	Ammenemmes —	26
5	Ammenemnes — —	5	5	Thuoris — — —	7
6	Thuoris, the Polybus of Homer — —	7			
		209			194

(M) Under Amosis it is supposed, by Africanus, that the Israelites departed out of Egypt; but Eusebius places the Exodus under Chencheres the eleventh of this Dynasty (12)

(12) Ibid. p. 62, 72, &c.

According

TOME III.

According to Africanus	According to Euſebius.
The XX. Dynaſty of Dioſpolites, conſiſting of twelve kings, who reigned 135 years.	The XX. Dynaſty of Dioſpolites, conſiſting of twelve kings, who reigned 178 years.
* * * *	* * * *
The XXI. Dynaſty of Tanites, conſiſting of ſeven kings.	The XXI. Dynaſty of Tanites, conſiſting of ſeven kings.
Years.	Years.
1 Smedes reigned —— 26	1 Smendis — —— 26
2 Pſuſenes, or Pſuneſes - 46	2 Pſuſennes I. —— 41
3 Nephelcheres — — 4	3 Nephercheres —— 4
4 Amenenophthis — — 9	4 Amenophthis —— 9
5 Oſochor — —— 6	5 Oſochor —— — 6
6 Pinaches —— — 9	6 Pſinaches —— —— 9
7 Suſennes — —— 30	7 Pſuſennes II. —— 35
130	130
The XXII. Dynaſty of Bubaſtites, conſiſting of nine kings.	The XXII. Dynaſty of Bubaſtites, conſiſting of three kings.
Years.	Years.
1 Seſonchis reigned — 21	1 Seſenchoſis reigned — 21
2 Oſoroth —— — 15	2 Oſorthon —— — 15
3 —— —— —— }	3 Tacellothis —— — 13
4 —— —— —— } 25	
5 —— —— —— }	
6 Tacellothis — — 13	
7 —— —— —— }	
8 —— —— —— } 42	
9 —— —— —— }	
120	49

According

According to Africanus.

The XXIII. Dynasty of Tanites, consisting of four kings.

		Years.
1	Petubates reigned —	40
2	Osorcho, or Hercules -	8
3	Psammus —— —	10
4	Zet —— ——	31
		89

The XXIV. Dynasty of one Saïte.

		Years.
	Bochchoris reigned —	6

The XXV. Dynasty of Ethiopians, consisting of three kings.

		Years.
1	Sabbachon reigned —	8
2	Seuechus —— —	14
3	Tarcus —— —	18
		40

The XXVI. Dynasty of Saïtes, consisting of nine kings.

		Yrs.	Mhs
1	Stephinates reigned	7	
2	Nerepsos ——	6	
3	Nechao I. ——	8	
4	Psammitichus —	54	
5	Nechao II.——	6	
6	Psammuthis ——	6	
7	Uaphris — —	19	
8	Amosis ——	44	
9	Psammacherites —	0	6
		150	6

According to Eusebius.

The XXIII. Dynasty of Tanites, consisting of three kings.

		Years.
1	Petubastes reigned —	25
2	Osorthon, or Hercules	9
3	Psammus —— —	10
		44

The XXIV. Dynasty of one Saïte.

		Years.
	Bochchoris, or Boncho-ris reigned ——	44

The XXV. Dynasty of Ethiopians, consisting of three kings.

		Years.
1	Sabbacon reigned —	12
2	Seuechus — —	12
3	Taracus —— —	20
		44

The XXVI. Dynasty of Saïtes, consisting of nine kings.

		Years.
1	Ammeris reigned —	12
2	Stephanathis ——	7
3	Necheptos — ——	6
4	Nechao I. ——	8
5	Psammitichus ——	45
6	Nechao II. ——	6
7	Psammuthis, or Psammitichus II. ——	17
8	Uaphris —— —	25
9	Amosis —— ——	42
		168

According to Africanus.

The XXVII. Dynasty of Persians, consisting of eight kings.

		Y.	M.
1	Cambyses reigned —	6	
2	Darius, the son of Hystaspes, —	36	
3	Xerxes the Great —	21	
4	Artabanus —	0	7
5	Artaxerxes —	41	
6	Xerxes II. —	0	2
7	Sogdianus —	0	7
8	Darius, the son of Xerxes, —	19	
		124	4

The XXVIII. Dynasty of one Saïte.

	Years.
Amyrteos reigned —	6

The XXIX. Dynasty of Mendesians, consisting of four kings.

		Y.	M.
1	Nepherites reigned —	6	
2	Achoris — —	13	
3	Psammuthis —	1	
4	Nephorotes —	0	4
		20	4

The XXX. Dynasty of princes of Sebennytus, consisting of three kings.

		Years.
1	Nectanebes I. reigned	18
2	Teos — —	2
3	Nectanebes II. —	18
		38

According to Eusebius.

The XXVII. Dynasty of Persians, consisting of eight kings.

		Y.	M
1	Cambyses reigned —	3	
2	The Magi —	0	7
3	Darius — —	36	
4	Xerxes I. —	21	
5	Artaxerxes Longimanus —	40	
6	Xerxes II. —	0	2
7	Sogdianus —	0	7
8	Darius the son of Xerxes, —	19	
		120	4

The XXVIII. Dynasty of one Saïte.

	Years.
Amyrtanus, or Amyrteus, reigned —	6

The XXIX. Dynasty of Mendesians, consisting of five kings.

		Y.	M.
1	Nepherites reigned -	6	
2	Achoris — —	13	
3	Psammuthis — —	1	
4	Anapherites —	0	4
5	Muthis — —	1	
		21	4

The XXX. Dynasty of princes of Sebennytus, consisting of three kings.

		Years.
1	Nectanebes reigned —	10
2	Teos — —	2
3	Nectanebes —	8
		20

III. A TABLE of Egyptian kings from Manetho, according to Josephus [b].

		Y.	M.	
Timaus reigned				
	The pastor kings.			
1	Salatis	19		
2	Bæon	44		
3	Aphachnas	36	7	
4	Aphophis	61		
5	Janias	50	1	
6	Assis	49	2	
	Egyptians.			
	Halisphragmuthosis			
	Tetmosis	25	4	
	Chebron	13		
	Amenophis	20	7	
	Amesses a woman	21	9	
	Mephres	12	9	
	Mephramuthosis, or Misphragmuthosis	21	10	
	Thmosis	9	8	
	Amenophis	30	10	
	Orus	36	5	
	Achenchres	12	1	
	Rathosis	9		
	Achencheres I.	12	5	
	Acencheres II.	12	3	
	Armais	4		
	Rameses	1	4	
	Harmesses Miamun	66	2	
	Amenophis	19	6	
		393		

IV. A TABLE of the Theban kings from the Laterculus of Eratosthenes [c].

		Years.
1	Menes, or Mines, reigned	62
2	Athothes I.	59
2	Athothes II.	32
4	Diabies	19
5	Pemphos	18
6	Tœgar Amachus Momchiri, or Tœgaramus	79
7	Stœchus	6
8	Gosormies, or Elephantus	30
9	Mares	26
10	Anoyphes	20
11	Sirius	18
12	Chnubus Gneurus	27
13	Rauosis	13
14	Biyris	10
15	Saophis	29
16	Senisaophis	27
17	Moscheris	31
18	Musthis	33
19	Pammus Archondes	35
20	Apappus the Great	100
21	Echescus Caras	1
22	Nitocris	6
23	Myrtæus	22
24	Thyosimares	12
25	Thyrillus or Thinillus	8
26	Semphucrates	18
27	Chuther Taurus	7
28	Meres, or Meures the philosopher	12
29	Choma	

[b] Contra Apion. l. 1.

[c] Apud Syncell. p. 92, &c.

29	Choma Ephtha ——	11
30	Anchunius Ochy, or Scunioſochus -	60
31	Penteathyris ——	16
32	Stameneimes ——	23
33	Siſtoſichermes —	55
34	Maris - ——	43
35	Siphoas Hermes —	5
36	—— ——	14
37	Phruron, or Nilus —	5
38	Amurthæus, or Amythantœus —	63
	——	

V. A TABLE of the Egyptian kings according to the ſeries of Syncellus [d].

		Years.
1	Meſtraim, or Menes, reigned ——	35
2	Curudes, or Cudrus -	63
3	Ariſtarchus — ——	34
4	Spanius —— —	36
5	—— —— ——	72
6	—— —— ——	
7	Serapis —— —	23
8	Seſanchoſis ——	49
9	Amenemes ——	29
10	Amaſis or Amoſis —	2
11	Aceſephthres ——	13
12	Achoreas - ——	9
13	Amiyſes, or Armiyſes	4
14	Chamoïs ——	12
15	Ameſiſes — —	65
16	—— —— —	14
17	Uſe —— ——	50
18	Rhameſes ——	29
19	Rhameſſomenes —	15
20	Tyſimares ——	31
21	Rhameſſeſeos —	23
22	Rhameſſemeno —	19
23	Rhameſſe, ſon of Baëtes ——	39
24	Rhameſſe, ſon of Uaphes ——	29
25	Concharis ——	6
26	Silites — ——	19
27	Bæon —— —	44
28	Apachnas —— —	36
29	Aphophis ——	61
30	Sethos —— —	50
31	Certus - ——	29
32	Aſeth — ——	24
33	Amoſis, or Themoſis	22
34	Chebron ——	13
35	Amephes ——	15
36	Amenſes —— —	11
37	Miſphragmuthoſis —	16
38	Miſphres ——	23
39	Tuthmoſis ——	39
40	Amenophthis ——	34
41	Horus —— —	48
42	Achencheres ——	25
43	Athoris — —	29
44	Chencheres ——	26
45	Achres ——	8 or 30
46	Armæus, or Danaus	9
47	Rhameſſes, or Ægyptus	68
48	Amenophis ——	8
49	Thuoris ——	17
50	Nechepſos ——	19
51	Pſammuthis ——	13
52	—— ——	4
53	Certus ——	20
44	Rhampſis ——	45
55	Amenſes, or Amenemes ——	26
56	Ochyras —— —	14
57	Amedes —— ——	27
58	Thuoris, or Polibus -	50
59	Athothis	

[d] 1 Chronog. p. 91, &c.

59	Athothis, or Phuſanus	28
60	Cencenes	39
61	Uennephes	42
62	Suſſacim	34
63	Pſuenus, or Senipſuerus	25
64	Ammenophes	9
65	Nephecheres	6
66	Saïtes	15
67	Pſinaches	9
68	Petubaſtes	44
69	Oſorthon	9
70	Pſammus	10
71	Concharis	21
72	Oſorthon	15
73	Tacelophes	13
74	Bocchoris	44
75	Sabacon	12
76	Sebechon	12
77	Taraces	20
78	Amaes	38
79	Stephinathes	27
80	Nacepſus	13
81	Nechaab I.	8
82	Pſammitichus	14
83	Nechaab II.	9
84	Pſammuthis, or Pſammitichus II.	17
85	Uaphres	34
86	Amaſis	50
87	Amyrtæus	6
88	Nepherites	6
89	Achoris	13
90	Pſammuthis	2
91	Menas	4
92	Nectanebes	8
93	Teos	2

VI. A TABLE of the kings of Egypt.

According to Herodotus.	According to Diodorus Siculus.
Menes	Menas, or Mneves
* * * *	—52 of his deſcendants 1400 years.
* * * *	Buſiris
* * * *	—7 of his deſcendants,
Nitocris	Buſiris the 8th of them.
* * * * *	* * * *
* * * *	Oſymandyas
* * * *	—8 of his deſcendants,
* * * *	Uchoreus the 8th of them.
* * * * *	—12 generations.
Mœris	Myris
* * * * *	—7 generations, one of theſe Saſyches, the law-giver.
Seſoſtris	Seſooſis I.
Pheron	Seſooſis II.
* * * *	—ſeveral generations.

According to Herodotus.	According to Diodorus Siculus.
* * * * *	
* * * *	Amasis (Ammosis) — —
* * * * *	Actisanes the Ethiopian - —
	Mendes, or Marus — —
	——5 generations, an Inter-
	regnum.
Proteus —— ——— —	Proteus — — — —
Rhampsinitus —— ——	Remphis — — — —
* * * * *	——— }
	Nilus } 6 generations.
* * * * *	——— }
Cheops —— —— ———	Chemmis, or Chembes - —
Cephrenes ——— ———	Cephren or Chabryis — —
Mycerinus ——— ———	Mycerinus, or Cherinus —
Asychis ——— ———	Gnephachthus — — —
Anysis —— —— ——	Bocchoris —— ———
Sabaco —— —— —— —	Sabaco —— —— —
Anysis again —— —— —	— Interregnum 2 years —
Sethon —— —— —	* * * *
—— — 12 kings —— —	— — —12 kings — — —
Psammitichus —— —	Psammitichus —— —
Necus —— — ——	— — 4 generations — —
Psammis —— — ——	* * * *
Apries —— —— ——	Apries —— —— —
Amasis — — — —	Amasis —— —— ——
Psammenitus —— — —	* * * *

The disagreement between these several successions of Egyptian kings, both in their names and the years of their respective reigns, is so great, and there are such chasms, and such apparent corruptions and mistakes therein, that it should seem lost labour to go about to reduce them into a chronological series, so as to agree with one another, much less with scripture and the chronological observations of other historians. However, we shall say something of each of the preceding tables.

Of the numbers of the old chronicle

And, to begin with the first of them, the sum total of the thirty dynasties, according to the old chronicle, is not only an immense number, vastly exceeding the age of the world, but appears to be an astronomical calculation, by which the Egyptians would have their dynasties to have run

run through a whole periodic revolution of the zodiac [e]; and therefore we ſhall not offer to make any uſe of it. It may only be obſerved, that though this ſum be ſaid to be the amount of the thirty dynaſties, yet therein muſt be included the 30,000 years which the Sun reigned, the 3984 years reign of Saturn, and the other twelve gods, and the 217 years reign of the eight demi-gods, making together 34,201 years. As to the fourteen firſt dynaſties, which we conceive to be omitted in the fragment we have remaining of this chronicle, the meaning of the original may perhaps be, that the fifteen generations of the cynic circle, which are placed in the table, in the fifteen dynaſty, and reigned 443 years, do make up the firſt fifteen dynaſties: and this ſeems to be confirmed by the ſum total of the years of the ſixteen laſt dynaſties, as in the table, which is 2140 years, and with the ſaid 34,201, years, makes 36,341; to which, if we add 184 years, for the duration of the twenty eighth dynaſty, the number of which is omitted, we ſhall have the compleat ſum of 36,525. And conſequently deducting thence the ſum of the reigns of the gods and demi-gods, the remainder will be 2324 years, for the duration of the ſucceeding dynaſties, according to this chronicle; which is a number reaſonable enough, though it cannot be reconciled to thoſe of Manetho.

Of the Dynaſties of Manetho.

THE ſucceſſions of Manetho, which are given in the ſecond table, have this additional corruption, that their order has been diſturbed by tranſcribers; and as in their preſent diſpoſition they cannot poſſibly be reduced to any one ſyſtem of chronology, ſome have altered that diſpoſition according to their various hypotheſes, while others make ſhort work with them, and abſolutely reject theſe dynaſties, or great part of them, as fabulous.

THE credit of Manetho has been called in queſtion by ſeveral writers [f], not only becauſe of the incredible antiquity to which his hiſtory is ſuppoſed to have aſcended, but from the account which, it is ſaid, he himſelf gave of the records from whence he took it, pretending to have extracted it from certain pillars in the Seriadic land, on which inſcriptions had been made in the ſacred dialect and letters,

[e] See before. 272. in the notes.

[f] Vid. Jac Cappell. in Hiſt. Sacr. & Exot. ad Ann. M. 2269. Stillingfleet Orig. Sacr. Book i. c. 2. § 10, &c.

letters, by Thoth, the firſt Hermes, and were tranſlated, after the flood, out of the ſacred dialect into the Greek (N) tongue in ſacred letters (O), and laid up in books by Agathodæmon, the ſon of the ſecond Hermes, the father of Tat, in the inner receſſes of the Egyptian temples [g]. Now it is abſolutely impoſſible, that the firſt Hermes, who lived in the earlieſt ages of the Egyptian monarchy, could write a hiſtory of ſo many generations which came into the world after his death, unleſs he did it by inſpiration; and if Manetho could be ſo ſtupid as to aſſert this, it muſt neceſſarily have overthrown the credit of his whole work. But we do not think that writer could mean any ſuch thing; the words cited from him do not ſay he took his whole hiſtory from thoſe pillars; though he might probably quote thoſe records to ſupport the ancient hiſtory, which preceded the time of Thoth; and ſuch pillars, or at leaſt ſome pillars which were of great antiquity, and by the prieſts attributed to Thoth, muſt have been extant in the days of Manetho, or he could never have appealed to them in ſo public a manner, eſpecially in writing to his prince. It may alſo be anſwered,

[g] Syncell. p. 40. See before, p. 244. and the note there.

(N) Dr. Stillingfleet (13), with great reaſon thinks this abſolutely incredible, the Greek language being not known in Egypt, at leaſt not in requeſt there, ſo early as this; for the Grecians had little or no commerce with the Egyptians till the time of Pſammitichus, as we have obſerved more than once. It ſeems alſo very unlikely that Manetho ſhould aſſert this; for, beſides the improbability abovementioned, the Egyptian hiſtory was ſo far from being tranſlated to his hand, that he himſelf was obliged to tranſlate it into Greek from the ſacred regiſters (14); for which reaſon we ſuſpect ſome corruption in this paſſage; and, if it be not too bold a conjecture, we ſhould gueſs, that, inſtead of ἑλληνιδα φωνὴν, the Greek tongue, it ought to be read ἕλκησχον φωνὴν, the vulgar tongue; but we dare not dictate in ſo dubious a point.

(O) The original words are γράμμασιν ἱερογλυφικοὶς, which the learned writer named in the preceding note, tranſlates hieroglyphic characters, and very juſtly wonders, how any tranſlation can be made into ſuch characters, which repreſent things, and not words (15). But as theſe characters are plainly called letters, we conceive they could not be hieroglyphical in the common acceptation of the word, but rather ſuppoſe them to be the ſame with the hierographic, or ſacred letters abovementioned.

(13) Orig. Sacr. Book i. c. 2. (14) Joſeph. cont. Apion. l. i. p. 1336. (15) Stillingfl. ubi ſup.

ſwered, that though Thoth made the firſt inſcriptions on thoſe pillars, yet it is not impoſſible, but in ſucceeding times other inſcriptions might be added to thoſe of Thoth; for the pillars might be in common phraſe aſcribed to him, though the hiſtorical inſcriptions were continued after his death by others. But after all it may be queſtioned, whether Manetho really intended to ſupport his hiſtory by the authority of thoſe pillars; for the paſſage wherein he mentions them, ſeems to have been taken out of another book of his, called Sothis, or Seth, which was not hiſtorical, but prophetical; for, in his dedication of that work to Ptolemy Philadelphus, he ſays, that his interpreting the ſacred books of Hermes was in obedience to that prince's command, who enquired of him concerning the future events that were to happen in the world [h]. And as to the records from whence he took his hiſtory, we are elſewhere aſſured, it was from the ſacred regiſters [i] which were kept by the prieſts, and written in the Egyptian language, ſince he tranſlated them into Greek.

THE ſtronger prejudice therefore againſt the credit of this writer ariſes from his chronology. The Egyptians, it is true, pretended to an exceſſive antiquity, and to have certain records for a prodigious length of time paſt. This appears not only from the old chronicle abovementioned, but from the extravagant numbers of years their prieſts impoſed on Herodotus, Plato, and Diodorus (P); but Manetho ſeems to

[h] Vid. Syncell. p. 40. [i] Joſeph. cont. Appion. l. 1. p. 1336. Euſeb. de præp. ev. l. 2. in prooem.

(P) Some of theſe random accounts are follows:

	Years.
From Vulcan to Alexander (16)	48,863
From the reign of the Sun to Alexander (17)	23,000
From Oſiris to Alexander (18) above	10,000
Or almoſt	23,000
From Hercules to Amaſis (19)	17,000
From Bacchus to Amaſis (20)	15,000
The gods and heroes reigned (21)	18,000
From Orus, the laſt of them, to the 180th Olympiad (22)	15,000
Kings of Egypt before Amaſis reigned (23)	13,000
From their firſt mortal king to Sethon (24)	11,340
There were chronicles at Laïs (25) of	8000

(16) Diog. Laert. in Prooem. (17) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 22. (18) Idem, ibid. p. 20. (19) Herod. l. 2. (20) Idem, ibid. (21) Diodor. ubi ſup. p. 41. (22) Idem, ibid. (23) Pomp. Mela. l. 1. c. 9. (24) Herod. ubi ſup. (25) Plato in Tim.

to have been much more modeſt. The ſum of his thirty one dynaſties from Menes to fifteen years before Alexander (without taking the reigns of the gods and demi-gods into the account), if caſt up, will amount to above 5300 years, which will reach higher than the creation of the world; and Joſeph Scaliger [k] has accordingly ſettled their chronology in ſuch a manner that, by his own way of reckoning, it exceeds the epoch of the creation 1336 years. But there is a leſſer number mentioned by Syncellus, who ſays the account of the years of all the dynaſties was 3555, which is much more reaſonable than the other, and yet will agree with no ſyſtem of chronology, unleſs we take part of this number for the reigns of the antediluvian princes of Egypt. Manetho, as we have already obſerved, began his hiſtory with ſeven gods and nine demi-gods [l], who reigned 1985 years; and then ſucceeded mortal kings, the firſt of whom was Menes. Theſe three races ſeem to be the ſame with thoſe called in the old chronicle Auritæ, Meſtræi, and Egyptians [m]. Now, if we allow (as is moſt reaſonable, in caſe there be any ſhadow of truth in this part of the hiſtory), that the gods, or Auritæ, were antediluvians; the demigods, or Meſtræi, the poſtdiluvians of the race of Mizraim; and the mortal men, or Egyptians, Menes and his ſucceſſors; and, if we allow 1200 years part of the 1985 for the reigns of the firſt [n], the remainder, 785, will be the years of the reign of Mizraim and his deſcendants. And deducting the whole 1985 out of the ſaid 3555, there will remain 1570 years, the diſtance from Menes to the fifteenth year before Alexander; from which time, if we compute backwards, the beginning of Menes's reign will fall about eleven years before Abraham went into Egypt, according to the Samaritan chronology; and that of Mizraim about 298 years after the flood. This way of computing would be plauſible, were it not that the epoch of the Egyptian kingdom will by this means precede the diſperſion of mankind 103 years, which can hardly be ſuppoſed, unleſs it be allowed, that the Egyptians reckoned the years of the government of their firſt anceſtors over their deſcendants, before they left Shinaar, and arrived in Egypt. But the great objection of all is, that Manetho's number of 3555 appears to belong wholly to the ſucceſſors of Menes, and

[k] Canon Iſagog. l. 2: p. 228. [l] See before, p. 273. [m] See ibid. [n] See before, p. 273, 277.

and we have no manner of warrant to make any deduction from it.

SOME chronologers therefore, particularly father Petau [o], (who took delight in contradicting Scaliger) reject the whole ſcheme of Manetho's dynaſties as fabulous, and of no manner of value or credit. And others [p], to whom Euſebius led the way in his canon [q], omit the firſt ſixteen dynaſties only, and begin their chronology with the ſeventeenth; though they differ among themſelves in their computations. The firſt who, without rejecting any, earneſtly ſet about reducing the entire ſeries to the ſcripture chronology, was the learned Sir John Marſham [r], who firſt gueſſed that theſe dynaſties were not ſucceſſive, but collateral. He ſuppoſes, that Egypt, immediately, after the death of Menes, was divided into four diſtinct kingdoms, of Thebes, This, Memphis, and the lower Egypt, beſides ſome of leſſer note which aroſe afterwards, and whoſe epochs are more difficult to be ſettled, and that it continued ſo divided for almoſt ſeven centuries, till the paſtors made themſelves maſters of all, except that of Thebes; after whoſe expulſion, in about 500 years after, Egypt became ſubject to one prince. By this means the duration of the whole empire, from Menes to the end of the reign of Amaſis, is reduced to 1819 years. This gentleman's work is full of uncommon learning and curious obſervations; but his great misfortune ſeems to have been his adhering ſo very ſcrupulouſly to the Hebrew chronology; whereby he is obliged to make Menes the ſame with Ham, and not Mizraim, (as almoſt all other writers imagine) and abſurdly to begin the date of his reign immediately from the flood. He follows Diodorus [s] in reckoning 1400 years from Menes to Seſoſtris, whom therefore he aſſerts to be the Shiſhak of the ſcriptures, though Diodorus plainly reckons a much larger interval between them. In which laſt particular, as he has been ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by ſeveral writers [t], ſo he has been followed by others [u]. It muſt be obſerved, that Sir John Marſham makes great uſe of the table of the Theban kings given us by Eratoſthenes, of which we ſhall ſpeak by and by.

THE

[o] De Doctr. Tempor. l. 9. c. 15. [p] Calveſius, Uſſerius, & Jac. Cappellus. Perizonius eſteems the firſt fourteen or fifteen to be fabulous. [q] Chron. Græc. p. 89. [r] In his Canon Chronicus Ægyptiacus, &c. [s] Lib. 1. p. 42. [t] Pezron, Perizonius, Whiſton, Bedford, &c. [u] Sir Iſaac Newton, Shuckford, Boſſuet, Le Clerc, &c.

The next who undertook to model this Egyptian chronology is father Pezron, who, by following the larger chronology of the Septuagint, has more latitude, and allows the duration of the Egyptian empire 2619 years from Menes to Nectanebus. This author likewiſe goes on the ſame foundation with Sir John Marſham, in making the firſt ſeventeen dynaſties not ſucceſſive but collateral. He is of opinion, that the Meſtræans, or offspring of Mizraim, the firſt inhabitants of Egypt, were thoſe whom their poſterity honoured with the titles of gods and demi-gods; and that, though they began to people the country, yet they formed no kingdom there till Menes who began his reign 648 years after the deluge, and 117 years after the diſperſion. Seſoſtris he places in the time of the judges of Iſrael, Deborah then preſiding over that people [x].

From the plans of theſe two great men, ſeveral other chronological writers have formed ſyſtems of their own, differing in ſome reſpects from them, as well as from each other. The chief care of them all is to fix the times of Menes and Seſoſtris; which, when they have done, they imagine the reſt follows almoſt of courſe. The opinions, as to theſe two princes, are ſo various, that it would lead us into too great a detail to mention them all in this place; and what we judge moſt curious and worthy notice in ſuch diſquiſitions, will be more properly introduced, when we give their hiſtories. What is generally to be obſerved in all theſe writers, and eſpecially in one of them, Perizonius by name, is, that they are much oftener in the right in refuteing and detecting the errors and miſtakes of one another, than in ſettling or adjuſting any thing that may be ſafely relied on.

The fundamental hypotheſis which all theſe writers go upon, that there were, in the moſt early times, ſeveral kingdoms in Egypt at once, ſeems to be very probable, the ſcripture mentioning the kings of the Egyptians in the plural, even ſo late as the time of Jehoram [y]. The kingdoms of Thebes and Memphis divided Egypt between them for ſeveral centuries; and it is certain, from Herodotus and Diodorus, that there were, at leaſt, two kings in that country at the time of the invaſion of the Ethiopians under Sabbaco. But it does not appear, that Manetho himſelf, though he wrote the hiſtory of five Egyptian nations [z],

[x] Pezron, Antiq. des temps retablie. c. 13.

[y] 2 Kings vii. 6.

tions [z], did make any of the dynasties he has given us collateral or contemporary; on the contrary, unless his transcribers have done him more wrong than we have reason to suspect, he placed them all in a continual succession [a]; and it is taking the utmost liberty with Manetho to alter it, unless we charge the fault on the records of which he made use.

AFTER Cambyses had carried their records, the Egyptian priests, in all probability, to supply their loss, and keep up their pretences to antiquity, began to write new records, wherein they not only necessarily made great mistakes, but added a good deal of their own invention, especially as to distant times. From these materials, for want of better, Manetho collecting his history, must have intermixed a good deal of fable, as there is in the antiquities of all nations (the Jews excepted); for it cannot be expected, that people in the circumstances of these early nations could have begun to keep records till some ages after their settlement. It is unjust therefore to lay the whole blame of the confusion and uncertainty we find in the Egyptian history at the door of Manetho: he collected, for ought we know, faithfully from the records he had, and we have so little genuine remains of him, and what we have has been so mangled by transcribers and pretenders to correct him, that Isis found less difficulty in gathering the dispersed remains of her dead husband, than it must be to patch up a figure which might bear some resemblance of that historian. Several antient writers of good judgment, as Josephus, Plutarch, Porphyry, and Eusebius, looked on him as a writer whose authority was to be depended on; and the curious fragment transcribed from him by Josephus, before his copies had been corrupted, seems to confirm this good opinion, being the most valuable and authentic piece of Egyptian history, of so great antiquity, that is extant; and the series of kings we have exhibited thence, in the third table, is a pretty exact record, connecting, if there be any credit in Manetho, the Egyptian and Grecian histories, by acquainting us that Sethosis was Ægyptus, and his brother Armaïs Danaus.

THE list of Theban kings given by Eratosthenes has had a very favourable reception among the learned, not only as a supplement to Manetho, who has entirely omitted

Of the catalogue of Eratosthenes.

that

[z] Syncell. p. 40, &c.

[a] See Perizon. Orig. Ægypt. p. 62,

that ſucceſſion, but as a certain foundation for fixing the Egyptian chronology (Q). His authority has been preferred to that of Manetho [b], in regard he was no Egyptian prieſt, but a Cyrenæan, a man of eminent learning, and keeper of the Alexandrian library, and took his catalogue from the ſacred records of Thebes, or had it from the ſacred ſcribes there [c]. Together with the Egyptian names of the kings, he has given their interpretation in Greek, which thoſe ſkilled in the Coptic tongue allow to be juſt in ſome inſtances; but ſeveral of them being corrupted and unintelligible, we have choſen to omit them.

This Eratoſthenean ſeries is ſuppoſed to be connected with a known epoch in the Grecian hiſtory, by a remark of Dicæarchus, Ariſtotle's ſcholar, who ſays, that from the reign of Seſonchoſis, who ſucceeded Orus, the ſon of Iſis and Oſiris, to the reign of Nilus, are 2500 years; and from Nilus to the firſt Olympiad 436 years [d]. Who Seſonchoſis was is very uncertain; the firſt king of the twelfth dynaſty of Manetho ſeems to have born this name, or one very near it; but he muſt have lived too late to be the perſon here meant; and if he be taken to be the immediate ſucceſſor of Orus, he muſt have been one of the demi-gods, and the ſame with Ares, or Mars; which carry us back into fable. The firſt of theſe obſervations therefore can be of no great uſe, for the time of Seſonchoſis, after this way of reckoning, will precede the deluge, even according to the Samaritan chronology, near 700 years. But the other king named by Dicæarchus is found in the catalogue of Eratoſthenes, the laſt king but one in which is Phruron, or Nilus; and therefore his time being known, the years of all the preceding kings

[b] Vid. Marſh. Can. Chron. p. 8, 26, 297, Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 416, &c. [c] Vid. Syncell. p. 147. [d] Dicæarch. apud Scholiaſt. Apollon. Argon. l. 4. ver. 272.

(Q) Beſides the obſervation of Dicæarchus, mentioned hereafter, there is another affixed to Mares, the ninth king of this catalogue in Scaliger's edition of Euſebius's Greek chronicle (26), purporting, that he was contemporary with the ſixteenth dynaſty of Thebans in the lower Egypt; which obſervation may be of uſe to thoſe who have a mind to frame a table of the dynaſties, though Goar, in his edition of Syncellus, has omitted it, and taxes Scaliger with adding it of his own invention (27).

(26) Pag. 18. l. 34. (27) Goar, in Not. ad Syncell. p. 521.

kings are eaſily adjuſted to any ſyſtem of chronology. This ſeems plauſible enough; yet we are afraid, it will not altogether agree with the account of Diodorus. It is plain, Dicæarchus ſuppoſed Nilus reigned at the time of the Trojan war: for his calculation will carry us up thither; but according to Diodorus, Nilus muſt have been ſeveral generations later than Proteus, who reigned in Egypt at the time of the Trojan war, by the joint teſtimony of him and Herodotus [e]; ſo that Dicæarchus ſeems only to have given a tolerable gueſs at his age, and not fixed it with ſuch certainty as to enable us to determine it within a century at leaſt. Beſides, it is more than probable, that this table of Eratoſthenes has ſuffered by time and tranſcribers, as well as the dynaſties of Manetho; and there are doubtleſs ſeveral miſtakes in the numbers as well as names; the ſum total, for example, which Syncellus reckons to be 1075, will not agree with the particulars; for, if carefully caſt up, they amount to no more than 1055.

HOWEVER, according to this calculation of Dicæarchus, the table of Eratoſthenes will ſuit well enough with the Samaritan chronology; for if to the year before Chriſt 776 (the epoch of the firſt Olympiad) we add 436, the reign of Nilus will end in the year before Chriſt 1212; to which, if we again add 992, the number of years between the laſt year of Nilus and the firſt of Menes, this laſt king's reign began 794 years after the flood; that is, 393 years after the diſperſion, and about 300 years before Abraham's deſcent into Egypt. But if we abate three or four generations in this calculation, it will ſtill better agree with Diodorus, and allow more time for the riſing of the kingdom of Egypt.

Of the ſeries of Syncellus.

As to the ſeries of Syncellus, given in the fifth table, on which Sir John Marſham built much [f], we have a worſe opinion of it than of any of the other, eſpecially in the more early ages, where it is ſupported by no concurring evidence at all. He ſeems to have compoſed it by picking here and there ſuch names and numbers, and ſometimes adding both out of his own head, as he fancied, in order to accommodate it to the ſacred chronology [g], and therefore we ſhall take no further notice of it.

Of the ſucceſſions according to Herodotus and Diodorus

We need not ſpend many words to ſhew that it is next to impoſſible to frame a conſiſtent chronology as ſome have

[e] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 56. Herod. l. 2.

[f] Vid. Can. Chron. p. 7.

[g] Vid. Perizon. Orig. Æg. p. 53, &c.

have attempted[h]; from the successions of kings in Herodotus and Diodorus. For, besides their irreconcileable disagreement in several instances, they confessedly omit a great number of princes, and mention no years of the reigns of others; whereby such chasms are left, that no body can tell how to fill up; and their manner of reckoning by descents, or generations, is too visibly uncertain. Before Psammitichus the Egyptian chronology is very dark; and though after that prince's time it begins to clear up, yet the variations between all the historians since his reign are considerable, as appears by the tables.

We shall not therefore waste our time in composing a hypothetical scheme of these kings of Egypt; of such performances there are choice already; and they are much more easy to frame, than to support; calculations by numbers of years, which are so liable to mistake and corruption, must needs be very precarious; and it seems much more reasonable to rely on the coincidence of facts and historical synchronisms, from which chiefly we shall, in the course of our history of Egypt, endeavour to fix the times of such events as we judge capable of it, and shall represent them accordingly in the general chronological tables. And this we think is the most that can be done with any degree of certainty: considering, which it is amazing to us, that men should pretend to adjust the Egyptian chronology, from the most early times, to so great a nicety as a few years, and dictate dogmatically in a matter of such absolute uncertainty and confusion.

Before we conclude, we will only observe, as to the Hebrew chronology, the imperfection of which we have mentioned more than once, that if there be any dependance to be made on the foregoing accounts of the Egyptian affairs, the beginning of that kingdom must be placed much earlier than that computation will allow. For, according to the most moderate calculation, which is that of Eratosthenes, as fixed by the observation of Dicæarchus, the reign of Menes must begin within two centuries of the flood; which is, in our opinion, improbable in the highest degree[i]; even though we should admit, that Menes was the same with Mizraim, as the patrons of that chronology generally suppose; the contrary of which we believe to be true, and shall endeavour to prove hereafter.

[h] Vid. Conring. Adv. Chronol. c. 17, 18. Stillingfl. Orig. Sacr. l. 1. c. 5. [i] See before, p. 481, &c.

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AN
UNIVERSAL
HISTORY,

FROM THE

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ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

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VOL. II.

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SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of Oſiris, Iſis, Typhon, *and* Orus.

BEFORE we enter upon the hiſtory of the mortal kings of Egypt, we are in ſome ſort obliged to inſert the following dark and antient fiction. Oſiris and Iſis were ſaid by ſome to be the ſon and daughter of Saturn and Rhea; but according to others their grand-ſon and grand-daughter, being deſcended from Jupiter and Juno, who had a deity born to them on each of the five intercalary days of the Egyptians. Theſe five deities were called Oſiris, Iſis, Typhon, Apollo, and Venus[a]. We have their origin and generation again differently, and, with the ſeveral particulars, related as follows: Sol ſurprizing Rhea in a private congreſs with Saturn, prayed that ſhe might not be delivered in the ſpace of any one month, or of the year. Soon after Mercury, ſmitten with love of the goddeſs, embraced her alſo; and, beating Luna at dice, took from the lunar year the ſeventy

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 13.

ſecond part of every day, and thereof compoſed five days, and added them to the year of 360 days, that ſhe might bring forth in them: and theſe they celebrated as the birth-days of Oſiris, Iſis, Typhon, Orus, and Nephthe. On the firſt day Oſiris was born, and at his birth a voice was heard crying out, *The lord of all things is come into the world:* or, according to others, a damſel called Pamyles going to fetch water from the temple of Jupiter at Thebes, heard a loud voice commanding to proclaim, *The great and beneficent king* Oſiris *is born.* He was delivered to this damſel, who was directed to nurſe him, which ſhe did with all the veneration due to him, performing the myſteries called Pamylia, like thoſe ſtiled Pallephoria, in honour of him. On the ſecond day Arueris was brought forth, whom ſome called Apollo, and others the elder Orus. The third was the birth-day of Typhon, who came not into the world in proper time and place, but by a violent eruption leaped out of his mother's ſide. On the fourth day Iſis, and on the fifth Nephthe, or Nephthys, took birth; which laſt was alſo called Finis, and Venus, and Victoria. Sol was the father of Oſiris and Arueris; Mercury was the father of Iſis; and Saturn was the father of Typhon and Nephthe. The third, being the birth-day of Typhon, was counted inauſpicious, or unluckly; ſo that the kings thereon ſuſpended all buſineſs, and abſtained from eating and drinking. Nephthe married Typhon, and Iſis married Oſiris. As for theſe laſt it is ſaid, that, impelled by a mutual love, they embraced whilſt yet in their mother's womb; and it was thought, that Arueris, the elder Orus of the Egyptians, and the Apollo of the Greeks, ſprang from that early conjunction (A). Oſiris had no ſooner obtained the kingdom of Egypt than he reclaimed the inhabitants from their ſavage and brutal way of living, ſhewed them the

(A) Herodotus gives them a daughter, Bubaſtis, or Diana; and ſeems to have heard the ſtory of theſe fabulous princes, with ſome variation from what is related by Diodorus and Plutarch, the only authors we have, who have written this fiction at length. And particularly ſpeaking of the floating iſland Chemmis, near the city of Butus, he writes, that, by an Egyptian tradition, Latona, one of the primary deities, reſiding at Butus, had Orus committed to her care, at a time when Typhon was in ſearch after him to deſtroy him; and ſhe accordingly concealed him in the aboveſaid iſle. Now, according to Plutarch, Typhon was kept within bounds by the prudence of Iſis, during all the expedition of Oſiris;

the fruits of the earth, and inſtituted divine worſhip [b]; building the city of Thebes, as is (with great uncertainty) ſaid, and erecting ſeveral temples, and, amongſt the reſt, one to Jupiter Uranius, and another to Jupiter Ammon, his father, who reigned before him [c]. But that his beneficence might not be confined to the bounds of his own country, he undertook to viſit the ſeveral nations on the earth, all which he civilized and brought into order; not by the forcible conſtraint of arms, but by dint of perſuaſion, and by the allurements of muſic and poetry [d]. His outſet, and the more remarkable particulars of his travels are thus told.

HAVING in view the vaſt and beneficial deſign abovementioned, he raiſed a great number of followers, amongſt whom was his brother Apollo, who claimed the laurel as ſacred to him, juſt as the ivy was to Oſiris. He took alſo his two ſons with him, Anubis (which will be ſeemingly contradicted by and by) and Macedo. Theſe two wore coats of mail, and over them the ſkin of ſuch a beaſt as correſponded with the nature of their courage: ſo Anubis had a dog's ſkin, and Macedo the ſkin of a wolf; and hence, ſaid they, the dog and the wolf were worſhipped in Egypt. Pan alſo was of the company; he was afterwards highly revered over all the country, inſomuch, that he had not only ſtatues and temples erected to him, but alſo the city of Chemmis, which ſignified Pan's city. Add to theſe Maro, famous for the planting and dreſſing of vines; and Triptolemus for the ſowing of corn, and gathering in the harveſt. Finally, Oſiris took with him nine virgins, proficients in muſic, who being committed to the care o Apollo, he thence obtained the title of maſter of the nine ſiſters, or muſes; as alſo ſome ſatyrs he met as he went towards

[b] Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 355. [c] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra. [d] Plut. ubi ſupr.

Oſiris; with which account this violent proceeding cannot conſiſt; and Herodotus does not in the leaſt hint at this ſearch afterwards. Diodorus ſays Orus accompanied his father in his travels; he was therefore out of the reach of his enemy; and after his father's murder, this author ſays, he was ſo far from flying from Typhon, that he made head againſt him, overcame him in battle, and ſlew him. It appears then, that Herodotus heard this fiction related in a third and different manner (1).

(1) Herodot. lib. 11.

wards Ethiopia, who were acceptable for their jocund diſpoſition, and diverting by their antic behaviour, ſkipping, and dancing.

But before he left Egypt he provided againſt any diſturbances that might ariſe in his abſence, by committing the adminiſtration to truſty and ſagacious perſons. For he inveſted Iſis with the regency, in which he left his friend Hermes to aſſiſt her. Hermes was alſo called Mercury, Thoth, Thoyth, Tauautes, Triſmegiſtus, and by other names. It is a common opinion, that there were two perſons or more who bore *theſe* ſeveral appellations; but, leaveing the diſcuſſion of ſo dark a point, we will here ſpeak as of one perſon, and enumerate the inventions and books aſcribed to him. He, ſaid they, invented articulate ſounds, appellatives, letters, religion, aſtronomy, muſic, wreſtling, arithmetic, ſtatuary, the three-ſtringed lyre, and the uſe of the olive, and not Minerva, as the Greeks miſtakenly aſſerted. He was ſtiled the father of eloquence, and thence he derived his name of Hermes the interpreter, or ſpeaker [e]. Now as to the books he wrote, Seleucus reckoned them at no leſs than 20,000 [f]; and Manetho exceeds him, computing them at 36,525 [g]. Theſe numbers are ſo enormous, that it has been a ſtumbling block to the learned, to conceive how one perſon could be the author of ſuch myriads of tracts. Therefore ſome have ſuppoſed theſe computations to refer to verſes, others to leaves of the Papyrus; and others again to ſuccinct diſcourſes and proverbs. But Clement of Alexandria will lead us out of this labyrinth, by the following account of an antient Egyptian proceſſion: The firſt that advanced, ſays he, was a Chanter, or ſinger, who bore ſome ſymbol or other of muſic: his buſineſs it was to receive two of the books of Mercury, or Thoth; of which the one contained hymns to the gods, and the other rules for the king to obſerve. Secondly, an Aſtrologer, bearing a dial and a palm, which were ſymbols of aſtrology: he was obliged to have the four aſtrological books of Mercury by heart; the firſt of which contained the places of the fixed ſtars, and the three others treated of the ſun and moon, their eclipſes, illuminations, riſing, and the like. Thirdly, an Hierogrammateus, or ſacred ſcribe, with a feather on his head, bearing a book and a rule,

[e] Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 14, &c. de Myſt. Ægypt. § 8. cap. 1. ibid.

[f] Seleuc. apud Jamblich.

[g] Manetho, apud eund.

rule, in which were ink and a reed to write with: he was verſed in the ſubjects of ten books, the 1. of hieroglyphics; 2. of coſmography; 3. of geography; 4. of the order of the ſun and moon; 5. of the five planets; 6. of the chorography of Egypt; 7. a deſcription of the Nile; 8. a deſcription of the ſacred utenſils, and of the places conſecrated to them; 9. treated of meaſures; and the 10th of whatever was neceſſary in their worſhip. Fourthly, a Stoliſtes, a kind of ſolemn marſhal, holding the cubit of juſtice and a cup for libations: he knew whatever concerned the inſtitution of youth, and the ſealing of victims. The whole Egyptian religion was comprehended in ten books; the 1. related to the ſacrifices; the 2. to firſt-fruits; 3. to hymns; 4. to prayers; 5. to proceſſions; 6. to feſtivals; and the other four on the like ſubjects. Fifthly, and laſt of all came the prophet, bearing a water-pot openly in his boſom, and followed by thoſe who carried the proceſſional bread: he, as preſiding over the temple, ſtudied the ten books called ſacerdotal, which ſpoke of the laws, the gods, and the whole diſcipline of the prieſthood. Here we have an account of thirty ſix books of Hermes; beſides which he wrote ſix more, which treated of anatomy, diſeaſes, medicaments, and the like; ſo that he was author of forty two in all [h]. This is ſome rational account of the matter. But to return from whence we digreſſed; this ſagacious perſon or one ſuch was left behind to aſſiſt Iſis in the government of the kingdom.

MOREOVER, Hercules was appointed over the forces at home, and Antæus, Buſiris, and Prometheus were conſtituted governors over ſeveral provinces. Oſiris having thus ſettled affairs in Egypt, began his progreſs, moving firſt towards Ethiopia. In this country he raiſed the banks of the Nile, and dug ſeveral canals, thereby to prevent the too frequent inundations, and to abate and diſtribute the waters of the Nile. Whilſt he was thus employed in Ethiopia, the Nile broke down its banks in Egypt, and overflowed a great part of the country; and this it did with ſo furious a tide, and ſo ſudden a ſpread, as ſwept away all before it, and drowned great multitudes of people, doing particular damage in Prometheus's juriſdiction, whereat he was grieved almoſt to deſpair. But Hercules ſoon drained off the waters, and thence is ſaid to have

[h] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 6. p. 633.

ſhot through the eagle which preyed on Prometheus's heart; for the ſuddenneſs of this flood was compared to the flight of an eagle, and the river from thence was ſometimes called after that bird. But to return to Oſiris; he inſtructed the Ethiopians in all rural matters, and built them ſeveral cities; which done he departed, leaving ſome behind him to act as his governors, and others to gather in his tribute. From Ethiopia he went into Arabia, and ſo continued his travels till he got beyond India. In India he built ſeveral cities, and particularly Nyſa, which he ſo called from the place where (according to ſome) he was bred up. Here he planted the ivy, which was no where elſe to be found in India, and left ſo many monuments of himſelf behind him, as afterwards gave room to diſpute, whether he was not originally of this part of the world. Having ſurveyed all Aſia, he croſſed the Helleſpont, and landing in Thrace, killed Lycurgus, the king of that country, who oppoſed his progreſs. Here he left Maro to cultivate the land, and commanded him to build a city, and call it, in derivation from his own name, Maronea. Afterwards he beſtowed on his ſon Macedo the country of Macedon, which borrowed its name from him; and Triptolemus had charge of Attica. At length Oſiris returned back into Egypt, laden with the choiceſt productions of the earth, and with the bleſſings of the whole race of mankind, who conſented to his deification.

But his brother Typhon ſlew him ſoon after his arrival, and cut his body into twenty ſix pieces, giving one to each of his accomplices [i]. It was thus that ſome ſpoke concerning the death of Oſiris; but the ſtory was alſo told after the following manner: Typhon, hearing that his brother was on his return, entered into a conſpiracy with ſeventy two others, excluſive of the queen of Ethiopia, called Aſo, to kill him. And privately taking meaſure of Oſiris's body, he ordered a very magnificent coffin to be made, and contrived that it ſhould be brought home to him as he was entertaining his friends. This was done, and his gueſts failed not to take notice of the coffin and admire it. Whereupon Typhon, in a jeſting way told them, that the perſon amongſt them whom it beſt fitted ſhould have it. Several of the company tried, but to no purpoſe,

[i] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra, p. 15, &c.

purpoſe, till Oſiris went into it, which he had no ſooner done, than they ſhut the lid on him, and locked it. Then, pouring melted lead over it, they conveyed him to the Tanitic mouth of the Nile, and there threw him into the ſea; wherefore that entrance of the river was abhorred by the Egyptians. This cruelty was tranſacted on the ſeventeenth day of the month Athyr, in which the ſun went through the Scorpion, and in the twenty eighth year of the reign of Oſiris; though, according to ſome, not of his reign, but of his life. When the Pans and Satyrs told it to the men, they were ſeized by thoſe ſudden conſternations as have ever ſince borne the name of Panic fears. And Iſis hearing it, cut off a lock of her hair, and, putting on mourning, ſet out from the city of Coptus, where ſhe received the doleful news, and went in queſt of the body of Oſiris. As ſhe went along, ſhe aſked all ſhe met, if they had ſeen or heard of the coffin; but ſhe enquired in vain, till ſome children, who had ſeen Typhon's friends carrying it, gave her ſome information. Hence the Egyptians held children to have been indued with a predictive faculty, and drew conjectures from what they ſaid whilſt playing in temples.

Isis knowing that Oſiris had, by miſtake, lain with his ſiſter Nephthe, and that ſhe had expoſed a ſon ſhe had by him, through fear of Typhon, reſolved now to ſeek after him; and after much fatigue, ſhe was guided by dogs to the place where he was. Having found him, he afterwards ſerved her for a guard and companion, and was called Anubis. He was thought to have guarded the gods in the ſame manner as dogs take care of men. At length ſhe came to underſtand that the coffin was thrown up by the ſea, and lodged in a tuft of broom, or heath, at Byblus, and that the broom had ſuddenly ſprouted up with a large ſtalk, which incloſed and concealed it from ſight. Therefore ſhe repaired thither, and to paſs over the methods ſhe practiſed to poſſeſs herſelf of the coffin, ſhe there obtained it. When ſhe firſt caſt her eyes on it, ſhe cried out with ſo loud a voice as ſtruck the king of Byblus's youngeſt ſon dead; for ſhe had inſinuated herſelf into his family, as the moſt ready means to obtain what ſhe wanted, he having out of curioſity built over the broom which hid the coffin. With his eldeſt ſon and the coffin ſhe ſtraightways embarked; and, in her paſſage, dried up the river Phædrus, which diſpleaſed her, becauſe

becauſe of a ruffling breeze which iſſued from its mouth as ſhe paſſed by about break of day. Being now private and at leiſure, ſhe opened the coffin, and laying her face to the face of the deceaſed, bathed it with her tears. As ſhe was thus giving vent to her grief, the king's ſon ſhe had brought away with her from Byblus came behind her, and ſaw what ſhe was about; whereat enraged, ſhe turned on him with ſo dreadful a countenance, as frighted him ſo that he died. Some ſaid he jumped into the ſea. This is ſuppoſed to be Maneros [k]. She brought the body to Butus and hid it; but Typhon, one night hunting by moon light, fell on it, and tore it into fourteen pieces, which he ſcattered abroad. Iſis then traverſed the lakes and watery places in a boat made of the Papyrus, ſeeking after the limbs of Oſiris. Whence it was held, that thoſe who went on the water in boats made of that wood were in no danger from crocodiles, who either revered or dreaded the goddeſs. In whatever place ſhe found a limb, ſhe there buried it; for which reaſon there were many tombs aſcribed to Oſiris: but others ſaid, ſhe made ſeveral counterfeits of his body, and preſented them to as many cities, pretending to each that they had the original, and ſo eſtabliſhed the worſhip of him in many places, and made it difficult for Typhon, to find out the right monument, in caſe he ſhould ever get the ſuperiority, and continue in his implacable malice againſt Oſiris [l]. This burial was alſo related after a third, and almoſt quite different, manner. For the author, from whom we took the firſt account of his death, reports that Iſis got together the twenty ſix pieces of his mangled carcaſs, joined them, and embalmed them; and afterwards prevailed on the Egyptian prieſts to conſent to, and promote his deification, in conſideration of a third part of Egypt which ſhe gave them, and they buried him at Memphis. But the place of his burial was a matter of great diſpute and controverſy; though ſome produced the following inſcription in ſacred characters, which they ſaid was on a pillar in Arabia.

SATURN,

[k] See before in ſect. 2. ch. 3.

[l] Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 357, 358.

SATURN, *the youngeſt of all the gods, was my father. I am* Oſiris, *that king who led an army as far as the deſarts of* India, *and from thence northward as far as the ſprings of the river* Iſter, *and thence quite to the ocean. I am the eldeſt ſon of* Saturn, *ſprung from a noble ſtock, and of generous blood; couſin to the day. Nor is there a place where I have not been, I, who freely diſpenſed my benefits to all mankind.*

ISIS, after the moſt diligent ſearch, could never recover the privities of Oſiris, which, being thrown into the river, were devoured by the lepidotus, the ſquameus, the phagrus, and the oxyrynchus, which four ſorts of fiſh the Egyptians hated upon that account: but ſhe made ample amends for this irreparable loſs by inſtituting a kind of ſeparate worſhip, which was devoutly, and univerſally paid to the image of that part afterwards.

THERE were various reports concerning the actions of Iſis and Orus after the death of Oſiris, as alſo relating to Typhon. And firſt it was affirmed, that they overcame him in battle, and ſlew him [m]. Secondly, he was ſaid to have been thunderſtruck by Jupiter, and plunged under the lake Sirbon [n] (B), where being ſuppoſed to lay ſubmerſed, it

[m] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra, p. 79. [n] Apollon. Rhod. Argo. lib. 11.

(B) According to Diodorus Siculus the lake, or bog, Sirbon, Serbonis, or Selbonis, under mount Caſius, was two hundred furlongs in length, very narrow, but very deep. Many, miſtaken in their road, nay, whole armies, miſguided in their march, have been ſwallowed up in it. The ſhore all round it was heaps of ſand, which the winds blowing over the ſurface of the bog, the lower particles lighted thereon, and by degrees formed a looſe ſkin, or cruſt, over it; which, though weak, was ſufficient to deceive the eye of the wandering traveller, who no ſooner ſet foot upon it, than he felt it give way under him, and was irrecoverably loſt, and this even at the very brink of it. It was alſo called Barathra, or the profound gulphs (2). But it has from time to time decreaſed in extent; for Pliny ſpeaks of it as a ſmall place to what it had formerly been (3); and it is now thought to be quite choaked up, its place being no more to be found (4).

(2) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 26. (3) Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. 5. c. 13. (4) Voyage de P. Lucas, tom. III. p. 306.

it was thence called Typhon's exhalations [o]. And thirdly, it was aſſerted, that Oſiris, aſcending from the infernal regions, inſtructed Orus, and prepared him to war with Typhon; and that after a battle, which continued ſeveral days, this laſt was made priſoner. But Iſis, reſtoring him to his liberty, ſo enraged Orus, that he tore off the royal attire from her head, when Mercury, being preſent, clapped on her a helmet made of an ox's head inſtead thereof. Typhon after this renewed the war twice, and was both times vanquiſhed [p]; and being no longer able to withſtand, or make head againſt his enemies, concealed himſelf (as ſhould ſeem) under the abovementioned lake Sirbon [q]. Oſiris moreover appeared to Iſis, and had a ſon by her, called Harpocrates, but he proved a weak and ricketty perſon. Here Plutarch breaks off, and, aſſuring us that his is the genuine ſtory, proceeds to explain away the whole into an allegory [r]. But ſeeing that Diodorus continues to the death of Iſis and Orus, we now turn to him. Iſis, having thus quelled her enemies, reigned with great prudence, juſtice, moderation, and beneficence. And becauſe of her great and conſtant affection towards Oſiris, which appeared in nothing more than in the vow ſhe made of widowhood, a law was enacted, which allowed of the marriage contract between brother and ſiſter: and from the ſame ſource ſprang the cuſtom of preferring the queen before the king, and the wife before the huſband [s]. At laſt ſhe died, and was buried at Memphis, as the common opinion was; but this alſo was diſputed. And particularly thoſe who laid a ſtreſs upon the above-inſerted inſcription, affirmed, there was another pillar near to the former in Arabia, and that the following words in ſacred characters were legible upon it.

I, Isis, *am the queen of this country, and was tutored by* Mercury. *What I have ordained, no one may make void. I am the eldeſt daughter of* Saturn, *the youngeſt of the gods. I am the ſiſter, and wife of king* Oſiris. *I am ſhe who firſt found corn for the uſe of man. I am the mother of king* Orus. *I am ſhe who ariſeth in the dog-ſtar. The city of* Bubaſtus *was built in honour of me. Farewel! rejoice, O* Egypt, *my nurſing mother!*

This

[o] Plutarch. in vita Antonii, p. 916. [p] Idem Iſid. & Oſirid. ubi ſupra. [q] Herodot. lib. 3. [r] Plut. ubi ſupra. [s] See before, in ſect. 2. ch. 3.

——— This was all, ſaid they, that was to be diſtinguiſhed of this inſcription [t].

She had a moſt ſtately temple erected to her at the city of Buſiris, ſituate near the middle of the Delta [u], ſome remains of which are thought to be ſtill ſtanding (C).

There is nothing ſaid of Orus any farther than that he was the laſt of the gods and demi-gods [x]; and therefore we here conclude this fabulous, or myſterious, ſection.

SECT.

[t] Diodor. Sic. ubi ſupra. [u] Herodot. lib. 2. [x] Idem, ibid.

(C) Take the deſcription and account of theſe ruins in the author's own words; "I here ſaw the remains of one of the fineſt, "vaſteſt, and moſt antient temples of Egypt. All the ſtones are "of enormous length and thickneſs, and all of granate. They "are, for the moſt part, adorned with ſculptures in Relievo, "which repreſent men and women, and all ſorts of hieroglyphics. Many of theſe ſtones bear the image of a man ſtanding upright, with a long peeked cap on his head, and holding a goblet or bowl in each hand, which he preſents to three or four young women, which ſtand alſo upright, one behind another. Theſe young women have each of them a javelin in one hand, and a ſtaff ſhorter than the javelin, in the other; and on each of their heads is a ball between two long taper horns. Others of theſe ſtones are embelliſhed with hieroglyphical repreſentations of birds, fiſhes, and terreſtrial animals. A lofty and very ſubſtantial pillar of fine granate, having each of the four faces of its upper part wrought with four angular flutings, or notches, ſeems to have been erected to ſupport the arcades and vaults of this ſumptuous edifice. On each face of this pillar there is alſo carved the head of a woman bigger than the life. Theſe ſculptures have not been in the leaſt injured by time, nor by the ſun, nor by the Arabs. . . . It ſeems to be more than probable, that this temple, whoſe remains I have here deſcribed, was the very temple of the goddeſs Iſis, and that the city of Buſiris, mentioned by Herodotus, is now the very town of Bahâbeit, ſituated in the middle of the Delta near Sebennytus, or Sammanûd. My opinion is the more rational, in that throughout all the iſland it was never heard nor known, that any monument of marble, or ſtone, either little or big, was ever found there, that could ſuit with any other deity than the goddeſs Iſis. . . . Theſe ruins which are near to Bahâbeit are about a 1000 paces in circumference. They are about a

" league

" league from the Nile, about two or three leagues from Sam-
" manûd, and about twenty five or thirty leagues north of Kâ-
" hira. There is neither brick, nor plaiſter, nor mortar, nor
" common ſtone amongſt theſe reliques; there is nothing to be
" ſeen but great blocks of granate (5).

(5) Nov. Mem. Des Miſſions de la Comp. de Jeſ. dans le Levant, Tome II. p. 117. & ſeq.

SECT. V.

The reigns of the kings of Egypt.

Menes, or Menas.

MENES, or Menas, is univerſally agreed to have been the firſt man that reigned over Egypt (A). In his time the whole country, except Thebais, was a moraſs; and no land appeared between the lake Mœris and the Mediterranean ſea, which was ſeven days paſſage on the river. He diverted the courſe of the Nile, which was wont to waſh the feet of the ſandy mountain towards Libya, and built the city of Memphis within the antient bed of the river. On the north and weſt ſide of it, without the walls, he made a lake, both which were fed by the Nile, which flowed along on the eaſt ſide of the town: and in the city itſelf he built the ſtately and famous temple of Vulcan [a]. He

[a] Herodot. lib. 11.

(A) It is on all hands agreed, that Menes was the firſt king of Egypt; but all are not of one mind concerning him in any other reſpect. And though we have reſolved to follow no particular hypotheſis in the arrangement of the Egyptian affairs, as thinking them all pretty dubious and exceptionable; yet we ſhall in the moſt ſummary way (ſo as to be conſiſtent with perſpicuity) entertain you, from time to time. with the diſcordant notions and conjectures of ſome of the moſt noted chronologers, that have laboured in the ungrateful work of ſettling the Egyptian antiquities. In conformity to what we now propoſe, we ſhall take notice. that, according to Sir John Marſham, this Menes was the Cham, or Ham, the ſon of Noah in ſcripture, the Jupiter Hammon, or Ammon, of the Egyptians, the Thamus, or Adonis, of the Phœnicians, the Saturn of Sanchoniatho, and the firſt that taught the Egyptians to fare ſumptuouſly; which alone, as it is reported of him, were a ſufficient inducement to think, that he could not

He was the firſt that inſtructed the Egyptians in religious matters, that introduced domeſtic magnificence and luxury, and that inſtituted the pomp of feaſts; on which account his

not have lived in the early and ſimple times which were immediately ſucceſſive to the deluge. But we ſhall have no need to contradict him, ſeeing that will be done preſently by one of no mean fame, who wrote profeſſedly with that intent. In a word, he lays it down that he was king of all Egypt, and the father of the Egyptian god Mercury, or Athothes (1).

It will now be worth while to hear what Perizonius has to object in anſwer to this gentleman. He ſays, that the firſt that reigned in Egypt were the Meſtræi, or Semigods. Then comes Menes, whom he denies to have been either Ham or Mizraim, or that Hammon is properly the ſame with the Egyptian Jupiter, or that Menes was the father of the Egyptian Mercury. We will now give you an argument of his in proof of theſe ſeveral heads ſeparately, and then conclude with his conjectures concerning the age and family of Menes, and of this remote period of the Egytian affairs. 1. Menes ſucceeded the Meſtræi: this he proves by very ample teſtimony, and then obſerves, that he could not be the founder of their race, but their ſucceſſor; and ſince it is ſaid, that he firſt taught the Egyptians to feed deliciouſly, and to adorn their beds, it muſt follow, that there had been Egyptians before his time, who were uſed to a coarſer and more ſimple way of living. 2. For the ſame reaſon it is very improbable, that he was either Ham or Mizraim. 3. Hammon is not properly the Egyptian Jupiter; for that Ham, or Hammon, was, by the Greeks, in after-times dignified with the name of Jupiter, was owing to their being ſo ſolicitous after foreign gods, to whoſe original or proper name they prefixed that of Jupiter; ſo Jupiter Belus, Jupiter Hammon, Jupiter Caſius, and many more; wherefore this had no affinity with the antient Egyptian genealogy, which knew nothing of the Grecian Jupiter. In a word, he thinks, he was ſtiled Dionius, or ſprung from Jupiter by Eratoſthenes, becauſe he was the firſt that reigned after the Meſtræi, or Semigods, as is related by the ſame author. It is his opinion, that Menes lived ſomewhat about the days of Abraham, but does not lay it down for certain; and though Eratoſthenes calls him the father of Athothes, or Mercury, he can by no means admit it (2).

Father Pezron, who wrote before Perizonius, brings the reign of Menes much later down than the days of Ham, or Mizraim. According to his hypotheſis Menes began to reign 2904 years

(1) Vid. Marſh. Can. Chron. (2) Perizon. Ægypt. Orig. & Temp. Antiquiſſimorum, Inveſt.

his memory was loaded with the execrations of one of his ſucceſſors, as will be obſerved hereafter [b].

AFTER this Herodotus declares, that the Egyptians produced a catalogue of 130 kings, extending from Menes to Mœris, who was the laſt of the number; and that there was nothing worth notice recorded of any of them, except one Ethiopian woman called Nitocris. On the other hand Diodorus writes, that Menes's family enjoyed the throne to the fifty ſecond deſcent, and that their ſeveral reigns took up a ſpace of 1400 years. Since therefore there is ſo vaſt a chaſm in both of them, we think, we may

[b] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 42.

years after the creation, and 648 after the flood. This he endeavours by all means to prove, and ſeems to be pretty confident that he is in the right: but it would be endleſs to enter into the arguments of the chronologers we ſhall from time to time reſort to, and we ſhall avoid it as much as poſſible, except when their reaſoning is very clear and important, or their notions very ſingular (3).

We will now conſult the incomparable Sir Iſaac Newton. As this chronologer is of opinion, that Seſoſtris was Oſiris, he places Menes after him, and, in conſequence thereof and for other cogent reaſons, he tranſpoſes the ſeries of the kings of Egypt mentioned by Herodotus after this manner; Seſoſtris, Pheron, Proteus, Menes, Rhampſinitus, Mœris, Cheops Chephren, Mycerinus, Nitocris, and the reſt in the ſame order as they ſtand in Herodotus. He ſuppoſes Menes to be the ſame with Amenophis and Memnon, and that by corruption he was called Menes, Mines, Minæus, Minies, Minevis, Enephes, Venephes, Phamenophis, Oſymanthyas [Oſymandyas.] Oſimandes, Iſmandes, Imandes, Memnon, Arminon. According to his hypotheſis Menes is about 300 years older than Pſammiticus. He holds it irrational to ſuppoſe, that there was any king of all Egypt, till after the expulſion of the Shepherds; and obſerves, that the miracles of Memphis were not ſpoken of, or known in Greece till ſome ages after the Trojan war; for Homer celebrates Thebes as the glory of its days, and makes no mention of Memphis; which and the temple of Vulcan, that ſtood in the midſt of it, he grants to have been built by Menes. In a word, this hypotheſis reduces the antiquity of the Egyptian empire, of which Menes was the firſt king, much lower than any other (4.)

(3) Pezron. Antiq. des temps retab. & defen. (4) Sir Iſaac Newton's Chron. of the antient Kingdoms amended, p.

may safely venture to fill it up in part with what we find concerning the shepherds who ruled over Egypt; and the rather, because this whole transaction seems to belong to some very remote period of the Egyptian history.

The irruption of the Pastors, or Shepherds.

It happened in the reign of Timaus king of Egypt, that God being displeased with the Egyptians, they suffered a great revolution; for a multitude of men, ignoble in their race, took courage, and pouring from the East into Egypt, made war with the inhabitants, who submitted to them without trying the event of a battle. Having reduced the princes, they inhumanly burnt the cities, threw down the temples of the gods, and behaved in the most cruel and insulting manner over the antient inhabitants, putting them them to death, and carrying away their wives and children into captivity. At length they made one of their own number king, whose name was Salatis. He usually resided at Memphis, and, leaving garisons in the most proper places, kept both the upper and lower region under tribute. But particularly he fortified the eastern parts, fearing an invasion of the Assyrians, who were at that time most powerful. Finding therefore a convenient city in the Saitic Nome, which was seated on the eastern banks of the river Bubastis, and which was called Abaris in the antient theology, he rebuilt it, and surrounded it with a very strong wall, and kept a garison of 24,000 soldiers therein. It was his custom, about the time of harvest, to come hither to gather in his corn, and to pay and exercise his soldiers, that they might always be ready and fit for action, and be a constant terror to any who should attempt an invasion. Salatis died, and was succeeded by 5 others [c], who did their utmost, as well as their predecessor, to root out the whole nation of the native Egyptians. This people was called Hycsos, or King Shepherds *(B)*, Hyc, in the sacred

They set up Salatis for their king.

[c] See before, in sect. 3. ch. 3. [d] Manetho apud Jos. contra Appion, l. 1. p. 1039.

(B) We will barely transcribe the opinions of the above-cited chronologers as to the time of this irruption, as it is represented, of the Shepherds into Egypt. Sir John Marsham places it 157 Years before the Exodus of the children of Israel (1). Perizonius, drawing a very substantial parallel between what is recorded of the Shepherds by Manetho, and what is said of the obscurity of the

(1) Vid. Marsh. ubi supr.

facred dialect, fignifying a king, and Sos in the common dialect, fignifying a paſtor, or ſhepherd; and of theſe two came the compound Hycſos. Some would have it that theſe people were Arabians. They held Egypt 511 years. This is all the genuine account we have of the irruption of the ſhepherds, their expulſion may occur hereafter.

We now return to Herodotus and Diodorus; and this laſt making mention of ſeveral princes between Menes and Myris, let us hear what he ſays concerning them.

Buſiris I. and II. Busiris (C) in proceſs of time became king, and was ſucceeded by 8 princes of his line, the laſt of which was called alſo Buſiris, and was the founder of the city of Thebes, which he made the capital of the kingdom [c].

Oſymandyas. Osymandyas (D) appears next. It is uncertain whom, or when, he ſucceeded. The Bactrians revolting from him,

[c] Diod. ubi ſupr.

Iſraelites, the power and dignity of Joſeph, and the miraculous works of Moſes which almoſt utterly deſtroyed the country; upon the cloſe, pronounces the Shepherds ſo heinouſly ſpoken of, to have been the Iſraelites themſelves (2). Sir Iſaac Newton makes the Paſtors to have been the Canaanites which fled from Joſhua and went into Afric, but in their flight ſeized on the kingdom of the lower Egypt in the reign of Timaus, whom the ſame author calls Thamus, or Thammuz, (3). Greaves, after a parallel drawn by him between the hiſtory of the Shepherds and of the Iſraelites, which ſeems as natural and as plauſible as that of Perizonius, will by no means allow them to have been the ſame (4).

(C) Sir John Marſham and Sir Iſaac Newton think, that no ſuch king ever reigned, and that what is ſaid concerning his cruelty is merely fabulous (5). Perizonius, on the contrary, that there was ſuch a king of Egypt, but who was not ſo antient as Diodorus makes him; taxing that hiſtorian with too great indulgence towards the Egyptian vanity (6).

(D) If we rely on Sir John Marſham, we ſhould call Oſymandyas, Amenophis and Memnon; as alſo Imandes, Iſmandes, and Oſimandes: this perhaps, ſays he, derived from Oſiris, and that from Iſis. What ſeems to be his chief argument in ſupport of this opinion, is, that in the deſcription of the city they pretend he beſieged, it is ſaid to have been ſurrounded by a river, which he will have to have been the river Eulæus, and the city itſelf Suſa; for

(2) Perizon. (3) Sir Iſaac Newt. ubi ſupr. (4) Greaves's Pyramid, p. 21, 22. (5) Marſh. ubi ſupr. (6) Perizon. ubi ſupr.

him, he reduced them, as is ſaid, with an army conſiſting of 400,000 foot, and 20,000 horſe. Of all the ancient monuments of the kings, for which the city of Thebes was ſo renowned, his was of the greateſt note. It conſiſted of vaſt courts, porticos, ſhrines, temples, a library, his own tomb, and other buildings. The firſt court, which was of various kinds of ſtone, was 200 foot in extent, and 45 foot high. Next to this was a ſquare portico, each of whoſe ſides was 400 foot long; and, inſtead of pillars, ſupported by repreſentations of animals of 15 cubits high, all of one ſtone, and adorned with figures after the antient manner. The ceiling was blue and beſpangled with ſtars. From this portico they went into a ſecond court, in all reſpects like the firſt, except that it was more enriched with various ſculptures. In the entrance thereof were three ſtatues, all of one ſtone, the workmanſhip of Memnon the Sicnite: one of them was in a ſitting poſture, and the largeſt in all Egypt, the length of its foot exceeding 7 cubits. This was his own ſtatue; the other two, which ſtood one at each knee, repreſented his mother and daughter. This wonderful piece was not ſo admirable for the exquiſite art of the carver, as for the beauty of the ſtone, which was free from the leaſt flaw or blemiſh. It had this inſcription; *I am* Oſymandyas, *king of kings: he that would know my grandeur, or where I lie, let him ſurpaſs me in any of my works.* Here was alſo another ſtatue of his mother, ſtanding by herſelf, of 20 cubits high, and cut out of one ſtone: ſhe had 3 queens on her head, ſignifying that ſhe had been the daughter, wife, and mother of a king. This court led to a ſecond portico or piazza, far exceeding His tomb.

for Pliny ſays, that river ſurrounded the fortreſs of the Suſiaks, and obſerves, that Suſa was commonly called by the Greeks, Memnonia. He obſerves moreover, that Memnon's expedition into Aſia, was more celebrated by the Greeks than that of Seſoſtris, which he attributes to the poets who ſprang firſt up in, or near, his time: and concludes, that he dwelt ſome time in Suſa. All this, according to his cuſtom, he endeavours to prove from antient teſtimony (7).

Perizonius uſes much argument upon this king's reign, and who he was; but comes to no poſitive deciſion, and ſcarce offers a conjecture, ſo dark this period appears to him (8). We have already told you, that Sir Iſaac Newton takes Oſymandyas and Menes to be the ſame.

(7) Vid. Marſh. ubi ſupr. (8) Periz. ubi ſupr.

the firſt. On the firſt wall of this the king was repreſented with his army beſieging a town encompaſſed by a river, and fighting in the front of the battle accompanied by a lion: concerning which ſome ſaid, he always fought with a tame lion at his ſide; and others, that the figure of that beaſt was purely emblematical of his extraordinary courage. On the ſecond wall were the captives, with their hands and privities lopped off, to expreſs their cowardice. On the third were all ſorts of ſculptures and paintings, which repreſented his ſacrifices and triumph. In the middle of this piazza was an altar in the open air, built of the moſt ſhineing marble, of excellent workmanſhip, and wonderful proportion. On the fourth ſide, or wall, were two gigantic ſtatues, all of one ſtone, in a ſitting poſture, and 27 cubits high. Near unto theſe were three paſſages which gave admiſſion into a great hall, ſupported by columns, after the manner of a muſic theatre, and 200 feet ſquare. In this place were many wooden ſtatues, repreſenting parties engaged in law, and the judges hearing the cauſes. Theſe laſt, to the number of thirty, were carved on one ſide, with their preſident in the midſt of them, at whoſe neck hung an image with its eyes ſhut, to repreſent truth, and with many books about him. By this they choſe to ſignify, that judges ought to be proof againſt bribery, and reſpect nothing but truth and equity. From hence they went into a gallery, or walk, in which were apartments ſtored with the moſt delicious eatables. Here the king was moſt curiouſly wrought, and painted with the moſt lively colours, as preſenting to God the gold and ſilver annually dug out of the mines in Egypt, the amount whereof was 32,000,000 minas, or 96,000,000 of pounds ſterling. Next was the ſacred library with this inſcription; *The diſpenſary of the mind.* Contiguous thereunto were the images of all the Egyptian gods, with the king paying the offerings due and peculiar to each of them; that Oſiris, and the reſt of the deities placed beneath him, might know that he had paſſed his life with piety towards the gods, and with juſtice towards men. Next to the library was an edifice of curious architecture, wherein were twenty couches to feaſt on, and the ſtatues of Jupiter, Juno, and the king; who was thought to be here intombed. Around this were ſeveral pavilions, in which moſt curious pictures of the conſecrated animals were ſeen. From hence was the aſcent to the ſepulchre, which being ſurmounted, you ſaw a ring, or circle of gold 365 cubits

in

in circumference and one in thickneſs, ſurrounding the monument. This ring was divided by the days of the year, and ſhewed the riſing and ſetting of the ſtars, and their ſignifications or portents, according to the Egyptian aſtrology. This circular border was carried away by Cambyſes the Perſian. Such was the tomb of Oſymandyas, whoſe deſcendants reigned after him to the eighth generation. The laſt of them was called Uchoreus [f].

THE building and fortifying of Memphis, which have already been aſcribed to Menes, are attributed to this UCHOREUS (E) alſo. He is ſaid to have given that city a circuit of 150 ſtadia, or near 20 miles, and by mounds and trenches to have ſecured it from the inſults either of the Nile, or of the invader. He adorned it with palaces, which, though they ſurpaſſed thoſe in any other country, yet fell ſhort of what had been done in that way by his predeceſſors. For the inhabitants held this tranſitory life in no eſtimation, if compared with the joys the virtuous were to poſſeſs hereafter; and were proportionably leſs ſplendid in the lodgings they prepared for the former; than in the repoſitories they founded for the latter. This king tranſlated the imperial ſeat from Thebes to Memphis [g]. Uchoreus. Saſychis.

AFTER him, uncertain when, reigned SASYCHIS, the ſecond Egyptian legiſlator.

WE have now brought Diodorus down to Myris; and that we may do the ſame with Herodotus, we muſt relate what he has recorded concerning NITOCRIS (F). She ſucceeded her brother, an Ethiopian, whom the Egyptians murdered, but afterwards conferred the ſucceſſion on her. She, meditating revenge for her brother's untimely end, put many of the Egyptians to death privately and by ſtratagem; and is particularly ſaid to have contrived a ſubterraneous building, whither ſhe invited the principal actors againſt her brother to partake of a feaſt, and in the midſt of their mirth turned the river upon them by a private Nitocris.

[f] Diodor. l. 1. p. 44. [g] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 46.

(E) The laſt mentioned chronologer thinks the works of Uchoreus and Mœris ſavour of the ſame genius, and therefore would willingly think them one and the ſame perſon (1).

(F) Her name ſignifies Minerva victrix. Sir John Marſham places her ſoon after the Iſraelites came into Egypt. He thinks Joſephus means her by the name of Nic-aule, queen of Egypt and Ethiopia;

(1) Vid. Sir Iſaac Newt. ubi ſupr.

paſſage, and drowned them all. Then, to ſcreen herſelf from the rage of the people, ſhe took refuge in a place well fortified with aſhes [h]. She was of a fair complexion, her hair was yellow, her perſon beautiful; but it appears, that though her mind was great, as is ſaid, ſhe was not a little inclined to cruelty. She is reported to have built the third great pyramid [i].

AFTER twelve generations MOERIS, or MYRIS (G) came to the throne. This was he who dug the famous lake which bore his name, and erected the two pyramids which ſtood in the midſt of it [k]: He alſo built a ſumptuous portico on the north ſide of Vulcan's temple at Memphis [l]. According to Herodotus he was the 330th king from Menes, and the immediate predeceſſor to Seſoſtris.

Seſoſtris. SESOSTRIS, Seſooſtris, Seſooſis, Seſonchis, Seſonchoſis, Sethoſis, and ſeveral other appellations are by (H) ſome held

[h] Herod. ubi ſupr. [i] Syncell. p. 58. See before, in ſect. 3. ch. 3. [k] See before, in ſect. 1. ch. 3. [l] Idem ibid. Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 47.

Ethiopia; but that he is miſtaken in alledging that the Nitocris of Herodotus was ſhe who viſited Solomon. According to this chronologer ſhe was queen of This, Thebes, and Memphis; and much older than the Babylonian Nitocris (2). Father Pezron writes much to the ſame purpoſe (3). Sir Iſaac Newtown makes her the ſiſter and ſucceſſor of Mycerinus (4).

(G) He recovered Memphis from the Paſtors, ſays Marſham (5). Perizonius fixes upon nothing concerning him. Mœris was alſo called Maris, Myris, Meres, Marres, Smarres, and more corruptly, by changing M into A, T, B, Σ, ϒX, Λ, &c. Ayres, Tyris, Byires, Soris, Uchoreus, Labaris; ſo ſays Sir Iſaac Newton (6).

(H) Sir John Marſham allows him to have been called by theſe ſeveral appellations, and others beſides, which we may perhaps have occaſion to mention by and by. He is clearly of opinion, that the Seſoſtris of the prophane hiſtorians is the Seſac, or Shiſhak of the ſacred: he takes notice, that the more antient kings of Egypt, with whom the patriarchs and Iſraelites were formerly concerned, are always ſtiled Pharaoh; whereas Shiſhak is the firſt Egyptian king in ſcripture called by his proper name; except Rameſes be rather the name of a king than a country. This famous chronologer thinks, that when Seſoſtris, or Shiſhak as he terms him, ſat out to invade Aſia, he could not well avoid falling upon

(2) Marſh. ubi ſupra. (3) Pezron ubi ſupra. (4) Sir Iſaac Newton, ubi ſupra. (5) Marſh. ubi ſupra. (6) Sir Iſaac Newton, ubi ſupra.

held to belong to one man, whoſe reign is eſteemed the moſt extraordinary part of the Egyptian hiſtory. He is

 repreſented

upon Judæa, and accordingly took the capital thereof Jeruſalem, which he ſtripped of its riches, and reduced Rehoboam the king to ſerve him; for there is expreſs mention made in the LXX and vulgate verſions, that he was followed by multitudes of Lybians, Troglodytes, and Ethiopians, nations whom, according to prophane accounts, he had previouſly conquered. He then lays a ſtreſs upon Joſephus, who ſays, That Herodotus through miſtake aſcribed the actions of Seſac to Seſoſtris: and again; That Herodotus was only miſtaken in the king's name. This does not ſeem to us ſo concluſive as it might appear to this gentleman; for we do not ſee how from thence it muſt naturally follow that Seſoſtris and Shiſhak are the ſame perſon. Let us, for example, ſuppoſe, that a foreign hiſtorian ſhould through miſtake aſcribe the great actions of our fifth Henry to our king Stephen; it would not thence be allowed that he meant king Henry, but it would be apparently putting back thoſe great actions a great length of time before they were undertaken, or perhaps even thought of. However, this gentleman holds, that ſince Herodotus and Joſephus agree as to fact, there is no great matter in the difference of the names they uſe; and becauſe Herodotus profeſſes to have ſeen ſome of Seſoſtris's ignominious pillars in the Syrian Paleſtine; and becauſe it is ſaid by the ſcripture and Joſephus, that Rehoboam gave up the city without the leaſt reſiſtance, he ſeems to be perfectly of opinion that Seſac, or Shiſhak, ſat them up upon that very account. We ſhall here leave him with this general obſervation, that to what is related concerning Seſoſtris by the prophane authors, which he grants, he adds what the ſcripture ſays of the reduction of Judæa by Shiſhak; and holds, that his monarchy did not expire with himſelf (8).

Let us now ſee what Perizonius has to offer in contradiction to this; for we have already obſerved, that he makes it his chief buſineſs to confute the foregoing chronologer. He then lays it down with great poſitiveneſs, that Seſac and Seſoſtris are kings widely different and remote from each other. How he proves this, we ſhall give in the briefeſt and cleareſt order we are able.

1. He handles the expreſſions above cited from Joſephus: and after proving that ſeveral of the learned, as well as Sir John Marſham, have taken them wrong, he proceeds. Firſt, he inſiſts, that, by the common conſent of the Greeks, Seſoſtris was much older than the Trojan war. So ſays Herodotus; and the ſame is reported by Diodorus, only with this difference, that he makes a much greater ſpace between this king and that war than Herodotus

(8) Vid. Marſh. ubi ſupr.

represented as potent at land and on sea, wise, just, generous, valorous, magnificent, but ambitious almost beyond compare.

tus does. This also is evidently confirmed by Strabo (9); and by Aristotle (10), who places him before Minos the Cretan lawgiver: as also by the writers of the Argonautic expedition, the scholiast of Apollonius (11); by Arrianus (12), who makes him contemporary to Jandysis the Scythian; by Jornandes (13), who says he flourished before the Amazons; and lastly, by Justin and Ælian (14); the former declaring, the Sesostris lived before the days of Ninus, and the latter, that he was instructed by Mercury, and so makes him equal to the Egyptian Mercury, who must certainly have been more antient than the time of Rehoboam. After these citations, he blames Sir John Marsham for making slight of such abundant testimony, and for pronouncing the whole a mistake which arose from the ignorance of the Greeks, and then proceeds. But could the Greeks be strangers to the age of Sesostris, if he lived so late? it is certain, there was no very great interval between Homer and Rehoboam: and who can conceive, that he who was born in Asia Minor, and spent the greatest part of his days there, or in the adjacent isles, and who, as Marsham allows, lived after the days of Sesostris; who, says he, can account for his not making mention of Sesostris in any of his Poems, as he did of Memnon, who must have followed this conqueror very near? Memnon was celebrated, says Marsham, because he lived nearer to the poetical times; but Perizonius will have it, that Homer wrote soon after the death of Rehoboam; and therefore must have followed him near enough to have had perfect information and fresh records of the deeds of Sesostris: besides, Asia Minor at that time was all Greek, by the Æolic and Ionic colonies which were transplanted thither somewhat before the Reign of Rehoboam; and the inhabitants must have principally been Greeks when Sesostris invaded Asia Minor, if Marsham be right. What is here said of the Asiatic Greeks, is to clear the way for a further confutation of Marsham, who observes, that *if* Sesostris *had extended the war into* Greece, *we should have had clearer lights concerning him, nor would he have been involved so much in obscurity*; *seeing that the* Athenians, Lacedemonians, *and* Corinthians *had begun to preserve the memory of things*; continuing, that *the* Greeks *were not at this time very regardful of foreign transactions, were unskilful in letters, and that* Homer *was not yet born, who preceded any* Greek *historiographer very much*: and from hence concludes, that *we ought not to wonder that the* Egyptian

(9) Vid. l. i. p. 38. & l. xvii. 824. (10) Vid. Politic. vii. 10. (11) L. 4. v. 272. (12) Apud Photium cod. 53. (13) Geticis c. 6. (14) L. 1. c. 1. Var. Hist. l. 12. 4.

compare. Both the Greeks and Egyptians who recorded his actions, whether in profe or verfe, differed widely from

tian *affairs are almoft buried in ignorance.* To this it is anfwered, that the Afiatic Greeks were more likely to tranfmit the hiftory of Sefoftris down to pofterity, as being fuperior and fenior in learning to the European; that if they did not immediately keep written records, they undoubtedly preferved very faithful traditions of paft occurrences, which they propagated from one generation to another, and particularly in the cafe of Sefoftris, the monuments of whofe conqueffs they had before their eyes; and if his monarchy defcended to his fucceffors, as Marfham thinks it did to the firft olympiad: and if Homer was not yet born, it is certain, that he muft have been born foon after, and whilft the fame and power of this monarchy muft have fubfifted. In a word, Perizonius prefers the Afiatic before the European Greeks, as to what concerns the remembrance of antient matters, and proves, that the latter received the greateft part of the arts and fciences, nay, of their alphabet from the former; obferving, that if not all, yet moft of the antienteft Greek writers were Afiatics. He continues; Now if Sefoftris invaded Afia Minor after the Grecian fettlement there, the Afiatic Greeks, who firft of all delivered down the memory of things both in profe and verfe, muft certainly have known fomething of this celebrated expedition, either from the writings or the traditions of their forefathers, and have given as juft and accurate an account thereof as the European Greeks could have given. But nothing of this appears; for Herodotus, the moft antient of the Greek hiftorians we have, profeffes to have received the whole ftory of Sefoftris from the Egyptian prieffs. He thinks moreover, that, fuppofing Marfham to be in the right, the European Greeks muft have had fufficient knowledge of Sefoftris, feeing he carried on the war into Thrace, and that Lycurgus within an hundred years afterwards muft have travelled into Afia, whence he brought over with him the works of Homer. He certainly would have alfo brought fome account with him of fo great a victory from the Afiatic Greeks, if it had been obtained only feventy years, or thereabouts, before.

2. But, fays he, the Greeks alone did not put Sefoftris many ages more backward than Sefac; the Egyptians did it alfo. Manetho expreffly fays, that *Æ*gyptus and Danaus were only different names for Sethofis [Sefoftris] and his brother Armais: now Danaus came into Greece, as is faid, three ages before the Trojan war; and he could borrow this from no Greek author at leaft that is extant; and therefore, that Sefoftris and Armais were Ægyptus and Danaus, feems to have been the opinion of the Egyptians, or at leaft of Manetho, who could not have borrowed this from the Grecian mythology.

3. The

from each other; but they could never differ more, nor sure so much as our modern chronologers and historians do

3. The sacred history does not favour the opinion of Sesostris's being Sesac: for by the prophane accounts, Sesostris, in a continued expedition of nine years, ran over all Asia: but the scripture mentions no farther of Sesac, than that he spoiled the temple and the city, and returned back (15). Josephus says expressly, that he returned back into his own country.

4. What Marsham says of the duration of Sesostris's monarchy, as that it reached down to Amaziah and Uzziah kings of Judah, and down to the beginning of the first olympiad; by the scripture it appears, that the kings of Judah after Rehoboam never served any foreign power, or paid any tribute, till the Assyrians came upon them. So that if Sesostris and Shishak be the same as Marsham would have them, it does not appear, that the Egyptian monarchy was of any duration; so that here he is also mistaken.

So far we have given you the substance of Perizonius against Marsham. We will now insert his opinion as to the times when this conqueror lived.

And concerning this he speaks with great uncertainty and caution; but, however, we will in brief give a general idea of his manner of investigating this (as he thinks) dark period. He begins thus; Herodotus declares, that king Mœris had not been dead quite 900 years when he was in Egypt. Now the same historian makes Sesostris the immediate successor of Mœris, and moreover says, that the Trojan war was about 800 years older than when he wrote, and that Hercules the son of Alcmena was about 900 years before himself. By this chronology Sesostris lived about an age or century before the Trojan war, and was coetanous to the abovesaid Hercules, or a little later. So it follows from this computation; but in fact he must have been older, if he be the same with Egyptus, whose brother Danaus was the sixth predecessor of Perseus, who was the great grandfather of Hercules: and from hence he conjectures, that Sesostris may be fixed in the days of the Judges. After a pretty long discussion of the point, continues he; but it may be objected, that there is not the least mention made of Sesostris and what he did in holy writ? To this he answers, that the Israelites, when Sesostris came into Palestine, were under subjection to the various nations which inhabited the country; for that Palestine bent under the incursion of Sesostris, appears plain from Herodotus, who there saw the ignominious pillars which he used to raise in countries where he met with no resistance. And since the Israelites were not principals in this calamity, they might imagine it not primarily to concern them, but accidentally to have fallen upon them in common with their masters, and therefore took no notice thereof, as thinking it could be no immediate part of their own history. Add to this, that

(15) Chron. B. 2. ch. 12.

do in fixing his age, and in ſpeaking concerning him: However we ſhall collect the beſt account we can of his reign.

SESOSTRIS

that Seſoſtris could make no long ſtay there, conſidering that they voluntarily ſubmitted to him, and that he had no leſs a conqueſt in his eye than all the eaſtern parts of the world, if not the whole habitable earth, which required diſpatch: and thence he takes occaſion to ſpeak in the words of Juſtin, that though Seſoſtris gloried in his conqueſts, he abſtained from empire; and made no change in the government of any country. Finally he ſuppoſes alſo, that Seſoſtris might have come into Paleſtine when Iſrael was under the Moabites; and owns, that it is no way important, whether or no Danaus was the brother of Seſoſtris; deems what Manetho ſays on that head, to be calculated to pleaſe the Greeks; and in a word concludes, that he has deſtroyed Sir John Marſham's hypotheſis, by proving that Menes is not Ham, or Mizraim; or Seſoſtris, Shiſhak (16).

We will now in general terms inſert the opinion of Pezron. He teaches, that Sethoſis and Seſoſtris are one and the ſame perſon, and that he was the Egyptus brother to Danaus; that he was a prince widely diſtant from Seſonchis, whom he will have to have been the ſame with Shiſhak; and that neither Seſonchoris, or Seſonchoſis was Seſoſtris, but diſtinct both from him and from each other. We forbear entering into his reaſons, and proceed to another learned man, who has no one notion in common with what has entered into the heads of theſe three celebrated chronologers (17).

We mean Mr. Whiſton, who becauſe he is pretty ſingular in that he takes this king for the very Pharaoh, who periſhed in the Red-ſea, and the very Typhon of the Mythologiſts, we will give you his own words. And firſt he premiſes this propoſition. Harmeſſes Mi-Amôun, or Rameſtes the Great, *the grandfather of* Seſoſtris, *was king of the* Lower-Egypt *when* Moſes *was born*: Amenophis III. *his ſon was there king after him, during* Moſes's *youth*; *and* Seth-os, *or* Sethoſis, *or* Seſoſtris the Great, *the ſon of* Amenophis III. *was ſo during the reſt of the ſervitude of the children of* Iſrael *in* Egypt; *and was that very* Pharaoh *who periſhed in the* Red-ſea. He then offers thirteen reaſons or arguments in demonſtration of this propoſition; but paſſing over to the tenth of them, he there ſays, that "the preſervation of Moſes "and his education by Pharaoh's daughter (18), are very agree-"able to what her brother, Amenophis III. did about, or ſoon "after the birth of Moſes; I mean, when he called together, "and educated with his ſon Seſoſtris no fewer than 1700 boys (19), "or

(16) Vid. Perizon. ubi ſupr. (17) Vid. Pezron. Antiq. des Temps retab. (18) Exod. ii. (19) Marſh. p. 353.

SESOSTRIS then is by some thought to have been the son of Amenophis; but whether Amenophis, or any one else, it

" or all the male children that were born in Egypt the same day " with him : which might well be in imitation of Thermutis " [the daughter of this Pharaoh, who was otherwise called Har- " messes Mi-Amôun, or Rameses the Great] when she drew " Moses out of the river, and educated him for her own son (20). " And, by the way, if this Thermutis were but as sagacious and " learned as her great niece Athirtes, the daughter of Sesostris, " is described by Diodorus (21), we shall have no reason to won- " der at what St. Stephen informs us, that Moses *was learned in all* " *the wisdom of the* Egyptians, *and was mighty in words and in* " *deeds*, even before he received any particular commission from " GOD for the delivery of his people out of Egypt. Nay indeed, " these last words concerning Moses, that he was so early mighty " *in words and in deeds*, seem to me to confirm those accounts " we have in Artapanus an heathen, and Josephus the Jew, " considering Moses's wise and valiant conduct under the king of " Egypt, when he was young, against the Ethiopians, who at- " tempted the conquest of that country at that time. Which " successes of these Egyptians, under the conduct of Moses, might " probably enough encourage king Sesostris to undertake those " other vast expeditions, which raised the Egyptian monarchy, " and spread his empire over almost all the then known world. " Nor is it impossible to suppose, that the Ethiopic war, which " is known to have been undertaken both at sea and land by this " Sesostris, might be when he was young ; and might be that very " Ethiopic war which was managed by Moses under the king of " Egypt, as mentioned by Artapanus and Josephus.

Mr. Whiston's eleventh argument runs thus; " There are " evident remains of this Sesostris's perishing in or near the Red- " sea, as did this Pharaoh at the Exodus out of Egypt. Diodo- " rus assures us, that Sesostris at last became blind ; and that he " was voluntarily the occasion of his own death ; and that he de- " servedly obtained the admiration of the priests and people of " Egypt on account of that his magnanimous death. But what " sort of voluntary and magnanimous death this was, it seems " the Egyptian priests did not inform him. But then, if we con- " sider that Sesostris's real or Egyptian name was Seth-os, or " Seth-osis ; and that there was an antient famous Egyptian king, " whose fictitious name among the Greeks was Typhon, the " Proud ; but his real or Egyptian name was no other than Seth, " as Plutarch himself, a great master of old Egyptian learning, " more than once assures us ; that Typho's own city Pelusium " was peculiarly the city of this Sesostris, whither he first came " when

(20) Exod. ii. 10. (21) Marsh. p. 354.

it is ſaid, that the god Vulcan appeared to him in a dream, and admoniſhed him, that the ſon which was, or ſhould be,

" when he returned from his famous eaſtern expedition; and
" where he and his queen received a ſort of miraculous deliver-
" ance from the murderous deſigns of his brother Armais, and
" was by the Egyptians called according to his own name
" Seth-ron; and the Nomos thereto belonging, the Seth-roite
" Nomos; we ſhall find, that what the Egyptians could not, or
" would not, directly inform Diodorus of in the way of plain
" hiſtorical fact, and thereby concealed the true manner of his
" death from foreigners; yet did ſome of thoſe Egyptians pre-
" ſerve the memory of it under another form; and that this
" Seth, or Seth-os, or Seth-oſis, or Typho, came to the ſame
" end that the Egyptian Pharaoh did, and was drowned in, or
" near to, the ſame Red-ſea. For as they, in ſome places at leaſt,
" long keep the memory of Oſyris, the uſual name of any be-
" loved king of Egypt that was murdered; as was Iſis, the uſual
" name of ſuch a king's wife, or queen; and Typho, the uſual
" name of ſuch a murderer; ſo was it here. Oſyris ſeems to
" have been ſome beloved king that Seſoſtris had ſlain [perhaps
" his own brother Ramaſſes], and himſelf ſeems thence to have
" had the hateful name of Typho given him by the other's
" ſubjects. And certainly this name Typho, or the Proud, was
" never apply'd more fitly than to thisSeſoſtris; who after his con-
" queſt uſed ſometimes to take his horſes out of his chariot, and
" to harneſs a certain number of his captive kings, and to be
" drawn in ſtate by them inſtead of the other. And as to the
" death of this Typho, the Egyptian records are plain and di-
" rect, and aſſure us, that he was *ſtruck by a thunderbolt, and his*
" *blood ran out at Heroopolis*, a city very near the place where
" the Iſraelites entered the Red-ſea; the very ſame, I ſuppoſe,
" that Moſes calls by its elder name Baalzephon; that the ſame
" city was called *Blood*, or *the bloody city*, from that *firſt ſhed-*
" *ding of the blood of Typho there*; and that he *lies drowned under*
" *the waters of the lake Sirbon*, which is not far from the Red-
" ſea; and was antiently ſuppoſed to communicate therewith un-
" der ground. The city alſo itſelf ſeems to me to have had its
" later name Heroopolis, or *the city of Heroes* on this very ac-
" count, that near thereto the moſt potent Egyptian king, and
" his mighty commanders, with their entire army, thoſe great
" heroes, became martyrs for the Egyptian idols, idolatry, and
" tyranny, in oppoſition to the GOD of Iſrael and his people:
" nor do I meet with any other in hiſtory for that appellation.
" And very remarkable it is, how exactly all this agrees to the
" other more direct Egyptian account already ſet down; viz.
" That Seſoſtris's death was voluntary and magnanimous, and

" ſuch

His father gathers in all the boys in Egypt that were born on the same day with him.

be, born to him, would be lord of the whole earth. Fraught with this vision, he got together all the males in Egypt born

" such indeed as was highly extolled both by the priests and peo-
" ple of Egypt. And what Paulinus in Ausonius could mean,
" when, in the distinct mention of two of the most illustrious
" kings of Egypt, Necepsos and Sesostris, he says of the latter,
" *Et qui regnavit, sine nomine mox, Sesoostris*; *That he who had*
" *been so great a king, was by and by without a name*; unless he
" refer to some such ignominious death of his, as we have here
" described, is hard to say. Nor is that *thunderbolt*, or *storm of*
" *thunder and lightning*, mentioned in this account of Typho's
" destruction, other than what we have hinted at in the case of
" Pharaoh's destruction in our present copies of the Pentateuch;
" where we find, that GOD looked through the pillar of fire, and
" of the *cloud*. and so *troubled the hosts of the Egyptians*, that *their*
" *chariot wheels were taken off, and they drave heavily*; *and the*
" *Egyptians resolved to flee from the face of Israel, because* they
" now perceived that GOD *himself fought for them against the*
" *Egyptians*: while with the *blast of his nostrils the waters were*
" *gathered together*; and directly set down by Josephus and Ar-
" taphanus in the history itself; and also by the psalmist in his
" celebration of this most wonderful deliverance and judgment;
" who declares, that besides the pouring out of water from the
" *clouds* at that time, *the skies* then *sent* out a sound. and GOD's
" arrows went *abroad*: that *the* voice of his thunder was in the
" *heaven*; that *the* lightnings lightned the *world*; and that *the*
" earth trembled and *shook*: in exact agreement with the hea-
" thens account of the destruction of Typho." To conclude; the same writer thinks it a plain solution to the question *of what became* of the famous Egyptian monarchy after the death of Sesostris? that he and his numerous host was lost in the Red-sea, which together with the loss of 600,000 slaves, as the Hebrews were no better in Egypt, he thinks must have given a great shock to the Egyptian power, and naturally ruin their newly acquired monarchy. In a word, it is his opinion, that the sudden extinction of this vast monarchy, at the death of its founder Sesostris, is little else than a demonstration, that he was that very Pharaoh who with all his host perished in the Red-sea, and no other (22).

The great Sir Isaac Newton is of opinion that Sesostris is the Osiris of the Egyptians, the Bacchus of the Greeks, and the Sesac, or Shishak, of the scripture; towards the proof of which he produces the following arguments.

" 1. Bac-

(22) Vid. Whiston's Appendix.

born on the ſame day with his ſon, and appointed nurſes and proper perſons to take care of them, and had them treated

" 1. Bacchus the Conqueror loved two women, Venus and " Ariadne, by the laſt of theſe he had ſons who were Argonauts; " therefore the great Bacchus flouriſhed but one generation be- " fore the Argonautic expedition. This Bacchus was potent at " ſea (23), conquered eaſtward as far as India, returned in " triumph, brought his army over the Helleſpont; conquered " Thrace, left muſic, dancing, and poetry there; killed Ly- " curgus king of Thrace, and Pentheus the grandſon of Cadmus; " gave the kingdom of Lycurgus to Tharops; and one of his " minſtrels, called by the Greeks Calliope, to Oeagrus the ſon of " Tharops; and of Oeagrus and Calliope was born Orpheus, " who ſailed with the Argonauts: this Bacchus was therefore " contemporary to Seſoſtris; and both being kings of Egypt, " and potent at ſea, and great conquerors, and carrying on their " conqueſts into India and Thrace, they muſt be one and the " ſame man.

" 2. Dicæarchus, as he is cited by the Scholiaſt upon Apol- " lonius (24), repreſents Oſiris and Orus, two generations older " than Seſoſtris, ſaying, that after Orus, the ſon of Oſiris and " Iſis, reigned Seſonchoſis. The people of Naxus made Bacchus " two generations older than Theſeus, and for that end feigned " two Minoſes and two Ariadnes. Now, by the conſent of all " antiquity, Oſiris and Bacchus were one and the ſame king of " Egypt: this is affirmed by the Egyptians as well as by the " Greeks; and ſome of the antient mythologiſts, as Eumolpus " and Orpheus (25), called Oſiris by the names of Dionyſus and " Sirius. Oſiris was king of all Egypt, and a great conqueror, " and came over the Helleſpont in the days of Triptolemus, and " ſubdued Thrace, and there killed Lycurgus; and therefore his " expedition falls in with that of the great Bacchus. Oſiris, Bac- " chus, and Seſoſtris lived about the ſame time, and by the re- " lation of hiſtorians were all of them kings of all Egypt, and " reigned at Thebes, and adorned that city, and were very po- " tent by land and ſea: all three were great conquerors, and car- " ried on their conqueſts by land through Aſia, as far as India: " all three came over the Helleſpont, and were there in danger " of loſing their army: all three conquered Thrace, and there " put a ſtop to their victories, and returned back from thence " into Egypt: all three left pillars with inſcriptions in their con- " queſts: and therefore all three muſt be one and the ſame king " of Egypt; and this king can be no other than Seſac. All

" Egypt

(23) Vid. Hermippum apud Athenæum, l. 1. (24) Argonaut. l. 4. v. 272. (25) Diod. l. 1. p. 7.

treated in all respects like his own child; persuaded, that they, who had been the constant and equal companions of his

" Egypt, including Thebais, Ethiopia and Libya, had no com-
" mon king before the expulsion of the Shepherds, who reigned
" in the Lower Egypt; no conqueror of Syria, India, Asia Mi-
" nor, and Thrace before Sesac; and the sacred history admits
" of no Egyptian conqueror of Palestine before this king.

" 3. Bacchus had Libyan women in his army, and they were
" commanded by Minerva, herself a Libyan (26). Diodorus (27)
" calls her Myrina, and saith, that she was queen of the Ama-
" zons in Libya, and there conquered the Atlantides and Gor-
" gons, and then made a league with Orus the son of Isis, sent
" to her by his father Osiris, or Bacchus, for that purpose; and
" passing through Egypt subdued the Arabians, and Syria, and
" Cilicia, and came through Phrygia, viz. in the army of Bac-
" chus, to the Mediterranean; but passing over into Europe
" was slain with many of her women by the Thracians and
" Scythians, under the conduct of Sipylus, a Scythian, and Mop-
" sus, a Thracian, whom Lycurgus king of Thrace had banish-
" ed. This (says our most sagacious author) was that Lycurgus
" who opposed the passage of Bacchus over the Hellespont, and
" was soon after conquered by him and slain: but afterwards
" Bacchus met with a repulse from the Greeks, under the con-
" duct of Perseus, who slew many of his women, as Pausanias
" (28) relates, and was assisted by the Scythians and Thracians
" under Sipylus and Mopsus; which repulses, together with the
" revolt of his brother Danaus, put a stop to his victories: and
" in returning home, he left part of his men in Colchis and at
" Mount Caucasus, under Æetes and Prometheus; and his wo-
" men upon the river Thermodon near Colchis, under their new
" queens Marthesia and Lampeto; for Diodorus (29), speaking
" of the Amazons who were seated at Thermodon, saith, that
" they dwelt originally in Libya, and there reigned over the
" Atlantides, and, invading their neighbours, conquered as far
" as Europe: and Ammianus (30), that the antient Amazons,
" breaking through many nations, attacked the Athenians, and
" then receiving a great slaughter retired to Thermodon: and
" Justin (31), that these Amazons had at first, (he means at their
" first coming to Thermodon) two queens, who called them-
" selves daughters of Mars; and that they conquered part of
" Europe, and some cities in Asia, viz. in the reign of Minerva,
" and

(26) Vid. Diod. l. 3. p. 140. (27) Lib. 3. p. 131, 132. (28) Pausan. lib. 2. c. 20. p. 155. (29) Lib. 3. p. 130. & Schol. Apollonii, lib. 2. (30) Lib. 22. c. 8. (31) Lib. 2. c. 4.

his childhood and youth, would prove the moſt faithful miniſters, and moſt affectionate fellow-ſoldiers. They were

" and then ſent back part of their army with a great booty un-
" der their ſaid new queens; and that Marthesia, being after-
" wards ſlain, was ſucceeded by her daughter Orithya, and ſhe
" by Pentheſilea; and that Theſeus captivated and married An-
" tiope the ſiſter of Orithya. Hercules made war upon the Ama-
" zons, and in the reign of Orithya and Pentheſilea they came
" to the Trojan war: whence the firſt wars of the Amazons in
" Europe and Aſia, and their ſettling at Thermodon, were but
" one generation before thoſe actions of Hercules and Theſeus,
" and but two before the Trojan war, and ſo fell in with the
" expedition of Seſoſtris: and ſince they warred in the days of
" Iſis and her ſon Orus, and were a part of the army under
" Bacchus, or Oſiris, we have here a farther argument for make-
" ing Oſiris and Bacchus contemporary to Seſoſtris, and all three
" one and the ſame king with Seſac.

" 4. The Greeks reckon Oſiris and Bacchus to be ſons of
" Jupiter, and the Egyptian name of Jupiter is Ammon. Ma-
" netho (32), in his eleventh and twelfth dynaſties, as he is cited
" by Africanus and Euſebius, names theſe four kings as reigning
" in order; Ammenemes, Geſongeſes, or Seſonchoris the ſon of
" Ammenemes, Ammenemes who was ſlain by his eunuchs, and
" Seſoſtris who ſubdued all Aſia and a part of Europe: Geſon-
" geſes and Seſonchoris are corruptly written for Seſonchoſis: and
" the two firſt of theſe four kings, Ammenemes and Seſonchoſis
" are the ſame with the two laſt Ammenemes and Seſoſtris, that
" is, with Ammon and Seſac; for Diodorus ſaith, that Oſiris
" built a temple at Thebes to his father Jupiter Ammon, who
" reigned in that city (33): and Thymæſtes, who was contem-
" porary to Orpheus, wrote expreſly, that the father of Bacchus
" was Ammon, a king reigning over part of Libya; that is, a
" king of Egypt reigning over that part of Libya antiently cal-
" led Ammonia: Πᾶσα ἡ Λιβύη οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο ἀπὸ Ἄμμωνος (34).
" All Libya was called Ammonia from Ammon; that is, that
" king of Egypt, from whom Thebes was called No-Ammon,
" and Ammon-No, the city of Ammon, and by the Greeks,
" Dioſpolis, the city of Jupiter Ammon. Here again our author
" ſeems to demonſtrate that Seſoſtris and Oſiris were the ſame
" perſon.

5. And to corroborate what is ſaid in the preceding article; Seſoſtris upon his returning home divided Egypt by meaſure amongſt the Egyptians; and this gave a beginning to ſurveying

(32) See before, ch. 3. ſect. 3. Dyn. 12th of Dioſpolites.
(33) See Vol. II. p. 3, 4. (34) Steph. in Ἄμμωνία.

were abundantly furniſhed with every thing needful, and as they grew up they were by degrees inured to laborious and

and geometry: and Jamblichus derives this diviſion of Egypt and the beginning of geometry, from the age of the gods of Egypt. And becauſe Seſoſtris, or Seſac, to render the Nile more uſeful, dug canals from it, and thereby made a general diſtribution of its water; this chronologer is of opinion, that the river was conſecrated to him, and he was called by its names, Ægyptus, Siris, Nilus; and obſerves from Plutarch, that the ſyllable O, put before the word Siris, by the Greeks, made it ſcarce intelligible to the Egyptians.

6. He thinks it appears, "That Seſoſtris was alſo Shiſhak, or "Seſac, becauſe the firſt conqueſts this king is ſaid to have "made were Troglodytica, Libya, and Ethiopia, and in the "firſt year of Rehoboam, Seſoſtris [Seſac] came out of Egypt "with a great army of Lybians, Troglodytes, and Ethiopians, "and ſpoiled the temple, and reduced Judæa into ſervitude, "and went on conquering firſt eaſtward towards India, and then "weſtward as far as Thrace; for GOD *had given him the king-*"*doms of the countries* (35).

7. There is no one argument on which this great chronologer lays a greater ſtreſs, for the proof of what he lays down concerning Seſoſtris, than the following: "Solon having travelled "into Egypt, and converſed with the prieſts of Saïs about their "antiquities, wrote a poem of what he had learned, but did not "finiſh it (36); and this poem fell into the hands of Plato, "who relates out of it, that at the mouth of the Straits, near "Hercules's Pillars, there was an iſland called Atlantis, the peo-"ple of which, nine thouſand years before the days of Solon, "reigned over Libya as far as Egypt, and over Europe as far as "the Tyrrhene-ſea; and all this force collected into one body "invaded Egypt and Greece, and whatever was contained with-"in the pillars of Hercules, but was reſiſted and ſtopped by the "Athenians and other Greeks, and thereby the reſt of the na-"tions not yet conquered were preſerved: he ſaith alſo, that in "thoſe days, the gods, having finiſhed their conqueſts, divided "the whole earth amongſt themſelves, partly into larger, partly "into ſmaller, portions, and inſtituted temples and ſacred rites to "themſelves; and that the iſland of Atlantis fell to the lot of "Neptune, who made his eldeſt Son Atlas king of the whole "iſland, a part of which was called Gadir; and that *in the hi-*"*ſtory of the ſaid wars mention was made of Cecrops, Erech-*"*theus, Erichthonius, and others before Theſeus, and alſo of the*"*women who warred with the men, and of the habit and ſtature*

of

(35) 2 Chron. xii. 2, 3,—8. (36) Plat. in Timæo & Critia.

and manly exercises, and were in particular never permitted to taste of any thing till they had performed a course of 180 furlongs, or upwards of 22 miles. By this exercise of the body, and by a proper cultivation of the mind, they were equally fitted to command and to execute. Amenophis, after he had been at this vast expence and trouble in laying the foundation of his son's future grandeur, resolved to give him and his companions an opportunity of displaying the good effects of their institution; and therefore he sent him and them with an army into Arabia. In this expedition the young Sesostris surmounted

Sends him into Arabia and Afric.

" *of Minerva, the study of war in those days being common to men*
" *and women.* By all these circumstances it is manifest, that these
" gods were the *Dii magni majorum gentium*, and lived between
" the age of Cecrops and Theseus; and that the wars which
" Sesostris, with his brother Neptune, made upon the nations by
" land and by sea, and the resistance he met with in Greece, and
" the following invasion of Egypt by Neptune, are here describ-
" ed; and how the captains of Sesostris shared their conquests
" amongst themselves, as the captains of Alexander the Great did
" his conquests long after, and instituting temples and priests, and
" sacred rites to themselves, caused the nations to worship them
" after their death as gods: and that the island Gadir, or Gades,
" and all Libya, fell to the lot of him who after death was dei-
" fied by the name of Neptune. The time therefore, when these
" things were done, is by Solon limited to the age of Neptune
" the father of Atlas; for Homer tells us, that Ulysses presently
" after the Trojan war found Calypso the daughter of Atlas in the
" Ogygian island, perhaps Gadir, and therefore it was but two
" generations before the Trojan war. This is that Neptune who,
" with Apollo, or Orus, fortified Troy with a wall, in the reign
" of Laomedon the father of Priamus, and left many natural chil-
" dren in Greece, some of which were Argonauts, and others
" were contemporaries to the Argonauts; and therefore he flou-
" rished but one generation before the Argonautic expedition,
" and by consequence about 400 years before Solon went into
" Egypt: but the priests of Egypt in those 400 years had mag-
" nified the stories and antiquity of their gods so exceedingly, as
" to make them 9000 years older than Solon, and the island
" Atlantis bigger than all Afric and Asia together, and full of
" people; and because in the days of Solon this great island did
" not appear, they pretended that it was sunk into the sea with
" all its people: thus great was the vanity of the priests of Egypt
" in magnifying their antiquities." These are the most obvious and direct arguments concerning Sesostris, which we meet with in Sir Isaac Newton.

ed all the dangers of ſerpents and venomous creatures, all the wants and hardſhips of a dry and barren country, and in the end ſubdued the Arabians, who till that time had never been conquered. His father then ordered him weſtward, and he ſubdued the greateſt part of Afric [k], nor ſtopped his career (as ſhould ſeem) till he ſaw the Atlantic ocean [l]. Whilſt he was on this expedition his father died; and having now the reins in his own hands, and being elated by the ſucceſs which had hitherto attended him, he graſped at no leſs an object than the whole earth. For he called to mind the prediction of the god, and prepared for the enterprize. Some reported that his daughter Athyrte, a young lady of great wit and ſagacity, excited him thereto by her counſel, repreſenting it as an eaſy matter: others, that ſhe obtained aſſurances of her father's ſucceſs by divination, by dreams in temples, and prodigies in the air, and the like [g]; ſo that, according to theſe, he could be no very young man at this time. Laſtly, it was ſaid that he was inſtructed by Mercury, who prepared him for the war [h].

Undertakes to conquer the whole world.

HAVING this view of a general conqueſt, and knowing that he muſt be long abſent, and far remote from Egypt, he bethought him how he might retain the hearts and affections of his own people: wiſely deeming it the moſt natural means of preparing thoſe who followed him, to lay down their lives chearfully in his ſervice; and of preventing thoſe at home from attempting any innovations dureing his abſence. He therefore, as much as was in his power, indeared himſelf to all his ſubjects, by largeſſes in money, by donations in land, or by the remiſſion of puniſhments: he diſcharged all that were guilty of treaſon with impunity, and paid the debts of all that were thereby incumbered, of which laſt he had many in his army. In fine, he wrought upon the minds of all by fair ſpeeches and a familiar deportment. In the next place he divided the whole kingdom into 36 nomes, or provinces; aſſigned a governor to each of them [i]; and conſtituted his brother Armaïs ſupreme regent, inveſting him with ample power; but forbad him the uſe of the diadem, and commanded him to offer no injury to the queen and her children, and to abſtain from the royal concubines [k]. Having thus ſettled

Divides Egypt in 36 nomes.

[k] Diod. lib. 1. p. 48. [l] Lucan. 10. v. 27. [g] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 49. [h] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 4. [i] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 50. [k] Manеth. apud Joſeph. contra Apion, l. 1. p. 1041.

tled the government, he picked out the choiceſt of his ſubjects, and liſted an army equal to the vaſtneſs of his deſigns, and beſtowed the chief commands of it on his beloved companions, who were upwards of 1700 in number. As an earneſt of his benevolence, and beſides the favours he had beſtowed on them in common with the reſt of their countrymen, and that he and his ſucceſſors might always have a regular force ready at hand, he ſettled certain portions by lot, of the moſt fertile land in Egypt, on his whole army; whence a handſome income ariſing to them, neither they nor their poſterity might lie under the neceſſity of ſeeking a livelihood by mercantile or mechanic callings, but wholly apply themſelves to the military exerciſes. His army conſiſted of 600,000 foot, 24,000 horſe, and 27,000 warlike chariots. He firſt marched into Ethiopia, and reduced the inhabitants to a tribute of ebony, gold, and ivory [l]. He is generally believed to have been the firſt that ſubdued Ethiopia and Troglodytica, and is ſaid to have reached the promontory of Dira, near the ſtraits of the Red-ſea, where he ſat up a pillar with a ſacred inſcription on it; and went on as far as the cinnamon country, or at leaſt ſome place from whence cinnamon was brought, where he raiſed monuments and pillars with inſcriptions, which were to be ſeen many ages afterwards [m].

He inſtitutes the military order.

Conquers Ethiopia.

His land forces alone were not anſwerable to the conqueſt he intended; and therefore, breaking through the antient ſuperſtition of the Egyptians, he was the firſt of their kings that fitted out fleets of tall ſhips. He had two; the one of 400 ſail in the Arabian Gulph, if we may add faith to Diodorus [n] who gives us this number, and to Herodotus [o] who mentions the ſame fleet in general terms; and the other in the Mediterranean-ſea, if we may believe Manetho [p] by Sethoſis underſtands Seſoſtris. By theſe naval armaments, and by the great ſervices they are ſaid to have done, it ſhould ſeem, that Seſoſtris wiped away the averſion the Egyptians had to ſea affairs, [q] at leaſt for a time, and inſtituted the marine claſs, as by what appears hitherto he did the military order. But to have done with this conjecture, we ſhall only add, that the ſpacious and magni-

His fleets.

He inſtitutes the marine claſs or order.

[l] Diod. ubi ſupr. [m] Vid. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 769, 770. Vid. etiam lib. 17. p. 790. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. 6. c. 29. [n] Ubi ſupr. [o] Ubi ſupra. [p] Apud Joſeph. contra Apion, ubi ſupr. [q] See before, Ch. 3. paragr. ult.

magnificent ſhip he conſecrated to the ſupreme god of the Thebans [r], looks as if he deſigned to bring navigation into credit in Egypt. With the firſt of theſe fleets he ſailed out of the Arabian Gulph into the Red, or Indian ſea, and ſubdued the coaſts thereof, and continuing his courſe till he was ſtopped by certain ſhoals and difficult places, returned back to Egypt [f]: or according to another author, he went not on board himſelf, but ſent them out againſt the iſlands and maritime places of the continent as far as India [s]. With his Mediterranean ſquadron he conquered Cyprus, the ſea coaſt of Phœnicia [t], and ſeveral of the Cyclades [u]. This is all we know concerning his exploits by ſea.

Continuation of his conqueſts and wars.

Now as to his further conqueſts on the land; it is by almoſt all antiquity agreed, that he over-ran and pillaged all Aſia, and ſome part of Europe. He croſſed the Ganges, on the banks of which river he erected pillars; and, to uſe the poets expreſſion, did the ſame in the remoteſt mountains of India [w]; and indeed he is ſaid to have marched on till he was ſtopped by the main ocean eaſtward [x]. From thence returning he invaded the Scythians and Thracians; but the accounts of his war with the former do not all agree in giving him a complete conqueſt over them. Herodotus, Diodorus, Agathias [y], and others repreſent him victorious; but ſome relate, that he met with a repulſe, and fled from the Scythians, and was worſted by the Colchians. For Juſtin tells us, that Vexores, or Seſoſtris, diſpatching ambaſſadors before him to ſummon the Scythians to ſurrender, they ſent back his meſſengers with contempt, and threats, and defiance, and immediately took up arms. Seſoſtris, being informed that they were advancing towards him by haſty marches, ſuddenly faced about, and fled from before them, leaving all his baggage and warlike apparel to the purſuers, who followed him till they came on the borders of Egypt [z]. Pliny relates, that he was overthrown by the king of Colchis [a]; and Valerius Flaccus inſinuates, that he was repulſed with great ſlaughter, and put to flight in theſe parts [b]. But whether he had good or bad ſucceſs in theſe countries, it is a common opinion, that

[r] See before, ibid. [f] Herod. ubi ſupr. [s] Diod. ubi ſupr. [t] Maneth. apud Joſeph. contra Apion, ubi ſupr. [u] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 51. [w] Dionyſ. in Perie. v. 625. [x] Diod. ubi. ſupr. p. 50. [y] Lib. 2. p. 55. [z] Lib. 2. c. 3. [a] Lib. 33. c. 3. [b] Argonaut. l. 5. v. 420.

that he ſettled a colony in Colchis, though Herodotus, whom we chiefly rely on in this matter, does not decide, whether it was of his own planting, or whether part of his army tired out, loitered in the rear, and voluntarily ſat down on the banks of the river Phaſis in that kingdom. He ſays, from his own experience, that the inhabitants were undoubtedly of Egyptian deſcent, as was viſible from the perſonal ſimilitude they bore to the Egyptians, who were ſwarthy and frizle-haired; but more eſpecially from the conformity of their cuſtoms, particularly circumciſion, and from the affinity of their language with that of Egypt. And many ages afterwards at Æa, the capital of Colchis, they ſhewed maps of their journies, and the bounds of ſea and land for the uſe of travellers [c], and hence came geography. This relation to each other was acknowledged on both ſides [d]. We now attend upon him into Thrace, the utmoſt boundary of his progreſs weſtward in Europe. Here he was in danger of loſing his army through want of proviſions and the difficulty of the paſſes; and therefore he here ſtopped his progreſs *. But the more probable opinion is, that his return was haſtened by advice he received from the high prieſt of Egypt, concerning his brother's revolt and diſobedience [e]. However this was, his pillars were no where to be ſeen in Europe beyond Thrace [f]. For it was his cuſtom to ſet up pillars in every country he conquered, with this inſcription, or one to the like effect; *Seſoſtris, king of kings, and lord of lords, ſubdued this country by the power of his arms.* If the nation had ignobly crouched to him, he, beſides the inſcription, cauſed the privities of a woman to be carved, as a mark of their effeminacy and baſeneſs [g]; if they had defended themſelves bravely, their pillars bore the diſtinction of the contrary ſex, in teſtimony of their courage [h]. Beſides theſe he left ſtatues of himſelf behind him, two of which are ſtill to be ſeen, ſays Herodotus, the one on the road between Epheſus and Phocæa, and the other between Smyrna and Sardis: they were armed after the Ethiopian and Egyptian manner, were five palms high, and held a javelin in one hand, and a bow in the other. Acroſs the breaſt they had a line drawn from one ſhoulder to the other, on which there was this inſcrip-

Suppoſed to ſettle a colony in Colchis.

His pillars and ſtatues.

[c] Apollon. Rhod. Argon. l. 4. v. 272. [d] Herod. ubi ſupr. * Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 51. [e] Maneth. apud Joſeph. contra Apion, ubi ſupr. [f] Herod. Diod. ubi ſupr. [g] Herod. ubi ſupr. [h] Vid. Syncell. p. 59, 60.

inscription; *This region I obtained by these my shoulders.* They were mistaken for images of Memnon [i].

Return to Egypt.

UPON advice therefore of the rebellious proceedings of his brother, who, encouraged by his long absence and great distance, had assumed the diadem, violated the queen, and made promiscuous use of the royal concubines [k], he hastened from Thrace, and at the end of nine years came to Pelusium, attended by an infinite multitude of captives of all nations, and laden with the spoils of Asia [l]. Here the rebel Armaïs, or Danaus received him with outward submission and joy, but with inward designs to take away his life, and root out his family. Accordingly he invited the king his brother, the queen, and her children to a banquet he had prepared for their refreshment, which they accepting, and drinking very freely, were overcome thereby, and betook them to rest. In the mean time, he caused a great quantity of dried reeds to be laid all round the apartment where they slept, and setting fire thereto he hoped to burn them all together. Sesostris perceiving the danger he was in, and that his guards, overcharged with liquor, were heavy and incapable to assist him, lifted up his hands, and, imploring the gods in behalf of his wife and children, rushed through the flames, and they followed him. In thanksgiving for this wonderful deliverance, and to perform the vows he had made in his extremity, he presented donations to several gods, and particularly to Vulcan [m], as will be observed hereafter. Herodotus seems to have been misinformed in the particulars of this happy escape; saying, that his wife perswaded him to lay two of his sons across the fire, and to tread over them. He then took revenge on his brother Armaïs [n], who is said to have been the Danaus of the Greeks [o], and is thought to have been now driven out from Egypt, and to have proceeded to Greece.

Is miraculously delivered from the murderous designs of his brother.

HIS brother's unnatural designs thus defeated, and himself in the quiet repossession of his kingdom, he adorned all the temples with spoils and rich gifts, and rewarded his army in proportion to merit. His army was not only glorious in their return for the mighty actions they had performed, and the great riches they had acquired, but also for the great variety of conveniencies and necessaries they

[i] Herod. ubi supr. [k] Maneth. ubi supr. [l] Herod. ubi supr. [m] Diod. ubi supr. p. 53. [n] Ubi supr. [o] Maneth. ubi supr.

they brought home with them, and with which they ſtored the whole kingdom. Seſoſtris now laying aſide all thoughts of war, diſbanded his forces, leaving every one to the undiſturbed enjoyment of what fortune had favoured him with. As for himſelf, he from henceforward applied his mind to ſuch ſtupendous works as might immortalize his name, and everlaſtingly contribute to the public good.

His works were of three ſorts; religious, military, and civil. And firſt he erected a temple in every city in Egypt, which he dedicated to the peculiar and ſupreme deity of each place. In the courſe of ſo univerſal an undertaking as this no Egyptian was ſet to work; wherefore upon all theſe temples there was this inſcription: *No one native laboured hereon* [o]. In the city of Memphis, before the temple of Vulcan, he raiſed ſix gigantic ſtatues, which were each of one ſtone; two of them were 30 cubits high, and repreſented himſelf and his wife; the other four were 20 cubits, and repreſented his four ſons [p]. Theſe he dedicated to Vulcan, in remembrance of his and his family's preſervation at Peluſium [q]. Many ages afterwards it was ſaid, that Darius would have placed his own ſtatue above this of Seſoſtris; but the prieſt of Vulcan ſtifly oppoſed it, urging, that the Perſian, though great, had not yet equalled the Egyptian, and particularly had never conquered Scythia; and that therefore it was unjuſt to prefer him to one he had not yet excelled, and ſo put a ſtop to the attempt [r]. He moreover raiſed two obeliſks of hard ſtone [marble] 120 cubits high; and charged them with inſcriptions, which deſcribed the greatneſs of his power, the amount of his revenues, and the nations he conquered. Theſe are his works, which may be ſaid particularly to commemorate his own piety and glory. Let us now take a view of what he did for the benefit and laſting welfare of his people. His works.

In order to prevent the incurſions of the Syrians and Arabians, he fortified the eaſt ſide of Egypt with a wall, which ran from Peluſium through the deſart to Heliopolis, 1500 furlongs, or 187 miles and a half. He moreover raiſed an incredible number of vaſt and lofty mounts of earth, to which he removed ſuch towns as had before too low a ſituation, to ſecure the men and cattle from the

[o] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 51, 52. [p] Herod. ubi ſupr. [q] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 53. [r] Herod. ubi ſupr.

the dangers of the Nile in its inundations. All the way from Memphis to the ſea he dug canals which branched out from the Nile, and not only gave an eaſier communication from one place to another, and greatly advanced the trade and proſperity of the kingdom; but alſo rendered the country impracticable to an enemy, or at leaſt very incommodious and difficult. So that Egypt, which had hitherto been famous for her horſes and chariots, and was admirably well adapted for either, was now no longer the ſame place in thoſe reſpects, and put on a new face [s]. This looks as if Seſoſtris feared, that the ſeveral nations he had diſturbed, or at leaſt ſome of them, might unite againſt Egypt; but quite the reverſe appears by his haughty carriage towards the tributaries, as will be ſeen by and by. In the mean time, it is ſaid, that ſome of the captives grew deſperate under the intolerable ſlavery impoſed on them, and that particularly the Babylonians aroſe and reſolved at all hazards to ſhake off their bondage. They firſt ſeized upon a ſtrong hold, and acting offenſively againſt the Egyptians, waſted the country round about them. But on the offer of pardon, and a place for their dwelling, they were pacified, and built them a city which they called Babylon: the like was ſaid of the Trojan captives [t]. According to Herodotus there was a report that this king, after he returned from his wars, divided the land equally amongſt all the Egyptians: this claſhes with what has been ſaid of the lands he beſtowed on his army before his outſet; which we take to be more conformable to the genius and policy of this warlike prince, and therefore are inclined to think that Herodotus was miſinformed. The ſame author upon this occaſion ſays; that the king reſerving to himſelf a ſmall rent out of the lands ſo divided, whenever it happened that the waters of the Nile in their retreat waſhed away any part of a perſon's ground, he gave information thereof to the king, who in ſuch caſe remitted a proportionable part of the rent, and by ſending ſurveyors to meaſure it, gave riſe to the invention of geometry *.

His inſolence.

His behaviour towards the conquered princes, who waited on him with their tribute, is moſt remarkably inſolent; for upon certain occaſions he would unharneſs his horſes, and yoke kings together, and make them draw his chariot [u]: this practice he continued, as is ſaid, till a certain day,

[s] Diod. ubi ſupr. 52. [t] Idem ibid. * Herod. ubi ſupr.
[u] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 53. Plin. lib. 33. c. 3.

day, when obſerving one of the kings who drew him along, look with great ſtedfaſtneſs back on one of the wheels, he aſked what took up his thoughts, that he kept his eye ſo fixed behind him? he anſwered, "Oh king, the going "round of the wheel calls to my mind the viciſſitudes of "fortune; for as every part of the wheel is uppermoſt "and lowermoſt by turns, ſo is it with men, who one "day ſit on a throne, and on the next are reduced to the "vileſt degree of ſlavery." This anſwer ſhocked the inſulting conqueror, and he gave over the practice. It was thus he was wont to triumph over his tributaries, but at all other times he treated them with great humanity. At length he loſt his ſight, and laid violent hands on himſelf, and died. The manner of his death was extolled by the prieſts into the higheſt act of magnanimity [w]; and that nothing might be wanting to make his hiſtory compleatly glorious, they reported, that the phœnix came to Thebes during his reign [x]. By what has been here ſaid concerning Seſoſtris, it may ſeemingly be gathered, that he was the firſt that divided Egypt into nomes, and its inhabitants into orders and claſſes; that he was the firſt Egyptian king who was conſiderable at ſea; and that he erected the firſt great empire in the world. Juſtin ſays, he neither aimed at it, nor kept it, being contented with the bare glory of the conqueſt he made [y]. But all are not of his opinion.

PHERON was the ſon of Seſoſtris, and ſucceeded him. He is alſo ſtiled Seſooſis [Seſoſtris] II. The ſtory of his reign, as it is handed down to us, ſavours more of fiction than of truth. He performed nothing in the military way; but had the misfortune, in common with his father, to be ſtruck blind. Though this might be properly owing to ſome infirmity derived from his parent, yet it is reported, that his loſs of ſight was a puniſhment inflicted on him for his impiety towards the river. For upon a time that the Nile had overflowed the country to an unuſual height, a gale of wind aroſe, and greatly diſturbed the waters, whereat he capriciouſly took offence, and inſolently darted a javelin among the waves. Upon this he was immediately ſeized with a pain in his eyes, and ſoon after by a total darkneſs, which oppreſſed him for ten years. In the eleventh year the oracle at Butus declared, that the Pheron, or Seſoſtris II. He is ſtruck blind.

term

[w] Diod. ubi ſupr. [x] Tacit. Ann. 6. p. 154. [y] Lib. 1. c. 1.

term of his affliction was elapſed, and that his ſight would return to him if he paid particular devotions to the god at Heliopolis, and waſhed his eyes with the urine of a woman, who had never known any man beſides her huſband. He began with his own wife, but receiving no benefit from her, went on from one woman to another, till at length a poor gardener's wife afforded him the relief the oracle had promiſed. Her therefore he made queen; but as for the adultereſſes he ſent them to a city called Erithybolus, which, together with them, he burnt. He paid his vows to the gods in ſeveral rich donations, and particularly raiſed two magnificent obeliſks in the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis [z].

He recovers his ſight again, and raiſes two obeliſks.

Many ages after the ſcepter fell into the hands of Amasis, or Ammosis. He miſuſed his people with the utmoſt violence and injuſtice. Many he condemned to death without a cauſe; many he deprived of their poſſeſſions, upon no other motive than his own imperious will; and towards all he behaved with inſupportable arrogance. Under this oppreſſor they groaned for a while, not daring to reſiſt ſo dreadful a power. But in time Actiſanes king of Ethiopia made war againſt Ammoſis, and entering Egypt the people joined him, and aſſiſted to drive their unnatural prince from the throne [a].

Amaſis, or Ammoſis, a tyrant.

But, before we take in hand the hiſtory of Actiſanes, we muſt obſerve, that a king, very near allied in name to Ammoſis, blocked up the Shepherds in the city of Abaris, or Peluſium, with an army of 480,000 men; but deſpairing, as is ſaid, to carry the place by ſiege, he made a capitulation with them, by which it was agreed, that they ſhould go out of Egypt, and march which way they pleaſed without moleſtation (I). This article they executed, and went

His ſubjects join with the Ethiopians to drive him out.

[z] Herod. ubi ſupr. Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 54. [a] Idem ibid.

(I) We have already obſerved to you, that Perizonius reckons what is called the expulſion of the Shepherds, and the Exodus of the children of Iſrael, to be one and the ſame event (1).

Sir John Marſham is of a quite different opinion, but decides nothing (2).

Father Pezron ſays nothing of the expulſion of the Shepherds in particular, but thinks he has ſufficiently proved, that the Iſraelites went out of Egypt under Moſes in the reign of Themoſis, the ſame who is ſaid to have expelled the Shepherds (3).

Sir

(1) Vid. Periz. ubi ſupr. (2) Marſh. ubi ſupr. (3) Pezron. ubi ſupr.

went away with their families to the number of 240,000, and taking the way of the defart entered Syria, but fearing the Aſſyrians, they built them a ſtrong city in Judæa, called Jeruſalem. This favours the opinion of thoſe who take the Shepherds to have been the Iſraelites themſelves; but the Egyptian hiſtory being hitherto, and for a conſiderable time to come, involved in palpable darkneſs, we ſhall only ſay, that this is confeſſedly a contradiction to the hiſtory of Moſes, by whom it plainly appears, that theſe Shepherds could not be the Iſraelites, and him we chooſe to confide in. This king is called Amoſis, Thummoſis, Tethmoſis, Thomoſis, and Themoſis the ſon of Haliſphragmuthoſis. One Amoſis is alſo ſaid to have aboliſhed the cuſtom of ſacrificing men to Juno at Heliopolis, and inſtead of them to have ſubſtituted waxen images. They were examined and ſealed like pure calves, and were called Typhonians [b]. Three of them were burnt in a day, and their aſhes were ſcattered abroad ſo as to be no more ſeen, and this publickly every year during the dog-days. This is ſaid to have been done at the city of Idithia [c].

The expulſion of the Shepherds.

As to the 200,000 Shepherds, which we are told came from Jeruſalem to aſſiſt the leprous Egyptians under Oſarſiphus, and the wars they were engaged in with Amenophis king of Egypt, we refer our reader to Joſephus againſt Apion, not knowing where to give a place to theſe tranſactions in the courſe of the Egyptian hiſtory. Joſephus arraigns the whole ſtory as fabulous [d].

We now return: Actiſanes united Egypt and Ethiopia under him, and was the common king of both. He bore his proſperity with great moderation and prudence, and behaved affectionately towards his new ſubjects. He cauſed a general ſearch to be made after the Egyptian thieves and robbers, and giving them a juſt hearing commanded their noſes to be cut off, and ſent them away to the remoteſt part of the defart between Syria and Egypt, where he built them a town which was called Rhinocolura, from the diſ-

Actiſanes the Ethiopian.

He ſends all the Egyptian thieves and robbers to Rhinocolura.

figurement

[b] Joſeph contra Apion, l. 1. p. 352, &c. [c] Manetho apud Porph. de abſtin. l. 2. c. 55. [d] Joſephus ubi ſupr.

Sir Iſaac Newton places this expulſion in the year 1070 before Chriſt, or 62 years before the firſt expedition of Seſoſtris, or Seſac, as he calls him, into Africa. (4).

(4) Sir Iſaac Newton's ſhort Chronology.

figurement of its infamous inhabitants. This part was ſo barren, that it ſcarce afforded any one neceſſary of life; for even the few wells and ponds there found were brackiſh, bitter, and moſt unpleaſant to the palate. Hither he baniſhed them, that they might not injure their honeſt neighbours by living among them, nor be hid in corners among the innocent. But as frightful and barren as their ſituation was, neceſſity the mother of invention, ſuggeſted means to them of ſupplying themſelves with food: for it is reported, that they made long nets of ſlit reeds, and with them caught great numbers of quails which came in flocks from the ſea-ſhore; and of theſe they had barely ſufficient to live upon [e].

Mendes, or Marus.

ACTISANES died, and the Egyptians were left to their own diſpoſal; and therefore they choſe them a king, named by ſome Mendes, and by others Marus. He is celebrated for the ſepulchral labyrinth he built. It was not ſo admirable for its extent as for its inimitable contrivance, which was ſo intricate and perplexing, that it was impoſſible to find the way out, but by the help of a moſt experienced guide [f].

He builds a labyrinth.

Proteus is choſen king.

AFTER Mendes there enſued an anarchy, or interreign, for five generations. At length a Memphite of obſcure birth was choſen king. His Egyptian name was Cetes, which the Greeks rendered Proteus (K). Both Herodotus

[e] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 55. [f] Idem ibid. See before, ch. 3. ſect. 3.

(K) According to Perizonius Proteus was the Sethos of Manetho, and the Typhon of the poets. He thinks, that Homer's Proteus and this king are the ſame; and that he was ſtiled a ſea-god, becauſe he had commanded the coaſt of Egypt. He gives no credit to Herodotus as to the arrival of Paris and Helen under this king. It is not conſiſtent with his hypotheſis (1).

Sir Iſaac Newton, on the contrary, ſeems to give credit to Herodotus as far as relates to Paris and Helena, but makes him cotemporary with Amenophis, whom, as we have already obſerved, he makes the ſame with Menes. He thinks, he might have been governor of ſome part of the Lower Egypt under Amenophis: and obſerves, that Homer places him on the ſea coaſt, and calls him the ſervant of Neptune, and that his Greek name ſignifies only a prince, or preſident (2).

(1) Vid. Perizon. ubi ſupr. (2) Sir Iſaac Newton's Chron. of the antient Kingdoms amended.

Herodotus and Diodorus make him coætaneous with the Trojan war. The prieſts gave him out for one ſkilled in the weather, or a magician, and pretended, he could aſſume any ſhape or form he pleaſed, even fire. This fable, as it was told by the Greeks, drew its origin from a cuſtom among the Egyptians (and perhaps introduced by Proteus), who were uſed to adorn and diſtinguiſh the heads of their kings with the repreſentations of animals, or vegetables, or even with burning incenſe, as ſo many enſigns of royalty, and to ſtrike the beholders with dread and ſuperſtition [g]. Whilſt Proteus reigned, Paris, or Alexander, was driven on the coaſts of Egypt by a ſtorm, and there landed with Helen, whom he was carrying from Greece to Troy. But when he heard the perfidious breach of hoſpitality this young man had committed, he ſeized upon him, his miſtreſs, and his companions, with all the riches he had brought away with him from Greece. As for Helen and her huſband's effects, he detained them, promiſing to reſtore both to the injured party whenever demanded, and ſo he did: but Paris and his companions he commanded to depart out of his dominions in three days, upon pain of being treated as enemies. In fine, he had a very rich and ſumptuous temple erected to him at Memphis, and left a ſon and ſucceſſor behind him called Rhemphis, [h].

The fable of Proteus whence derived.

Paris and Helen arrive in Egypt.

RHEMPHIS is alſo called Rhampſinitus (L), and was of an inclination to hoard up money. Diodorus reports him

Rhemphis, or Rhampſinitus.

[g] Idem p. 56. [h] Herod. ubi ſupr.

(L) Sir John Marſham is inclined to think him the eldeſt ſon of Seſoſtris, and to be the ſame with Rhampſes; and this he advances, fraught with the authority of Manetho, who calls him the ſon of Sethos: and that the famous inſcription, which was interpreted to Cæſar Germanicus at Thebes, related to him: and indeed there is no very great difference between the Rhamſes of Tacitus and the Rhampſes of Manetho. In fine, that he enjoyed by right what his father had obtained by conqueſt (1).

Perizonius ſuppoſes, that the Rhamſes of Tacitus is Seſoſtris himſelf. But Rameſſes, or Rhamſinitus, the ſon of Proteus, he makes cotemporary with the Trojan war; in which he is ſupported by a paſſage from Pliny (2).

Sir

(1) Vid. Marſh. ubi ſupr. (2) Periz. ubi ſupr.

him to have been ſo ſordidly avaritious, that during his whole reign he rather acted the part of a mean-ſpirited ſteward than of a king; and never could find in his heart to be at the leaſt expence in any thing, that might tend either to the honour of the gods, or the good of men: and that to this retentiveneſs it was owing that he left ſo immenſe a treaſure behind him, no leſs than 400,000 talents [i]. Now Herodotus ſufficiently inſinuates, that he was fond of riches, but does not reduce him to ſo wretched a degree of baſeneſs as this. Let us give ear to what he ſays. Rhampſinitus added the weſtern portico to the temple of Vulcan, and erected two ſtatues before it, each 25 cubits high: one of them faced towards the north, and was adored by the Egyptians under the title of Summer; the other looked towards the ſouth, and went by the name of Winter, and was abhorred. Moreover, he had accumulated a far greater ſtore of wealth than any king of Egypt that ſucceeded him, and, being deſirous to depoſite it in ſome ſecure place, commanded a treaſure-houſe to be firmly built for that purpoſe. The architect employed in this work, placed one of the ſtones in ſo artful a manner, that it might be taken out and put in again by one man only, it being his intention to partake in the riches of the place. But about the time that the treaſure was lodged in it, this man fell into a violent ſickneſs; and finding himſelf at the point of death, ſent for his two ſons. To them he declared the whole artifice, and gave them the moſt exact directions in the management of the buſineſs, which he foreſaw would never be his fate to accompliſh. The father died, and the young men went to the treaſury, and finding every thing to be as their father had told them, they gained an eaſy admittance, and robbed the king to a conſiderable value; and this they repeated every night. Some time after Rhampſinitus

builds the weſtern portico to the temple of Vulcan,

and a treaſure-houſe,

which is plundered by the architects two ſons.

[i] Diod. ubi ſupr.

Sir Iſaac Newton conjectures him to have been the ſon of Amenophis, or Menes, and to be ſhadowed under the different names of Rhamſinitus, Ramſes, Ramiſes, Rameſes, Rameſſes, Rameſtes, Rhampſes and Rhempſis; and that the obeliſk which was ſent to Rome by the emperor Conſtantius, with an inſcription interpreted by Hermapion an Egyptian prieſt, expreſſing that he was long-lived and reigned over a great part of the earth, as alſo that pompous inſcription mentioned by Tacitus belonged to him (3).

(3) Sir Iſaac Newt. ubi ſupr.

nitus went in to view his heaps, and was ſurprized to find a viſible diminution of them; and the more, becauſe his ſeal was whole on the door, the only part of the building that could give entrance. The two brothers continued their nightly expilations, till the king, after two or three further ſurveys, was perfectly ſenſible that ſome how or other his wealth ſuffered a ſucceſſive decreaſe. And now convinced that ſome body muſt do this, he ordered ſnares to be laid all around the veſſels which held his money. The brethren failed not to come at night, and taking out the ſtone, one of them went in, and going up to a veſſel full of ſilver was immediately enſnared. Under this ſurprize he called to his brother who ſtood without, and earneſtly beſought him to come in to him and cut off his head, that ſo he might ſave his own life, and effectually prevent the diſcovery of their intrigue. The brother, perceiving the reaſonableneſs of his requeſt, went in and did as he was deſired, and putting the ſtone in its place again, took the head away with him. Early the next morning, the king came in to ſee the event of his project, but was quite aſtoniſhed to find a man caught without a head. He went out again in great confuſion of thought, but, however, directed that the body ſhould be hung on the outſide of the wall, and expoſed to public view; charging the guard appointed to take care of it, that they ſhould make a narrow inſpection into the countenances of the ſpectators, and in whomſoever they perceived ſigns of ſorrow and mourning to bring ſuch perſon into his preſence. When the mother of the deceaſed heard that the body was expoſed in this manner, ſhe was diſtracted with grief, and upbraiding her ſurviving ſon, threatened that if he did not procure her his brother's body, and bring it home, ſhe would let the king know who had robbed his treaſury. The young man did his utmoſt to bring her to ſome temper, by remonſtrating to her the impracticability of her requeſt; but to no purpoſe; for ſhe perſiſted ſtill in her threats. Therefore finding that ſomething muſt be contrived to gratify her, he conſulted how he might ſucceed in ſuch an enterprize: and at length loading his aſſes with ſkins of wine, he drove them towards the place where the body hung up. Having reached the guard, he privately opened ſome of the ſkins, and as ſoon as the wine poured down he ſtruck himſelf upon the head, and counterfeited the trouble and conſternation of a perſon utterly undone. In the mean time, the ſoldiers upon duty ran to the aſſes with pots, to ſave as much of the li-

quor as they could for themſelves; which he ſeeing, fell on them with the moſt bitter reproaches, and reviled them for the pleaſure they took in his misfortune, inſtead of giving him their aſſiſtance: but they ſpeaking him fair, he pretended to be pacified, and leading his aſſes out of the way, feigned to be very buſy in ſecuring the remainder of his wine. Whilſt he was doing this the guards ſtood about him, and laughing and joking with him, he at laſt conſented to give them a ſkin of wine; and they in return for ſo great a favour preſſed him to ſtay and take a part of it with them. He did ſo, and when this ſkin was emptied he gave them another; ſo that by exceſſive drinking the whole guard was overcome, and fell into a deep ſleep. Then watching his opportunity, and perceiving it to be the dead of night, he went to the body, and taking it down, laid it acroſs an aſs; and ſhaving the right cheek of each of the ſoldiers by way of deriſion, went away with the body and carried it home to his mother. The news of this was matter of additional wonder to the king, who, that he might find out the perſon who had done it, bethought him of the following expedient. He ordered his daughter to proſtitute herſelf in a certain apartment of the palace to all comers promiſcuouſly: but under this reſtriction, that ſhe ſhould previouſly extort from each of them a confeſſion of the moſt ingenious intrigue he had ever managed, and the moſt wicked crime he had ever committed. His daughter obeyed, and did as ſhe was inſtructed, and when the thief heard of this extraordinary procedure, he reſolved to perplex the king a little farther. With this view he got the arm of a newly-dead body, and taking it under his cloak, went in to the king's daughter. She examined him in the ſame form, and to the ſame purpoſe as the reſt who had been with her before him; and in return, he frankly confeſſed, that the moſt abominable and wicked action of his life was, the cutting off his brother's head when enſnared in the treaſury; and that the moſt ingenious thing he had ever done, was the ſtealing the body from the guard that kept it. She then offered to lay hold on him; which he perceiving, held out the dead arm to her; which ſhe graſping, he ran out, and by the favour of the night made his eſcape. Rhampſinitus's rage was now converted into an admiration of the boldneſs and ingenuity of the man; and therefore he had it proclaimed in every city, that if the perſon, whoever he was, would diſcover himſelf, he ſhould not only be pardoned, but alſo greatly rewarded.

rewarded. The young man confiding in this, went ſtrait to the palace, and made himſelf known. In the end the king gave him his daughter in marriage, and accounted him far ſuperior in wiſdom to any man then living upon earth. Our author does not warrant every particular of this ſtory.

AFTER this it was fabled, that Rhampſinitus deſcended alive into the infernal regions, where he plaid at dice with Ceres, but neither won or loſt; and that at his departure ſhe preſented him with a golden bowl. The ſpace between his deſcent and reaſcenſion was obſerved with great ſolemnity by the Egyptians many ages afterwards. And now that we may conclude the hiſtory of this king with ſome air of truth and probability, he reigned with great prudence and juſtice, and was a conſtant and ſtrict obſerver of the good order, which, till his death, had uninterruptedly ſubſiſted throughout the kingdom from its firſt foundation [k]. Rhampſinitus goes down to hell.

THIS king was ſucceeded by 7 others, all of nameleſs fame and ignoble character, except one called Nilus. He is celebrated for the great number of canals he dug all over the country, and for his endeavours to make the Nile as univerſally ſerviceable as poſſible. Whence it was that the river, which had been hitherto called Ægyptus, was now called after his name [l]. Nilus.

CHEOPS, Chemmis, or Chembes, (M) is by Diodorus reckoned the eighth from Rhampſinitus. Herodotus places no diſtance between them. This king is branded for his impiety and tyranny. He began his reign with ſhutting up the temples, and forbidding all public ſacrifices. And then trampling on the laws and invading the liberties of his people, reduced them to a ſtate of the moſt laborious ſlavery. Great numbers he ſent to dig out ſtone in the quarries among the mountains of Arabia, and to tranſport them into Egypt [m]: and haraſſed them in the end in raiſing the largeſt of the three great pyramids [n]. By this, and other vain glorious works of the ſame kind, he was reduced ſo low, that he expoſed his daughter to common proſtitution; Cheops, Chemmis, or Chembes, a tyrant. Builds the largeſt pyramid.

[k] Herod. l. 2. [l] Diod. ubi ſupra. p. 57. [m] Herod. ubi ſupr. [n] Idem ibid. & Diod ubi ſupr. See before, ch. 3. ſect. 1. par. 50.

(M) Sir Iſaac Newton ſuſpects, that he intended to be worſhipped himſelf after death; and ſuppoſes that he was alſo called Chemnis, Phiops, Apaphus, Apappus, Suphis, Saophis, Syphoas, Syphaoſis, Soiphis, Syphuris, and Anoiſis.

Prostitutes his daughter, who builds a small pyramid.

telling her in general terms to earn what she could. She obeyed, and, by her father's example desiring to perpetuate her memory, required each of her gallants only to contribute a stone towards a building she had in view. With the stones so collected, she built a small pyramid. * This tyrant reigned fifty years and died °.

Cephrenes, Cephren, or Chabryis a tyrant.

He was succeeded by Cephrenes, Cephren, or Chabryis. It was doubted, whether Cephren and Chabryis were one and the same person; some saying, that Cephren was the brother, and that Chabryis was the son, of Cheops. But leaving this obscure controversy; this king trod in the foot-steps of his predecessor, and particularly in building a pyramid; but it fell much short of the former. He reigned fifty six years. Though both he and his predecessor designed these pyramids for their eternal mansions, to use the Egyptian phrase, yet neither of them were deposited in them after death, dreading what the rage of the multitude might prompt them to, their friends buried them where no body could ever find them [p].

Builds a pyramid.

Mycerinus, or Cherinus, a good prince.

After Egypt had been thus afflicted by tyranny for one hundred and six years, Mycerinus, or Cherinus, (N) the son of Cheops, a serene and merciful prince, ascended the throne. Abhorring the impiety and injustice of his father and his uncle, he opened the temples, reinstituted the sacrifices, and left the miserable people to the pursuit of their private affairs. His clemency is reported to have been such, that if at any time complaint was made to him of a hard sentence, adjudged in a matter of property, he would satisfy the party aggrieved, to the amount of the loss, out of his own treasure [q]. Whilst he was thus intent upon the happiness of his people, a heavy misfortune fell upon him, meaning the death of his daughter. He mourned for her with great bitterness, and honoured her with an extraordinary funeral: For causing an hollow wooden image of a cow to be made and richly gilt with gold, he therein deposited her body. This cow was never interred, but was exposed in a magnificent chamber of the palace in the city of Sais; where they burned the most exquisite odours by day, and illuminated the place by night with a lamp.

His daughter dies, and he buries her in an extraordinary manner.

* Herod. ubi supr. See before, in ch. 3. sect. 1. par. 52.
° Herod. ubi supr. [p] Idem ibid. Diod. ubi supr. p. 57, 58.
[q] Idem ibid. Herod. ubi supr.

(N) The last cited chronologer calls him also Cheres, Bicheres, Moscheres, Mencheres.

lamp. In a room contiguous to this were twenty naked images of women, which the prieſts of Sais reported to have been the concubines of Mycerinus. But, as it generally happens in caſes of remote antiquity, this was not the only report that was ſpread concerning this cow and theſe ſtatues. A ſtory went, that Mycerinus falling in love with his daughter, forced and deflowered her; whereupon ſhe fell into a deep melancholy and hung herſelf. The twenty naked ſtatues in the next room, ſaid they, were her women, who had been inſtrumental in betraying her to her father's unnatural luſt, and therefore had their hands cut off by the queen. They appeared indeed without hands; but our author, who was an eye witneſs of theſe things, tells us they were dropped off with age, and lay ſcattered upon the floor. He tells us alſo, that the cow was in a kneeling poſture, and as big as the largeſt living cow. Its neck and head were richly laid over with gold, and between the horns there was a golden circle in imitation of the ſun, and its body had a fine Tyrian carpet thrown over it. This ſepulchral image was removed once a year from the apartment where it ſtood, and expoſed to the open day, in purſuance of a requeſt the deceaſed made to her father, that ſhe might behold the ſun once every year.

Now to return whence we digreſſed; the death of his daughter was not the only misfortune that befel Mycerinus; a more dreadful one enſued: For it was denounced againſt him from the oracle at Butus, that he had but ſix years more to live, and that in the ſeventh he ſhould ſurely die. At this he was greatly troubled, and ſent to expoſtulate with the oracle, and remonſtrated, that ſince his father and uncle, who had been monſters of impiety and cruelty, had been bleſſed with great length of days, it would be ungrateful to requite his piety and humanity with the execution of ſo rigid a ſentence. To this it was anſwered; That his father and uncle knew the decree of fate, which had condemned the Egyptians to a hundred and fifty years of bondage and miſery, and acted conformable thereto; but that his ignorance of this, which had induced him to interrupt the courſe of their affliction, was the cauſe that he was ſo ſuddenly to be cut off. Finding therefore that his doom was irreverſible, he conſulted how to make the moſt of the ſmall remainder of his life; and, commanding a great number of lamps to be lighted up every night, he ſpent his whole time in drinking and revelling. So thence-forward making no diſtinction between day and night, he roved

The oracle at Butus declares him to be ſhort liv'd.

about among the groves and the meadows, and where-ever he heard of the moſt gay and ſportive company. Thus he went on, thinking to convict the oracle of falſhood, and inſtead of ſix to live twelve years. Finally Mycerinus is ſaid to have built a pyramid, which from the baſis to the middle was Ethiopian ſtone; and on the northern front of it he inſcribed his own name. This pyramid the Greeks, by a groſs miſtake, attributed to the courtezan Rhodopis, who flouriſhed in the days of Amaſis, ſeveral reigns lower [r].

Endeavours to convict the oracle of falſhood.

We now proceed to Gnephachthus, the father of Bocchoris the wiſe. He is alſo named Technatis by Plutarch [s], and Neochabis by Alexis. What interval there was between him and Mycerinus, or whether any, does no where plainly appear. This king is famed for his abſtinence, and for the execration he denounced againſt Menes. For it is recorded of him, that leading an Army into Arabia, and travelling the vaſt and barren deſarts, he there fell into great ſtreights and want of proviſion; and being one day obliged to take up with the poor and ſlender diet he met with, he afterwards fell into a profound ſleep. This ſo delighted him, that he forbad all exceſs and luxury, and curſed Menes, who firſt introduced them: And ſo earneſtly did he perſecute the memory of this his predeceſſor, that, by the conſent of the prieſts, he engraved his curſe upon a pillar, which was ſeen in the temple at Thebes; from whence it came to paſs, that the fair name of Menes was ſeen through a cloud by ſucceeding generations.

Forbids all luxury, and curſes Menes.

Bocchoris. Bocchoris, the ſon of Gnephachthus, was ſirnamed the wiſe. He was a deſpicable perſon to look at, but for prudence and wiſdom far beyond any of his predeceſſors. He is reckoned the fourth Egyptian law-giver; but his laws [t] ſeem not to have concerned any thing, except commerce and the regulation of the public revenue. His judgments were for their excellence retained many ages after his death; but his great qualities were ſomewhat debaſed by his propenſion to avarice [u]. So high was the veneration his ſubjects paid him, that they fabled Iſis to have ſent an aſp to prevent his ſight, that he might judge righteouſly [w]. However, he drew a general odium upon himſelf, by letting in a wild bull to the ſacred one, called Mnevis; but this got the better, and killed his antagoniſt.

At

[r] Idem ibid. See before, ch. 3. ſect. 1. par. 75. [s] De Iſide & Oſirid. [t] See before, ch. 3. ſect. 2. par. 27. [u] Doid. l. 1. p. 59. 85. [w] Plut. περὶ δυσωπίας, p. 529.

At laſt, with all the equity of his judgment [x], and the purity of his mind, he is ſaid to have been taken by Sabbaco the Ethiopian, and burnt alive [y].

ASYCHIS is by Herodotus placed next in order to Mycerinus; but, in compliance with Diodorus, we have put two reigns between them, notwithſtanding our full perſuaſion that Bocchoris and Aſychis were the ſame king, as we ſhall take occaſion to obſerve by and by: In the mean time, it is recorded of Aſychis, that he built the eaſtern portico to the temple of Vulcan, with a magnificence that eclipſed the others. And finding that the riches of Egypt were lodged in a few hands, and that credit was decayed, he enacted a law, whereby a man might borrow money upon the ſepulchre of his father, and depoſite the body, as a pledge, in the hands of the creditor. And till it was redeemed, the debtor might neither be buried in the ſepulchre of his father, or in any other, nor put any of his deſcendants there. This king, to ſurpaſs all his predeceſſors, built him a pyramid of brick, which he charged with a very vaunting inſcription [z].

Aſychis.

builds the eaſtern portico to the temple of Vulcan,

and a brick pyramid.

AFTER Aſychis, a blind man named ANYSIS, from a city of the ſame name became King. In his reign Sabbaco king of Ethiopia broke into Egypt with a powerful army, and Anyſis fled for ſhelter to the fens, leaving the kingdom to the invader [a].

Anyſis.

BUT, before we enter upon the reign of Sabbaco, let us take a curſory retroſpect of theſe three laſt reigns, and perhaps we may find reaſon to think, that Bocchoris and Aſychis are different names for one King, and that the blind man Anyſis was his contemporary. For the law ſaid to have been inſtituted by Aſychis ſavours ſo much of Bocchoris's genius as might incline one to think them but one man. And if it be true, that Bocchoris was burnt alive by Sabbaco, they muſt not only have been ſo, but Anyſis muſt alſo have been king of another part of Egypt at the ſame time. Furthermore, it is declared by Herodotus, that NECUS, the father of Pſammiticus, was ſlain by the ſame Ethiopian [b]. Here we have three kings, if we may ſuppoſe Necus to have been of royal dignity, ſubdued by one and the ſame enemy, and all in Egypt. From hence it may appear, that many of the kings of Egypt are placed in order of ſucceſſion, that were collateral, merely out of

Bocchoris and Aſychis the ſame king, and contemporary to Anyſis, and Necus, the father of Pſammiticus.

[x] Ælian. de Anim. l. 11. c. 11. [y] Syncel. p. 74. [z] Herod. l. 2. See before, ch. 3. ſect. 1. par. 52. [a] Herod. ubi ſupr. [b] Idem ibid.

oſtentation, and to ſupport the pretenſions the prieſts made to the exceſſive antiquity of their kingdom.

Sabbaco the Ethiopian.

WE now return to SABBACO; and if it be true that he dealt ſo rigidly with Bocchoris, thoſe are ſurely right who ſuppoſe he began his reign with barbarity and cruelty towards others. But no ſooner was he eſtabliſhed firmly on the throne, than he became a new man; ſo that he is highly extolled for his mercy, clemency, and policy. He is thought to have been the So in ſcripture, and to have entered into a league with Hoſhea, king of Samaria, againſt Shalmanaſſar, king of Aſſyria. He was excited to the

His firſt viſion.

invaſion of Egypt by a dream, or viſion, which aſſured him he ſhould hold Egypt fifty years; and when that term was expired, he voluntarily retired into Ethiopia again, reſigning his conquered kingdom. But whilſt he was in Egypt, he gave the higheſt proofs of his wiſdom and piety, and yielded to none of his Egyptian predeceſſors in the art of

His policy.

governing. He never would conſent to the death of any criminal, though capitally condemned; commuting the puniſhment into hard labour, which purely conſiſted in the raiſing of mounts, and digging of canals; ſo that the cities of Egypt were raiſed higher, and rendered more commodious than by Seſoſtris; and particularly the city of Buba-ſtis, where ſtood a moſt delightful temple to the Goddeſs of the ſame name, whom the Greeks interpreted to be their Diana. At length Sabbacco had a viſion as he ſlept,

His ſecond viſion.

wherein the tutelar god of Thebes admoniſhed him, that he could not hold the kingdom of Egypt with ſafety and happineſs, except he maſſacred the prieſts as he paſt through them with his guards. This viſion he had at ſeveral repetitions; but his heart abhorring ſo dreadful an undertaking, he ſent for the prieſts, and declared to them what the gods would have prompted him to, and that thereby he began to apprehend it was their pleaſure he ſhould remain no longer in Egypt; and that therefore with pure hands and a clear conſcience he would return into his native kingdom, rather than lie under the neceſſity of polluting his life by ſo general a bloodſhed, to preſerve himſelf on the throne of Egypt. And upon the whole, conſidering that the predicted fifty years were expired, he accordingly retired into his own country [c].

Anyſis again.

As ſoon as Sabbaco had departed the kingdom, Anyſis came out from his hiding place, and reaſſumed the government.

[c] Idem ibid. Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra, p. 59.

ment. He had been abſent fifty years, and in that time had formed an iſland for his habitation, compoſed of aſhes and earth; for when any Egyptian came to him with proviſion, he always deſired that aſhes might be brought to him unknown to the Ethiopian. This iſland was called Elbo, and lay undiſcovered ſeven hundred years and upwards, till the reign of Amyrtæus.

Sethon king and prieſt.

AFTER him there reigned one SETHON, who was both king and prieſt of Vulcan. He not only neglected the military claſs or order, but injuriouſly diveſted them of their privileges and lands; whereat they were ſo incenſed, that they thought themſelves abſolved from their allegiance, and entered into a combination not to bear arms under him, if he ſhould ever ſtand in need of them. But he, regardleſs of their threats and murmurs, gave himſelf wholly up to contemplation and the functions of religion. This was the ſtate of affairs when Sennacherib king of Aſſyria drew near to Peluſium, deſigning to enter Egypt. Sethon perceiving his danger, and that now his only truſt muſt be on the military order whom he had ſo unjuſtly dealt with, he ſought their aſſiſtance; but in vain: They obſtinately perſiſted in their refuſal to march under his banner. The prieſt, now deſtitute of all other advice and ſupport, repaired to his god, and in the utmoſt dejection of mind implored his aid. Whilſt he was yet in the temple, he fell into a deep ſleep, during which it ſeemed to him that the god ſtood at his ſide, and exhorted him to take courage, and promiſed, that if he would but go out againſt the Aſſyrians, he ſhould obtain a complete victory over them. Fraught with this viſion, he aſſembled together a promiſcuous body of artificers, ſhopkeepers, and labourers; and, with this unexperienced multitude, bent his march towards Peluſium. The very night after his arrival there, an infinite number of field-rats entered the enemy's camp, and gnawed their quivers, bow ſtrings, and ſhield-ſtraps to pieces. This is very conſonant to the prophecy of Iſaiah, if we may be allowed to inſert it here: *The king of Aſſyria ſhall not come into this City*, (meaning Jeruſalem) *nor ſhoot an arrow there, nor come before it with a ſhield* [d]. For Sennacherib (as ſhould ſeem) had broke up the Siege of Jeruſalem for a time to fall upon Egypt; but whether this Sethon be the ſame with Tirhakah, or Sevechus, is more than we can decide.

[d] Kings 2 xix. 32.

decide. But to return; when Sethon next morning found the enemy thus diſarmed, and moving off, he purſued them with a great ſlaughter. In memory of this miraculous event, there was a ſtone ſtatue of this king erected in the temple of Vulcan, with a rat in one of his hands, and delivering theſe words from his mouth; *Whoſo beholdeth me, let him be pious* [e].

The twelve kings.

A ſhort time after the death of Sethon, Egypt was (upon what motive is not preciſely known) divided into twelve kingdoms, and twelve of the chief Egyptian lords were appointed over them. Theſe twelve entered into the ſtricteſt aſſociation for the public welfare. The mutual league between them was conceived in the moſt obligatory manner, and cemented by all the ſtricteſt ties that could poſſibly conduce to a perpetual union and harmony between them; becauſe it had been foretold by an oracle, upon their aſſuming the Government, that he of their number that ſhould perform a libation in a brazen cup would in time be king of all Egypt. This new regulation was attended with peace and happineſs, and the twelve kings reſolved to raiſe a monument, which might perpetuate their names to lateſt ages; and accordingly they raiſed the famous labyrinth [f] near the lake Mœris. At length it came to paſs, that at a ſtated time they all met together to ſacrifice in the temple of Vulcan, and being to offer a libation on the laſt day, the high prieſt, through miſtake, brought out only eleven of the twelve gold bowls, which were reſerved for the uſe of the twelve princes; and Pſammitichus, ſtanding the laſt in order, and being unprovided for the ceremony, took off his helmet, which was of braſs (they all twelve wore the ſame), and performed his libation with that. This he did inadvertently; but it being obſerved by the reſt, they called to mind the oracle which promiſed him to be ſole king of Egypt, who ſhould happen to perform a libation in this place with a braſs bowl. Wherefore, though they were ſatisfied he had no ill intention, and for that reaſon would not ſentence him to die, yet they were unanimous for expelling him to the marſhy country, and for diveſting him of the greateſt part of his diſtrict, and forbidding him to concern himſelf with the affairs of the public [g]. The reaſon of this diſcord is told differently by ſome, and the whole is attributed to envy: For at the diviſion of the country into twelve provinces, as

[e] Herod ubi ſupr. [f] See before, ch. 3. ſect. 1. art. labyrinth.
[g] Herod. ibid.

as has been obſerved, the ſea-coaſts fell to the lot of Pſammitichus; and he greatly encouraging all commerce with the Grecians and Phœnicians, not only accumulated great wealth, but acquired alſo the favour and friendſhip of ſeveral foreign kings and nations, which drew on him the envy of his collegues; who, fearing he ſhould grow too formidable, and affect to rule over them, reſolved to reduce him betimes. Wherefore they all declared war againſt him; and he, finding himſelf unequal to the conflict, hired an army of mercenaries, conſiſting chiefly of Ionians, Carians, and Arabians, and repelled force with force, and in the end ſubdued the other kings, and put an end to the duodecemvirate [h]. On the other hand it is related, that, in purſuance of his ſentence, he retreated to the fens; but, greatly reſenting the ſeverity of his uſage for ſo trifling a thing, in which he meant no harm, either preſent or future, he ſent to the oracle of Latona at the city of Butus, to know how, and when, he might hope for redreſs. The anſwer he received was, That Brazen would ſuddenly riſe out of the ſea and avenge his cauſe. This he received as a flat abſurdity; But not long after ſome Ionian and Carian pyrates landed in braſs armour. And an Egyptian, who had never ſeen men armed ſo before, going up to Pſammitichus, and acquainting him, that certain brazen men had riſen out of the ſea, and were pillaging the land near the ſea-ſhore, he perceived that the oracle was come to paſs: Therefore, perſwading them to ſtay by the large promiſes he made them, if he ſucceeded; and joining to them ſuch Egyptians as were well affected to him, he ſubdued, and dethroned the eleven kings, and ſeized on the whole kingdom for himſelf [i]. It is ſaid, the deciſive battle was fought at Monemphis, and that ſome of the kings were ſlain, and others took refuge in Afric. Thus was the government by twelve diſſolved, after it had ſubſiſted fifteen years [k].

HITHERTO the Egyptian hiſtory has been covered with an impenetrable miſt: it now begins to clear up a little. PSAMMITICHUS of the tribe of Sais, thus poſſeſſed of the whole kingdom of Egypt, reigned with as much wiſdom, magnanimity, and ſplendour as any of his predeceſſors. He was the ſon of Nechus, whom Sabbaco put to death when he conquered Egypt: and, had he not fled into Syria, would

Year of the Flood, 2329. Year before Chriſt, 670.

Pſammitichus. Gives great encouragement to the Greeks.

[h] Diod. Sic. ubi. ſupr. p. 60. [i] Herod. ubi ſupr. [k] Diod. ubi ſupr.

would have ſhared in his father's fate. He made good his engagements with his allies, and over and above preſented them with certain lands on each ſide of the Nile, and called their ſettlements the Camp. He alſo put ſeveral children under their tuition, that they might be inſtructed in the Grecian language; and thoſe who afterwards performed the office of interpreter deſcended from theſe. They had their ſituation near the ſea, below the city of Bubaſtis in the Peluſian mouth of the Nile: and here they continued till Amaſis removed them to Memphis, as will be ſhewn in its proper place. However, it is here proper to obſerve, that theſe Grecians are ſaid to have been the firſt foreigners that were permitted to dwell in Egypt; and that from the intercourſe and correſpondence which was conſtantly kept up between them and their Countrymen in Greece, we are well aſſured of the truth and exactneſs of the Egyptian hiſtory from the days of Pſammitichus.

His public buildings.

CONCERNING the public edifices he erected, there is ſome diſcrepancy: Herodotus ſays, he added the ſouthern, and Diodorus, that he added the eaſtern, portico to the Temple of Vulcan. The former ſays, that he built a ſpacious edifice oppoſite to this portico for the reception of the god Apis whenever he ſhould appear; and that it was enriched with ſculptures, and ſurrounded by gigantic ſtatues of twelve cubits high, inſtead of pillars. The latter, that he encompaſſed the temple with a wall, in which he ſubſtituted coloſſuſes inſtead of pilaſters [k].

His wars.

NOW in conſideration of the fidelity and warlike experience of the foreigners, by whoſe aid he ſeated himſelf on the throne, he always kept ſome of their countrymen in pay, and went ſo far as to compliment them with the poſt of honour, when he marched his army into Syria, where he warred many years. This ſo incenſed the Egyptians, that upwards of 200,000 deſerted him, and marched off in a body. Perceiving his error in thus affronting his own ſubjects, he at firſt ſent ſome of the chief officers after them to excuſe the matter: but finding that their perſwaſions had no effect, he took ſhipping with ſome of his friends, and overtook them on the banks of the Nile. And there entreating them to halt, in conſideration of all the natural obligations that could endear their country to them, their gods, and fireſides; they unanimouſly ſtruck their ſpears upon their ſhields, and cried out, that, as long as

[k] Herod. ubi ſupr. Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 61.

as they had arms, they did not doubt but they ſhould find a convenient country to ſettle in: then betraying their nakedneſs, that they ſhould never want wives and children whilſt they were ſo perfect. This done, they ſullenly marched on till they came into the territories of Ethiopia, where they ſat down on a fertile ſpot, and dwelt there.

Opens the ports of Egypt to ſtrangers.

To repair this loſs, he earneſtly applied himſelf to the advancement of commerce, and opened his ports to all ſtrangers, whom he greatly careſſed, contrary to the cruel or reſerved maxims of his predeceſſors. At the ſame time, that he was thus intent upon his affairs at home, he alſo entered into, or renewed an alliance, with the Athenians, and others of the Greeks [l]. But his reign is for nothing more remarkable than for the long and tedious ſiege he laid to Azotus in Syria, on the borders of Egypt, and which a ſhort time before had been taken by Aſar-haddon, king of Babylon; for it was twenty nine years before he reduced it [m]. His conduct towards the Scythians, who about this time conquered the Medes, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Aſia, and were now marching with deſign to pour themſelves into Egypt, is highly commended: For, inſtead of oppoſing them, he joined them in Syria, and by his preſents and intreaties prevailed on them to march back again [n]. After a reign of fifty four years [o] he died, and was buried in the temple of Bubaſtis, or Minerva, at Sais, the place where all the Saitic kings were depoſited. He is reported to have been the firſt king of Egypt that drank wine [p], to have ſent to diſcover the ſprings of the Nile [q], and to have made an experiment to find out which was the moſt antient nation in the world: to which purpoſe, he got two new-born children, and brought them up after ſuch a manner, that they never heard any body ſpeak; and becauſe when at two years old they pronounced a word *(beccos)* which ſignified bread in the Phrygian tongue, the Egyptians no longer vaunted of their ſeniority before all other nations, but ſubmitted to the Phrygians [r].

His ſiege of Azotus, and tranſaction with the Scythians.

NECHUS was the ſon and ſucceſſor of PSAMMITICHUS. He is the Pharaoh-Necho of ſcripture. He was a prince of a magnificent and warlike genius, and great both at land and ſea. In the beginning of his reign he attempted

Year of the Flood, 2383. Year before Chriſt, 616. Nechus.

[l] Idem ibid. [m] Herod. ubi ſupr. [n] Idem l. 1. [o] Idem l. 2. [p] Eudox. apud Plutarch. de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 333. [q] Herod. ubi ſupr. & Athenæus, l. 8. p. 345. [r] Herod. ubi ſupr.

ed to cut a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea [s]; and after the loſs of 120,000 of thoſe employed on this work, he was warned by an oracle to deſiſt, and leave the finiſhing of it to a Barbarian, or foreigner. The oracle he obeyed; but thenceforward turning his thoughts towards warlike enterprizes, he built a fleet of gallies in the northern [mediterranean] ſea, and another in the ſtraits of the Arabian gulph, where footſteps of his naval preparations were ſeen many ages afterwards. The warlike actions of this naval force, if any, are no where extant; but, as his mind was bent upon the empire of the ſea, he ſent ſome of the experteſt Phœnician mariners he could procure to go out upon a diſcovery of the African coaſts. Accordingly, ſailing out of the Red Sea through the ſtraits of Babelmandel, as now called, they ſteered down the eaſtern ſhores of Afric; and doubling the Cape of Good-Hope, coaſted up northward, till they came to the ſtraits of Gibraltar; by which they entered into the Mediterranean, and ſo returned into Egypt; and this voyage they performed in three years [t].

Affects the empire of the ſea.

His wars at land.

He was not only great at ſea, but was alſo formidable by land. Joſephus following Cteſias ſays, that he made war upon the Medes and Babylonians; who had juſt then diſſolved the Aſſyrian monarchy, and were grown dreadful to the nations far and near [u]: but the ſcripture expreſly ſays, that he went out againſt the king of Aſſyria, who was then on the river Euphrates, perhaps at Babylon. In his march thither, Joſiah king of Judah, refuſed to let him paſs through Judæa, and drew up an army to prevent his deſign, which was to beſiege Carchemiſh [w]. Finding therefore that Joſiah oppoſed him, he ſent meſſengers to him to remonſtrate, that his arms were not taken up with deſign to do Joſiah the leaſt prejudice; that the war, he was going to engage in, was undertaken by the expreſs command of God; wherefore he would do well not to incur the wrath of heaven by withſtanding its decree. But, finding that Joſiah gave no ear to this, he reſolved to give him battle; and both armies being drawn up in the valley of Megiddo (or Magdolus, as Herodotus has it [x]), Joſiah was wounded mortally with an arrow, as he was driving his chariot up and down the ranks; and perceiving his end to be near, he commanded his army to retreat,

[s] See before. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Joſephus Antiq. l. 10. c. 6. [w] 2 Kings xxiii. 29. 2 Chron. xxv. ver. 20. [x] Herod. ubi ſupr.

retreat, and Necho held on his march [y]. He arrived on the banks of the Euphrates, and there overthrew the king of Aſſyria, and took the great city of Carchemiſh; where he lodged a ſufficient gariſon, and after three months returned towards Egypt [z]. As he drew near to Jeruſalem, he heard that Jehoahaz had taken upon him to be king; and ſending him an order to meet him at Riblah in Syria, he there bound him in chains, and ſent him away priſoner to Egypt. After which he went to Jeruſalem, and made Eliakim, whoſe name he changed into Jehoiakim, king over Judah, impoſing on him at the ſame time a tribute of an hundred talents of ſilver, and one talent of gold [a]. And thus he became maſter of Judæa and Syria. Herodotus ſays, that he took the great and mountainous city of Cadytis in Paleſtine, which is very rationally underſtood to mean Jeruſalem. It is plain Nechus was there; but it is almoſt as plain that he entered it in a peaceful manner [b]. Hitherto then he was ſucceſsful in his wars, by which he weakened the declining power of Aſſyria; which very ſoon after ceaſed to give name to a monarchy: and in commemoration of his good fortune, or in gratitude to the god, he is ſaid to have conſecrated the garments he wore in theſe actions to Apollo, and ſent them to Branchis in the land of the Mileſians [c].

His turn of fortune.

But he did not long enjoy his new acquiſitions; for, about three years afterwards, Nebuchadnezzar came from Babylon, which, in conjunction with Media, had ſubverted the Aſſyrian empire, deſigning to drive the Egyptians from Carchemiſh, and recover the Syrian and Phœnician provinces, which Necho had ſubdued [d]. But he, no way daunted at the formidable power of this newly-erected monarchy, marched towards the Euphrates with a very numerous army, againſt Nebuchadnezzar; but in the end Necho was routed with a terrible ſlaughter, and loſt Carchemiſh, and all Syria and Judæa, quite home to Peluſium [e]. He afterwards entered into a confederacy with Jehoiakim, and made as if he intended to renew the war againſt the Babylonians; but he did nothing of moment afterwards, nor ſtirred out of Egypt; and died about eight years after he

[y] 2 Chron. xxxv. Joſephus Antiq. ubi ſupr. [z] Idem ibid. [a] 2 Kings xxiii. [b] Vide Prideaux Connect. p. 56, 57. Herod. ubi ſupr. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Jerem. xlvi. 1, 2. 2 Kings xxiv. 9. [e] Joſephus ubi ſupr.

he had been defeated by Nebuchadnezzar [f], having reigned sixteen, and left his son Psammis to succeed him in the kingdom [g].

Year of the Flood, 2399. Year before Christ, 600. Psammis.

In the reign of Psammis the son of Necho there came ambassadors into Egypt from the Elæans, to know, if the most sage Egyptians could add any thing to their regulations concerning the olympic games, or could perceive any defect in them. When the king was informed of their business, he called a council of the wisest heads in the nation; and sending for the ambassadors to come before this assembly, he asked them, if their own citizens were allowed to contend at their games: to which they answered in the affirmative. Whereupon the Egyptians pronounced, that they erred from all the rules of hospitality; observeing, that it was natural for them to favour their fellow citizens more than strangers. That if they were come to be informed concerning what ought, or ought not, to be done, in the matter they had proposed, the most equitable law they could make, would be to exclude their own countrymen, and admit none but strangers to contend for the prizes. Psammis reigned six years, and died in an expedition against the Ethiopians, leaving his son Apries to succeed him [h].

Year of the Flood, 2405. Year before Christ, 594. Apries.

His affairs with the Jews.

Apries is the Pharaoh-hophra of scripture. The first of his reign was great and prosperous; the last insolent and miserable. In the first year of his reign he received ambassadors from Zedekiah king of Judah, and with them he entered into a league, promising to assist their king against the king of Babylon [i]; and about two years afterwards marched out of Egypt with seeming intent to relieve Jerusalem, then closely besieged by Nebuchadnezzar; who no sooner heard of his motions than he raised the siege, and resolved to meet Apries half way [k]. He did so; but the Egyptians, afraid of venturing a battle, retreated as fast as the Babylonians approached, and so continued till they had fallen back into their own country [l], leaving the Jews to the mercilesss rage of their enemy, in contempt of the most solemn engagements. And for this breach of faith it was, that Ezekiel denounced the heavy doom against them, that they should be confounded and desolate for forty years ensuing [m]; and that afterwards they should degenerate to

[f] 2 Kings xxiv. 9. Josephus ubi supr. [g] Herod. ubi supr. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Ezek. xvii. 15. [k] Jerem. xxxvii. 5. [l] Idem ibid. c. 7. [m] Ezek. xxix.

to ſo baſe a degree, as not to have it in their power ever to ſet up a king of their own for the time to come [n]; which will be ſeen accompliſhed in the courſe of this hiſtory. The ſcriptures paint him in very diſadvantageous colours, and in the end threaten him with a violent death; which came to paſs, as we ſhall ſee anon. In the mean time, it may not be amiſs to take notice, that Herodotus gives this king twenty five years of greater proſperity than any of his predeceſſors, except Pſammitichus, had enjoyed; though Diodorus allows his whole reign no more than twenty two years. However, they both agree in giving him the character of a martial prince, and ſpeak of ſucceſsful wars which he waged, both by ſea and land, againſt the Tyrians, and Sidonians, and Cypriots [o]. The city of Sidon he took by ſtorm, and vanquiſhed both the Phœnicians and Cypriots in a ſea-fight; and returned with immenſe ſpoil into Egypt [p]. And all this no way claſhes with what the ſacred writings record of him; but is rather conſonant therewith: For ſure it muſt have been a mighty king, in whom the Jews dared to confide againſt the monarch of Babylon. And as to the feint Apries made to relieve Jeruſalem, and his ſhameful retreat, that rather reflected diſhonour on him, than amounted to a misfortune. His victories

But now, in order to harmonize the ſacred and prophane hiſtorians, let us hear the former denounce judgment againſt him, and then ſee how the latter execute it; which is the moſt obvious and diſtinct method we can think of in this caſe, where we are obliged to reſort to both. We have already in general terms obſerved, that the ſcripture threatened this king with a violent death, let us attend to the words of the prophet himſelf: *Thus ſaith the Lord, Behold I will give* Pharaoh-hophra *king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that ſeek his life; as I gave Zedekiah king of Judah into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon his enemy, and that ſought his life* [q]. Many predictions of the ſame kind are uttered againſt him in Ezekiel, but there he is only involved with the reſt of his ſubjects, and therefore we ſhall paſs them over. We are now to ſee how his deſtruction was brought about. The Cyrenæans, a colony of the Greeks, had a very numerous acceſſion of their country-men under their third king Battus the happy; and, being impelled by an oracle from the Pythian, fell to ſharing the lands, and unjuſtly driving the

[n] Idem xxx. 13. [o] Herod. ubi ſupr. Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 62. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Jerem. xliv. 30.

Libyans, their neighbours, from their poſſeſſions, their king Andicran ſent an embaſſy of ſubmiſſion to Apries, and implored his protection from the violence of theſe new comers. Apries condeſcended to his requeſt, and ſent a powerful army to relieve him. But the Egyptians were beaten by the Cyrenæans with ſo cruel a ſlaughter, that the few who eſcaped were incenſed with the fierceſt rage againſt their king, as if he had ſent them to certain deſtruction, in hopes that they being cut off, he might tyrannize at will over the remainder of his ſubjects. What ground there was for this clamour does not appear, but the giddy multitude were ſo taken with it, that almoſt an univerſal defection enſued. Upon news that they were embodied in a tumultuous manner, and were talking loud of a revolution, Apries ſent a truſty friend, as he thought, and one much reſpected by the people, called Amaſis, to appeaſe them. He went; but inſtead of reconciling them with Apries, he made intereſt with them for himſelf; and as he was pretending to reproach them, and recall them to their allegiance, one of them came behind him, put an helmet on his head, and ſaluted him king of Egypt; and from that inſtant he prepared himſelf to war againſt his maſter [r]. Apries, finding himſelf ſo foully betrayed, commanded one Patarbemis, the moſt conſiderable of all the Egyptians, who as yet adhered to him, to go to the rebellious camp, and bring Amaſis to him alive. He obeyed; and coming in ſight of Amaſis, called out to him, and charged him to attend on him to the king. At this, Amaſis, who was ſitting on horſeback, lifted up his thigh with the utmoſt ſcorn, and breaking wind, bid him carry that back to his maſter. Notwithſtanding this, Patarbemis ſtill urged him to obey the royal ſummons; but all he could obtain was this anſwer from Amaſis, That indeed he had been ſome time preparing to viſit the king, but that he might do it in a proper manner, he would bring a ſuitable equipage along with him. Patarbemis had now heard and ſeen too much to imagine he ſhould ſucceed in the buſineſs he was charged with, and began to think, that the beſt ſervice he could do for Apries, at this conjuncture, would be to give him the moſt early notice of the poſture and temper of the rebels. He therefore returned back; but when the king ſaw him come into his preſence without Amaſis, he ſpoke

The cauſe of his ruin.

Is betrayed by Amaſis.

[r] Herod. ubi ſupr. Diod. ubi ſupr.

ſpoke not one word to him, but ordered his ears and noſe to be cut off. This inſolent and tyrannical behaviour completed his ruin: for when the reſt of the Egyptians, who had continued faithful to him, beheld the inhuman mutilation of ſo worthy and noble a perſon, they all withdrew from him and went over to Amaſis. And now the tyrant on the one hand, and the uſurper on the other, prepared for war; the one having the whole body of the natives under his banner; the other only ſuch Carians, Ionians, and other mercenaries and foreigners he could engage in his ſervice [s].

Nebuchadnezzar waſtes and plunders Egypt.

DURING theſe inteſtine broils, and theſe diviſions, which muſt have greatly weakened Egypt, it is probable, that Nebuchadnezzar, who much about this time broke up his thirteen years ſiege of Tyre, and had at laſt nothing but an empty town for his pains, took advantage of the troubled ſtate of this kingdom, in hopes here to acquire ſuch ſpoil as might make amends for what he miſſed at Tyre. And this is perfectly conſonant to the ſcripture, where it is ſaid, *Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon cauſed his army to ſerve a great ſervice againſt Tyrus ..... yet had he no wages nor his army for Tyrus .... Therefore, ſaith the Lord God, Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon ..... and it ſhall be the wages for his army* [t]. A nation in ſuch diſtraction, as Egypt muſt have been in at this time, was an eaſy prey to a number of experienced veterans; and beſides, muſt have been in the moſt proper condition to gratify an army already worn out with fatigue, as the Babylonians doubtleſs were. Nebuchadnezzar therefore entered Egypt, and miſerably haraſſed the country, and ſlew and led away great numbers of its inhabitants; ſo that ſome think it did not recover this incurſion for forty years, as had been foretold. At length he left the country; but whether he appointed Amaſis for his lieutenant, or what terms he made with him, is what we do not take upon us to ſay; no more than whether Amaſis and Apries ſtood their ground, and made head againſt the enemy; or whether they left him to act his pleaſure in Egypt. This alone is certain, that the Babylonian carried away immenſe ſpoil with him.

Civil war between Apries and Amaſis.

AND now we reſume the civil war, which we have been obliged to interrupt, by taking a view of the devaſtation of

[s] Herod. ubi ſupr. [t] Ezek. xxix. 18, 19.

of the country by a foreign enemy. Apries marched from Sais, where he had a moſt ſumptuous and delightful palace, at the head of 30,000 Carians and Ionians; and Amaſis, on the other hand, was in motion at the head of an army of Egyptians [u]. They met in the fields near Memphis; and Apries was ſo far from doubting the victory, that he is ſaid to have entertained a notion, That it was not in the power even of any god to diveſt him of his kingdom [w], as he is upbraided by the prophet, *the river is mine, and I have made it* [x]. But his confidence availed him nothing; the armies drew up at Memphis, and though the foreigners did wonders, yet they were overpowered by the multitude of the Egyptians, and were utterly overthrown, and Apries himſelf was taken priſoner.

Year of the Flood, 2430. Year before Chriſt, 569. Amaſis.

AND now AMASIS of the tribe of Sais uſurped the kingdom. He confined Apries in the palace of Sais formerly his own; and treated him with great care and reſpect. But the people were implacable, and could not reſt while Apries enjoyed his life *: and therefore murmuring againſt Amaſis, and remonſtrating that his lenity was wrong applied in extending it to his and their common enemy, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of delivering Apries into their hands. And now, being fallen under the power of thoſe who *ſought his life* [y], they ſtrangled him, and laid his body in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors, which was in the temple of Minerva, adjoining to the palace, on the left hand going in. Here it was that all the princes of the tribe of Sais were intombed [z].

Apries is ſtrangled.

WE know it is ſaid, that Amaſis did not thus ſeat himſelf on the throne; and that he did not ſucceed Apries. It was one Partamis, ſay they, whom Amaſis ſucceeded, and that, by the following incident. Partamis celebrating his birth-day, Amaſis, as yet a private perſon, preſented him with a moſt beautiful and elegant garland of flowers: whereupon being invited to the table as a gueſt, and thenceforward added to the number of the king's friends; he was at laſt ſent at the head of an army to reduce the Egyptians who had rebelled; but the army made him king, out of the hatred they bore to Partamis [a]. We are inclined to think, that the Partamis here and the Patarbemis above are the ſame man; and if ſo, he was rather the idol of the people's

[u] Herod. ubi ſupr. Diod. ubi ſupr. [w] Herod. ubi ſupr. [x] Ezek. xxix. 3. * Plato in Tim. [y] Jerem. ubi ſupr. [z] Herod ubi ſupr. [a] Hellanic. apud Athenæ Deipno. l. 15. p. 680.

people's affections, than the object of their hatred. But we forbear enlarging any farther on this, and ſhall only ſay, that our author, in which we find this, is not always the moſt faithful tranſcriber.

WHOEVER Amaſis ſucceeded, and which way ſoever he came by the crown, it is commonly allowed, that he was of plebeian extraction. And perceiving at firſt, that it was with reluctance the people payed him the reſpect due to the ſublimity of his ſtation, he took a golden ciſtern, in which his gueſts were uſed to waſh their feet, and ordered it to be melted down, and caſt in the ſhape of a god. This precious idol was ſet up in the moſt frequented part of the city; and all paid devout reverence and honour to it. He then called an aſſembly of the Egyptians, and acquainted them, That the god they now worſhipped was made of the veſſel in which they had often piſſed, vomited, and waſhed their feet: that his own caſe was the ſame; formerly he was a mean perſon, but, being now their king, he expected and required to be honoured and obeyed as ſuch. It was a rule with him to attend cloſely to buſineſs every morning, and to divert himſelf with his friends the remainder of the day, drinking and making merry with them: but his mirth was ſomewhat of too low an allay for a king; at which ſome of his friends were ſcandalized, and aſſured him, that ſuch forgetfulneſs of his dignity would draw the contempt of all his ſubjects upon him. To this he replied, that as a bow always bent would undoubtedly loſe much of its ſpring and energy, and in the end be wholly uſeleſs; ſo a man, who ſhould uninterruptedly attend upon ſerious matters, would grow ſtupid and loſe his ſenſes: and being perfectly convinced of this truth, he was determined to divide his time between buſineſs and diverſion. And indeed it is ſaid of him, that, when a private man, he delighted in his cup and his jeſt; and was ſo averſe to buſineſs, that he ſupported himſelf in his riot and luxury by thieving. And in conſequence of this heinous practice, being oftentimes accuſed, and continually denying his guilt, they were uſed to carry him to the oracle of the place, where-ever he was, by which he was ſometimes convicted, and ſometimes acquitted. When he came to the throne, he recollected the former tranſactions of his life, and calling to mind the deceitfulneſs and ignorance of the oracles, who had pronounced him innocent, he ſlighted the temples of ſuch gods, abſtained from their ſacrifices, and refuſed to preſent them with any donations. On the contrary, he highly revered

those for veracity and omniscience, who had charged him with his odious crime.

The public works of Amasis.

He built a portico to the temple of Minerva at Sais, which was of the utmost magnificence, both in the vastness of its proportion, and the massiveness of the materials, adorning it with colossuses, and the monstrous images of Androsphynges. Part of the stones of this building were taken out of the quarries at Memphis; but the largest of them came by water from the city of Elephantis, twenty days passage on the river, and a great many of these he prepared for other works. But what is most to be admired, he removed a house all of one stone from the same city to Sais. The exterior dimensions of it were twenty one cubits in front, fourteen deep, and eight high: the interior measures were eighten cubits, twelve, and five. Two thousand mariners were employed three years in transporting this extraordinary edifice. It stood near the entrance of the temple, and was never carried quite in, either, as was said, because the chief engineer sighed one day, as if he was tired out with the work, and therefore Amasis who stood by, taking offence, would never suffer him to have any thing more to do with it; or because rolling it in towards the temple, one of the men was crushed to death by it, and therefore might not be advanced any farther. He was very magnificent in the gifts and ornaments he bestowed upon the other celebrated temples, and particularly at Memphis; where, before the temple of Vulcan, he caused a colossus of seventy five foot in length to be laid on its back, the face looking upwards: and on the same basis, or pavement, whereon this lay, he erected two statues of twenty foot high, cut out of the same stone, and standing one on each side of the great one. In Sais there was just such another colossus as this. To conclude on this head, he built the great temple of Isis at Memphis.

The state of Egypt under him and his laws.

Moreover, Egypt is said to have been perfectly happy during his reign, in the fæcundation of the Nile, and to have now contained no less than 20,000 populous cities. And, that good order might the better subsist in the midst of so vast a multitude, Amasis enacted a law, whereby every Egyptian was bound once a year to inform the governor of the province by what means he earned his living, and in default thereof to suffer death; which also was the punishment now ordained for those who were not able to give a very satisfactory account of themselves [b]: and for this, and for

[b] See before, ch. 3. sect. 2. par. 25. Herod. ubi supr.

for other laws he enacted, he is ſtiled the fifth lawgiver of Egypt [c].

He was a great friend to the Greeks, and had a viſit from Solon *. And, beſides the favours he conferred on particular perſons and cities of that nation, he allowed as many as pleaſed to come into Egypt, and either to ſettle in the moſt celebrated mart of Naucratis, or drive on their trade upon the ſea-coaſts; and granted them places where they might erect altars and temples to their own deities. Accordingly they erected ſeveral temples, the moſt frequented and noted of which was called the Grecian temple, being built at the joint charge of the Ionian cities of Chio, Teos, Phocæa, and Clazomene; together with the Dorians of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnaſſus, Phaſelis; and of Æolians only the city of Mitylene. Thoſe of Ægina alſo built a temple to Jupiter at their ſole expence; the Samians another to Juno, and the Mileſians a third to Apollo. And to conclude, the Greeks elected officers to preſide over their commercial affairs, and over their religion, and from henceforward were a conſiderable body in Egypt.

Is very favourable to all the Greeks.

So great was the fame of Amaſis for his generoſity and humanity, that when the Delphians, whoſe temple had been burnt, were going about from city to city to raiſe ſuch a contribution, as might enable them to pay that part of the expence which was impoſed on them, they applied not only to the Greeks in Egypt, but alſo to Amaſis himſelf, who gave them a thouſand talents of alom. He made an alliance with the Cyrenæans, and being deſirous of a Grecian woman, or elſe willing to give an ample teſtimony of the affection he had for that people, he married Ladice, the daughter of Battus, according to ſome; but others ſaid, ſhe was daughter of Arceſilaus; and others again, of Critobulus, a perſon of high authority among the Cyrenæans. This marriage was very extraordinary in its beginning, and could not be conſummated without the intervention of a deity. For Amaſis, though he at the ſame time found no impediment in himſelf with regard to other women, was ſenſible of a total inability in reference to his wife. Whereupon he, after ſome time, concluded, ſhe had inchanted him, and practiſed ſome infernal art to debilitate him; and therefore told

Marries a Greek.

[c] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 85. * Herod. lib. 2.

told her one night as they lay together, That as deeply verſed as ſhe was in ſupernatural contrivances, ſhe ſhould not have it in her power to eſcape the vengeance he intended to take on her, for the wickedneſs and ingratitude ſhe had been guilty of towards him. She earneſtly denied the unkind accuſation, and endeavoured to give him a better opinion of her; but in vain. In this diſtreſs ſhe ſighed out a prayer to Venus, and implored her aid, vowing, in caſe of deliverance, to ſend a ſtatue of her to Cyrene, and erect it there. The goddeſs was propitious, and Amaſis found himſelf like other men (the only expedient that could be effectual in this extremity), and continued to uſe Ladice as his wife, with the greateſt tenderneſs and affection. Ladice performed her vow to the goddeſs, whoſe ſtatue ſet up by her was ſeen without the gates of Cyrene ſome ages afterwards. This miracle, as it was doubtleſs called, brought the gods of the Grecians into as much credit with Amaſis as themſelves; as ſhould ſeem by his conſecrated donations to Greece. To the city of Cyrene he ſent a gilded ſtatue of Minerva, and his own picture done from the life. To the city of Lindus he gave two ſtone ſtatues of the ſame goddeſs, with a linen pectoral or ſtomacher, wonderfully wrought and adorned. To Samos he ſent two wooden images of himſelf, which were ſeen ſtanding, ſeveral ages afterwards, behind the gates of the great temple of Juno. This donation he made to Samos for the ſake of Polycrates, with whom he was in eſpecial alliance. As for Lindus, it was reported, that the daughters of Danaus founded the temple of Minerva there, when they fled from the ſons of Egyptus. And add to all the great things which have been hitherto ſaid of him, he was the firſt that ſubdued Cyprus, and that exacted tribute from the Cypriots its inhabitants [d].

A miracle.

His conſecrated donations to Greece.

Conquers Cyprus.

HITHERTO we have repreſented this reign in the majeſtic colours the Egyptian prieſts beſtowed on it; and under ſo prudent a prince, as it is likely Amaſis was, the greateſt part of what they ſaid may be true enough: but they dwelt ſo much on the glory of this reign, as well as of thoſe that preceded it, as to forget all the ignominy that was mixed with it. Xenophon writes, that Cyrus conquered Egypt [e]; and if ſo, it muſt have been during

[d] Herod. ubi ſupr. Diod. ubi ſupr. [e] Cyropædia ſub fine.

during this long reign; and Herodotus says, that Amasis and Crœsus were leagued together against Cyrus [f]. It is certain, that Nebuchadnezzar almost ruined the whole kingdom; but we find no acknowledgment of it among prophane authors, who, so far as they have touched upon the Egyptians, have copied their archives, or depended upon the oral traditions of their priests. But now that it was no longer in their power to conceal their dishonour, they frankly confessed it. For, according to themselves, the latter days of Amasis were darkened by a dreadful storm, which threatened the utter ruin of Egypt; and, though he died just soon enough to escape the rage of it, yet his dead body was so cruelly abused and destroyed, that could he have been sensible of the hard fate he was doomed to in that particular, he, according to the Egyptian superstition, would have thought the loss of his kingdom a trifle, if compared with it. His latter days unhappy,

For by some means or other Amasis had incensed Cambyses the Persian (who was naturally a rash and hot-headed prince) against him to so implacable a degree, as has scarce its parallel in the history of any nation. The seeds from whence this enmity sprang are not positively, nor perhaps at all, known to us. On one hand it is said, That Amasis sending an Egyptian oculist to Cyrus king of Persia, who had desired to have the best in his kingdom; the man, whose fortune it was to be chosen by the king for this purpose, took it much at heart, that he should be thus, as it were, exiled from his wife and children, and sent into Persia; and especially since Cyrus had desired the best oculist in Egypt, which he was conscious was not himself. The angry Egyptian continuing in Persia, and plainly perceiving the turbulent genius of Cambyses, prevailed on him to send an herald to Amasis, to demand his daughter to wife, assured, that whether Amasis complied with this request or not, he should have his full measure of revenge on him. Cambyses hearkened to this man, and did as he had suggested. When the Persian herald came to Amasis, he knew not which way to resolve: he dreaded the Persian power if he refused, and was ashamed of the dishonour which must be reflected on his family if he complied, knowing, that, instead of being a wife, his daughter would be no better than the Persian's concubine. At last he bethought him, that his predecessor was survived by an only daughter, and why.

[f] Herodot. l. 1.

daughter, of great beauty and majeſtic deportment, called Nitetis. Her therefore he ſent, with all the pomp and ſplendor befitting his own daughter, to Cambyſes in Perſia; who, when he ſaw her, ſaluted her by the title of daughter to Amaſis. To this ſhe immediately anſwered, that Amaſis had deceived him; that ſhe was not his daughter; but the unhappy child of the unfortunate Apries, whom Amaſis had put to death, and whoſe throne he had ungratefully uſurped. At this Cambyſes was fired with indignation, and vowed deſtruction to Amaſis. This was the ſtory the Perſians told: but this is not likely to be true; for at this time Nitetis muſt have been ſomewhat upwards of forty years old, or at leaſt near it; and therefore but ill qualified for the bed of Cambyſes. But ſecondly, the Egyptians, to give themſelves ſome credit, even in this deſtructive miſunderſtanding, claimed kindred with Cambyſes, and ſaid, that it was Cyrus who ſent for the daughter of Amaſis, and that Cambyſes was the ſon of Nitetis. This may give a better account of the dreadful malice he wrecked upon Amaſis, in revenge of his unhappy grand-father Apries, which, as is ſaid, he was excited to by his mother. But Herodotus declares it was contrary to the cuſtom of the Perſians to admit of a ſon of the half blood to ſucceed as heir to the kingdom. Thirdly, it was reported, that a Perſian lady being admitted to the preſence of the king's women, and admiring the children of Caſſandana, was anſwered by her, That notwithſtanding ſhe was the wife of Cyrus and the mother of thoſe fine children, yet he neglected her, and preferred an Egyptian ſervant, meaning Nitetis, before her: which Cambyſes her eldeſt ſon, at that time but ten years of age, hearing, told her, that when he came to be a man he would for her ſake ruin all Egypt. This, ſay they, he remembered, and acted accordingly. But, notwithſtanding what is here ſaid, we chooſe to think with Dr. Prideaux, that Amaſis having ſubjected himſelf a tributary to Cyrus, upon his death withdrew his obedience from his ſucceſſor. Having thus laid before you the ſeveral cauſes of this war, as we find them, we leave Cambyſes to his preparation for it, and return to Amaſis.

Amaſis is betrayed by Phanes of Halicarnaſſus.

WHILST this cloud was gathering, Phanes of Halicarnaſſus, a commander of the Grecian auxiliaries, in the pay of Amaſis, took ſome private diſguſt, and embarked from Egypt to go into Perſia. He was a prudent counſellor, and a valiant captain, and perfectly well acquainted with every

every thing that related to Egypt; and beſides, had great credit with the Greeks in theſe dominions. Amaſis was immediately ſenſible how great the loſs of this man would be to him, and how much he had it in his power to ſtrengthen the hands of Cambyſes, or any prince elſe, who ſhould undertake to invade him; and therefore in all haſte he ſent a truſty eunuch with a ſwift galley to purſue him; and he was taken in Lycia. However, he was not brought back to Egypt; for, making his guard drunk, he continued his way to Perſia, and preſented himſelf to Cambyſes, as he was meditating the downfal of Egypt, which he forwarded by his counſel and diſcoveries, as Amaſis had dreaded [g].

Makes Polycrates his enemy.

We have already obſerved, that there had been an eſpecial harmony between Amaſis and Polycrates the tyrant of Samos; but, a miſunderſtanding ariſing between them, Polycrates, when occaſion offered, joined Cambyſes againſt his former Egyptian ally. For Amaſis, receiving continual accounts of the uninterrupted ſucceſſes and depredations of this Samian, feared, that in the end ſome heavy diſaſter would fall upon him, equal to the glory of his triumphs; and therefore ſent him this letter, adviſing him as follows: Amaſis to Polycrates ſpeaketh thus .... "It is "with pleaſure I hear of the happy ſtate of my friend and "ally. Nevertheleſs I fear for thy great proſperities, "knowing the unſtableneſs of fortune. For my part, I "ſhould rather chooſe, that my affairs and thoſe alſo "of my friends ſhould be ſometimes proſperous, and ſome-"times unhappy, than have them go on with continued "ſucceſs. Therefore do thou now hearken to my coun-"ſel, and do as I ſhall bid thee, to take away from thy "happineſs: conſider then with thyſelf what thou poſ-"ſeſſeſt of greateſt value to thyſelf; and what would the "moſt bitterly grieve thee if loſt: and when thou haſt "found it, caſt it away from thee, ſo that it may never "more be beheld by man. If thy happineſs, after this, "knoweth no mixture of evil, preſerve thyſelf againſt the "ſorrow that may come upon thee, by repeating the re-"medy I have ſhewn thee." When Amaſis heard that Polycrates had taken his advice, and had accordingly thrown a very valuable ſignet into the ſea, but that it was found a few days afterwards in the belly of a fiſh, and reſtored to him; he gave him over as the moſt unhappy of men, and

[g] Herod. l. 2.

and dreading to partake as a friend in ſome diſmal calamity, which he feared muſt befal him, he diſpatched a herald to Samos to renounce the alliance, and all the obligations between him and Polycrates, that he might not mourn his misfortune with the ſorrow of a friend [h]. Amaſis, by thus diſſolving the cement of this conjunction, left Polycrates to act againſt him, if his inclination led him ſo to do; and accordingly he offered a fleet of ſhips to Cambyſes to aſſiſt him in his invaſion of Egypt. Thus we ſee Amaſis in danger of an inexorable, cruel, and moſt powerful enemy, in concert with a diſguſted and formidable friend. But before the dreadful day came his life ended, after he had reigned forty four years. His dead body was embalmed, and depoſited in a ſepulchre he had built for himſelf in the temple at Sais; but there, to ſpeak in the antient Egyptian phraſe, he enjoyed but a ſhort repoſe, as will be ſeen hereafter. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, called Pſammenitus.

His death.

Year of the Flood, 2474. Year before Chriſt, 525.

Pſammenitus.

THIS following reign, in which Egypt ſubmitted to a foreign yoke, was of very ſhort duration, and deeply calamitous. For PSAMMENITUS the ſon of Amaſis was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when he was forced to put himſelf at the head of an army, with which he marched to Peluſium, and there encamped to receive the Perſian, who now drew near to vent his fury upon Egypt. Under this new king a fearful prodigy happened: ſhowers of rain fell at Thebes, where it had never been known to rain before. This was doubtleſs conſtrued to portend a change, and a great one ſoon followed it: for now Cambyſes, by the aid and aſſiſtance of the king of Arabia, and the politic counſel of Phanes, had croſſed the dry and ſandy deſarts, and coming in ſight of the Egyptian camp, immediately drew up to give them battle. The Egyptians prepared themſelves for an aſſault, and in the interim their Carian and Ionian auxiliaries gave a dreadful inſtance of their zeal in the cauſe of Pſammenitus, and deteſtation of their traiterous countryman Phanes. For they led his ſons he had left behind him out of the camp, and butchered them over a bowl, which received their blood in ſight of the father and his new friends; and pouring wine and water into the ſame, drank off that cruel and unnatural mixture, and then began the onſet. The fight was obſtinately maintained on both ſides; but in the end the Egyptians

He is overthrown by Cambyſes.

[h] Idem. l. 3.

tians gave ground and fled in great confuſion to Memphis. Here they ſoon after were guilty of a horrid and imprudent outrage towards a herald, whom Cambyſes ſent to them in a ſhip of Mitylene; for they no ſooner ſaw her come into the port, than they flocked down to the ſhore, and deſtroyed the ſhip, and tore the Perſian herald and all the crew to pieces, carrying their mangled limbs in a barbarous triumph into the city. Not long after, they were cloſely beſieged by the Perſians, and in the end obliged to ſurrender: and ſo fell the glory of Egypt. The news of this ſtruck ſuch a terror upon the minds of the Libyans, Cyrenæans, and Barcæans, that they humbled themſelves to Cambyſes, and implored his protection.

Taken priſoner, and loſes his kingdom.

UPON the tenth day after Memphis had been taken, Pſammenitus and the chief of the Egyptian nobility were ſent ignominiouſly into the ſuburbs of that city, to act a part in one of the moſt doleful tragedies that can be conceived: for, being there ſeated in a proper place, he ſaw his daughter coming along in the habit of a poor ſlave, with a pitcher to fetch water from the river, and followed by the daughters of the greateſt families in Egypt, all in the ſame miſerable garb, and going on the ſame errand, with pitchers in their hands; all weeping and wailing with the utmoſt lamentation. When the fathers ſaw their children in this diſtreſs, and reduced to ſo ſordid a degradation, they burſt out into tears, and could not contain themſelves, all but Pſammenitus, who, though ready to ſink under the burthen of his grief, only threw his eyes towards the ground, and there fixed them. Theſe paſt by; came the ſon of Pſammenitus and two thouſand of the chief Egyptian youths, all with bits in their mouths, and halters round their necks, going to be executed, to expiate the murder of the Perſian herald and Mitylenæan ſailors. But Pſammenitus, like one perfectly ſtupified, as they paſſed by, obſerved the very ſame conduct as before, whilſt the Egyptians about him cried out with the loudeſt lamentations. A ſhort ſpace afterwards, he ſaw an intimate friend and companion, who, now that he was advanced in years, was plundered of all he had, and walking up and down the ſuburbs begging his bread. As ſoon as he perceived this man he wept bitterly, and calling out to him by his name, ſtruck himſelf on the head as one frantic. Now Pſammenitus had ſpies privately ſet over him to mark his behaviour, and they inſtantly repaired to Cambyſes, and

The particulars of his captivity.

gave

gave him a particular account of it; and ſoon after a meſſenger came from him to the captive king to know what might be the reaſon of it. To this he anſwered, "That "the calamities of his own family confounded him, and "were too great to be lamented by any outward ſigns of "grief; but the diſtreſſed neceſſity of a boſom friend gave "him more room for reflection, and therefore extorted "tears from him." By this anſwer he wrought ſo much upon Cambyſes, that he ſent to ſtop the execution of his ſon; but his orders were given too late; for the young prince was the firſt put to death. At the ſame time Pſammenitus himſelf was ſent for into the city, and reſtored to his liberty: and had he not betrayed a deſire of change and revenge, he might have been entruſted with the adminiſtration of Egypt; but being vindictively diſpoſed, he was ſeized, and condemned to drink bull's blood [i]; and ſo ended his life, after a diſmal reign of ſix months, and a ſhort captivity; and with him died the antient ſplendor and liberty of Egypt.

and death.

The dead body of Amaſis burnt; and the god Apis ſlain.

THE Egyptians now felt the heavy preſſure of conqueſt in a very extraordinary manner. They ſaw their late king Amaſis inhumanly taken out of his tomb, and cruelly mangled, and finally burnt. They ſaw their god Apis ſlain, and their prieſts ignominiouſly ſcourged; all which made ſuch dreadful impreſſions on the minds of the whole nation, that they afterwards bore a moſt uncommon averſion to the Perſians, and never reſted eaſy under their dominion.

Egypt a province of the Perſian empire.

THUS were the Egyptians reduced to the loweſt degree of ſubmiſſion; their royal line was extinct; their religion was trampled on in the moſt outrageous manner; and themſelves perſecuted and deſpiſed for the profeſſion they made of it.

A PEOPLE, who had been bred up to ſuch a ſolemn obſervance of the inſtitutions of their forefathers, muſt needs think themſelves unhappy under ſuch governours as held their laws in deriſion; and therefore they continually conſulted, how they might ſhake off the intolerable yoke of their Perſian oppreſſors.

The Egyptians revolt from the Perſians; but are ſubdued again.

AT length they broke out into an open revolt in the reign of Darius Hyſtaſpis, and continued in a ſtate of rebellion againſt the Perſians all the firſt year of Xerxes [k]; but

[i] Herod. lib. 2. [k] Herod. lib. 7.

but in the ſecond year [l] of the ſame prince they were reduced to harder ſubjection than before, as is uſually the caſe; and had one Achæmenes, brother to Xerxes, for their governour.

BUT the more ſeverity they ſuffered, the more they were exaſperated. In the fifth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus they revolted again; choſe INARUS king of Libya to fill their throne; and called in the Athenians to their aſſiſtance, who chearfully embraced this opportunity of expelling the Perſians out of Egypt [m]. The Egyptians almoſt ſucceeded in their project. The Athenians falling on the Perſian fleet at ſea, took and deſtroyed fifty ſail of them; and then, ſailing up the Nile, landed under the command of Charitimis, and joined the Egyptians and Lybians under Inarus. They all attacked Achæmenides the Perſian general, though his army was 300,000 ſtrong; of whom there fell 100,000, together, with the general himſelf. The reſt betook themſelves to flight, and returned to Memphis; but, being purſued by the Egyptians, they took refuge in a very conſiderable, and by much the beſt fortified, part of that city, called the white wall. The Egyptians had the reſt of it, and blocked up the Perſians three years within the white wall.

Year of the Flood, 2539. Year before Chriſt 460. Revolt a ſecond time, and chooſe Inarus for their king.

By this ſucceſs the Egyptians hoped they had wrought a total deliverance for themſelves and deſcendants; but their proſperity was by no means of long duration. They were at the end of three years obliged to raiſe the ſiege of the white wall by the Perſian army, under the command of Artabazus governour of Cilicia, and Megabyzus governour of Syria [n]. In the mean time, when Inarus heard of the formidable preparations which were making by theſe Perſian governours to relieve the beſieged, he redoubled the attacks on the white wall, and made the utmoſt efforts to carry it; but the Perſians within defended themſelves with ſuch bravery, that the Egyptians made no conſiderable progreſs towards the reduction of the place [o].

IN the third year of this ſiege, and the ninth of Artaxerxes, Inarus and his auxiliaries were not only obliged to raiſe the ſiege of the white wall, but alſo defeated with a fearful ſlaughter, which fell chiefly on the Egyptians.

[l] Idem ibid. [m] Thucydid. lib. 1. Cteſias. [n] Thucydid. ubi ſupr. Cteſias. Diod. Sic. l. xi. [o] Cteſias. Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 281.

tians. In this fight Inarus was wounded by Megabyzus; but nevertheleſs he retreated with his Athenian confederates, and ſuch of the Egyptians as adhered to him, to the city of Biblus in the iſland of Proſopitis, which being waſhed on each ſide by navigable branches of the Nile, the Athenian fleet was ſtationed in one of them; and here they held out a ſiege of a year and a half. But the bulk of the Egyptians ſubmitted to the conqueror, and acknowledged Artaxerxes for their ſovereign; all but Amyrtæus: he retreated with a party into the Fens, where he ruled many years; not in the leaſt moleſted by the Perſians, who were never able to get at him through the inacceſſibleneſs of the place.

Inarus taken priſoner, and Egypt reduced again to the Perſians.

In the mean time Inarus and his auxiliaries on the iſland of Proſopitis were buſy in defending themſelves againſt the Perſians, who attacked them with great vigor: but theſe, finding that bare ſtrength was not like to effectuate a reduction of the beſieged, had recourſe to art and ſtratagem; for draining that branch of the Nile in which the Athenian fleet rode, they at once rendered the ſhipping uſeleſs, and made a paſſage, by which the whole body of their army might march over to the iſland. When Inarus ſaw this, he and all the Egyptians, and fifty of his Athenian auxiliaries, delivered themſelves up to Megabyzus, on the condition of being ſecured in their lives: the reſt of the Athenians, being ſix thouſand in number, ſet fire to their ſhips, reſolved to die ſword in hand; which the Perſians perceiving, thought it adviſable to offer them ſome reaſonable terms: and this they did, and their propoſals were accepted [p]. The Athenians had ſent a fleet of fifty ſail to relieve the iſland of Proſopitis, where their citizens were in conjunction with the Egyptians; but they arrived too late, and as ſoon as they entered the river were aſſaulted by the Perſians, both on the river and from the ſhore; ſo that they all periſhed [q]. And thus ended the war between Inarus king of Egypt and Artaxerxes king of Perſia, under whom the Egyptians ever afterwards kept quiet, and made no attempts to recover their liberties. Sartamas was appointed governour of Egypt, and Inarus was carried priſoner to Suſa, and was there crucified, notwithſtanding the promiſe he had of his life when he ſurrendered [r].

Amyrtæus

[p] Thucydid. ubi ſupr. Cteſias. Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 282.
[q] Thucydid. ubi ſupr.
[r] Cteſias.

AMYRTÆUS the Saïte in the mean time held the Fens, and in the fifteenth year of Artaxerxes was joined by a fleet of ſixty ſail of Athenian ſhips[s]; but nothing of moment was tranſacted at this time to the prejudice of the Perſians in Egypt.

The Egyptians revolt a third time, and Amyrtæus heads them.

IN the tenth year of Darius Nothus, the Egyptians revolted once more from the Perſians. For Amyrtæus, being apprized of the diſcontents of the Egyptians, and that they were ripe for any attempts to regain their liberty and independence, ſallied out of his Fens, and being joined by all the Egyptians, he drove the Perſians out of the kingdom, and became king of the whole country of Egypt[t].

Year of the Flood, 2583. Year before Chriſt 414.

AMYRTÆUS thus in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Egypt by the total expulſion of the Perſians, reſolved to attack them in Phœnicia alſo, having the Arabians in confederacy with him in this undertaking[u]. But he was engaged by Darius in perſon and overthrown; about which time Amyrtæus either died or was ſlain in the battle.

Amyrtæus king.

PAUSIRIS his ſon ſucceeded him in the kingdom, with the conſent of the Perſians[w]. And now the Egyptians, though perhaps tributary to the Perſians, had a governour of their own nation to alleviate the burthen of it.

Pauſiris.

PSAMMITICHUS ſucceeded Pauſiris. He was deſcended from the famous Pſammitichus, whoſe hiſtory we have given above. He was a barbarous and ungrateful man, as appears by the only incident we have of his reign: for Tamus, who had been admiral in the Perſian ſervice, though he was a Memphite by birth, thinking it adviſable for reaſons of ſtate to leave the Perſian ſervice, and confiding in the friendſhip of Pſammitichus, whom he had formerly obliged by many friendly offices, put all his family and effects on board his ſhips, and ſailed for Egypt. But when Pſammitichus heard of his arrival, and that he had brought great riches with him, he, unmindful of what Tamus merited of him, and of all the laws of humanity and hoſpitality, fell upon him as an enemy; and having ſlain him, his family, and all his followers, ſeized on thoſe treaſures, which Tamus hoped to have enjoyed in his native country[x]. This is all we know concerning this cruel prince.

[s] Plutarch in vita Cimon. Thucydid. ubi ſupr. Diod. Sic. ubi ſupr. [t] Euſebius in Chronico. [u] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 355. [w] Herod. lib. 3. [x] Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 415.

Nephereus. HIM ſucceeded NEPHEREUS. This king was invited by the Lacedæmonians into a confederacy againſt the Perſians; and he ſent them a ſquadron of an hundred gallies to carry on the war by ſea, and 600,000 meaſures [buſhels] of corn for the ſubſiſtence of their army; but the veſſels, which were laden with this valuable preſent, ignorantly putting into Rhodes, whoſe inhabitants had juſt then thrown themſelves under the protection of the Perſian fleet, which then rode at anchor there under the command of Conon the Athenian, they fell a prey to him, and never reached the Lacedæmonians [y].

Acoris. ACORIS ſucceeded Nephereus. He joined Euagoras king of Cyprus, and the Arabians, and Tyrians, and Barcæans, a people of Libya, againſt the Perſians [z]. Acoris ſent ſome forces to the aſſiſtance of Euagoras, the chief of this league, who being defeated came into Egypt, to engage Acoris to aſſiſt him with his full ſtrength; but Acoris could not be prevailed on to come ſo totally into his meaſures, and only diſmiſſed him with a ſupply of money, by no means equal to the neceſſitous occaſions of that diſtreſſed prince. Soon after Gaus, the only ſurvivor of the family of Tamus, whom Pſammitichus murdered for the ſake of his wealth, and as well as his father had been now promoted to the degree of an admiral in the Perſian ſervice, being diſguſted at the ill uſage of Tiribazus, the king of Perſia's general in the former part of the Cyprian war againſt Euagoras, revolted from the Perſians, in which he was followed by a great part of the fleet and army; and entered into a league with Acoris and the Lacedæmonians. But the year after Gaus was treacherouſly ſlain by ſome under him; and Tachos, who had undertaken to execute the ſame project, dying in the midſt of it, the whole fell to the ground, and the Perſians were freed from the troubleſome effects which threatened them from this new alliance [a].

IT was now thirty years ſince the Egyptians had ſhaken off the Perſian yoke under Amyrtæus, and had all along, upon all occaſions, ſignalized their averſion to the Perſian government. But Artaxerxes Mnemon being now at full leiſure to chaſtiſe them, they once more were threatened with

[y] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 438. Juſtin, lib. 6. c. 2. Oroſius lib. 3. [z] Theopomp. in Excerpt. Photii. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 459. [a] Idem ibid.

with a cruel war. Great preparations were made on both ſides. Acoris joined a great number of Greeks and other mercenaries, under the command of Chabrias the Athenian, to his own ſubjects [b]; but, the Perſians being pretty dilatory in their proceedings towards this war, Acoris died before it commenced, and was ſucceeded by

PSAMMUTHIS, who reigned only a year [c]. Pſammuthis.

AFTER him NEPHEROTES (who is called the laſt of the Mendeſian race) reigned four months [d]; Nepherotes.

AND then NECTANEBIS, the firſt of the Sebennytic race *. In the ſecond year of his reign the Perſian army and fleet came upon his coaſts and borders, and made their attempts firſt upon Peluſium: but, Nectanebis having had time ſufficient to prepare himſelf, that city and adjacencies were ſo well provided for the reception of an enemy, that no impreſſion could be made there. The commanders on the Perſian ſide differing in their counſels, and entertaining jealouſies of each other's glory, they did nothing in this war; for, though they entered the Mendeſian mouth of the Nile, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the fortreſs that guarded it, and ſtruck the Egyptians with the utmoſt conſternation; yet they gave them time to recover heart again: For Nectanebis lodged a ſufficient gariſon in Memphis, and taking the field, with the reſt of his forces, ſo annoyed Pharnabazus the Perſian general, that he could make no conſiderable progreſs up the country; and the Nile, at the accuſtomed period, overflowing the land, the Perſians were obliged to march off; which they did not without conſiderable loſs [e]. Thus ended this war. Year of the Flood, 2618. Year before Chriſt, 379. Nectanebis.

ABOUT five years afterwards, Ageſilaus king of Sparta came as an ambaſſador to Nectanebis, to ſolicit ſuccours for the Lacedæmonians, then driven to great diſtreſs by the Thebans [f]. Seven years after this Nectanebis died.

TACHOS ſucceeded him. He gathered together all the ſtrength he was able, to defend his country againſt the ambitious deſigns of the Perſians, who, notwithſtanding their many miſcarriages, had not laid aſide the thoughts of ſubjecting Egypt to their dominion once more. To ſtrengthen himſelf the more he ſent to Greece to raiſe mercenaries; and ſucceeded ſo well in his application to Year of the Flood, 2630. Year before Chriſt, 367. Tachos.

[b] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 471. [c] See before, ch. 3. ſect. 3. dyn. 29. [d] See before, ibid. * See before, ibid. [e] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 478, 479. Cornel. Nepos, in Iphicrate. [f] Plutarch. in Ageſilao.

His impolitic conduct towards Agesilaus.

the Lacedæmonians, that they dispatched a good number of forces to him, under the command of Agesilaus [g]. Tachos had promised this king, that he should be generaliſſimo of all the forces; but, upon the first interview, he conceived such disadvantageous ideas of the old gentleman, that he thenceforward slighted his counsels, and despised his person. He expected to have seen a gay and magnificent man, whose habit and train were equal to the fame and splendor of his exploits, and not a plain, mean-looking, old man. This hasty and ill-grounded impression may be properly enough said to have been the ruin of Tachos, as will be plainly seen. For Tachos allowed Agesilaus to be nothing but general over the mercenaries at land, which alone had been sufficient to disgust so great, so old, and so experienced a commander, and was the first cause of his aversion to Tachos. The command of the fleet he gave to Chabrias the Athenian, reserving to himself the supreme dignity over all. Having joined his mercenaries and Egyptians together, he marched out of Egypt, designing to attack the Persians in Phœnicia, contrary to the advice of Agesilaus, who represented to him the unsettled state of Egypt, and remonstrated how much more it would be for his interest to manage the war by lieutenants, and stay himself in his kingdom. The event

Is driven out of his kingdom.

shewed, that Agesilaus's counsel was the result of a very prudent forecast; for while Tachos was in Phœnicia the Egyptians revolted, and set up his kinsman Nectanebus in his stead. Agesilaus, taking this opportunity to vent his resentment against Tachos, joined Nectanebus, and deprived the other of his kingdom, who fled through Arabia, and went to the king of Persia.

Year of the Flood, 2630. Year before Christ, 367.

Nectanebus the last king of Egypt.

NECTANEBUS was scarce seated on the throne, when a Mendesian rose up in opposition to him, with a force consisting of 100,000 men. Nectanebus was now advised by Agesilaus to fall on them immediately, and disperse them before they had formed themselves into a regular body by discipline: but he took it into his head, that Agesilaus intended to betray him, as he had betrayed Tachos, and therefore gave no ear to him. In the mean time, the enemy gathered strength and regular order every day, and became so formidable a body, that Nectanebus was constrained to shut himself up in one of his towns, and endure a siege. He would now have urged Agesilaus to sally out upon

A rebellion against him.

[g] Idem ibid. Diod. ubi supr. p. 506.

upon the beſiegers, that, putting them into diſorder, he might in the mean time march out himſelf and take the field: and becauſe he refuſed to comply, Nectanebus grew more and more jealous of him. The enemy had run their lines almoſt round the town; which when Ageſilaus perceived, he told Nectanebus, that now was his time to ſally out; that by the lines the beſiegers had raiſed, they would not be able to encompaſs him; and that the gap, which was not yet filled up, was wide enough for him to march through with ſafety and convenience. Hereupon a battle enſued, in which the beſiegers were defeated; and the remaining part of the war being left to the management of Ageſilaus, Nectanebus's competitor was every where driven out of the field, and at length taken priſoner. And thus was Nectanebus ſettled in the full and quiet poſ- which is quelled.
ſeſſion of the kingdom of Egypt [h].

In the twelfth year of his reign, the Sidonians and Phœ- He is joined
nicians revolted from the king of Perſia, and entered into by the Sido-
a confederacy with him againſt that monarch. This hap- nians, Phœ-
pened very opportunely for him; for as the Perſians had nicians, and
been in conſtant agitation againſt him, and were now Cypriots, a-
making vaſt preparations to reclaim Egypt, he had a ve- gainſt the
ry good barrier, ſeeing the Perſian forces could not ap- Perſians.
proach his borders, but by marching through Phœnicia. Therefore, to keep up their ſpirits, Nectanebus detached a body of four thouſand Greek mercenaries, under the command of Mentor the Rhodian, to join them, in hopes to manage the war at a diſtance. The Phœnicians, encouraged by this ſupply, drove the Perſians out of their territories [i]; and, immediately after, the Cypriots made themſelves of the alliance againſt Perſia [k]. Darius Ochus, finding that his lieutenants made no progreſs in the ſuppreſſion of theſe revolters, reſolved to head his troops in perſon, keeping his eye chiefly upon Egypt. Mentor the Rhodian, when he heard this and the prodigious numbers of the Perſian army, went over to the king of Perſia, by whom he was kindly received, as one who might do him ſignal ſervice by his knowledge of the country of Egypt, and every thing that related to it: but we are not now on the affairs of Perſia, which will be particularized in their proper place; let us therefore turn our eyes towards Nectanebus. When he found that the king of Perſia was tho-

[h] Idem ibid. Plutarch. ubi ſupr. [i] Diod. lib. 16. p. 531, 532, 533. [k] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 532.

thoroughly reſolved to ruin him, and that he was by all means endeavouring to do it without interruption, and effectually, he got together an army of 100,000 men, conſiſting of 20,000 mercenaries from Greece, as many from Lybia, and the reſt Egyptians; but all of them did not amount to a third part of the Perſian army. With ſome of them he gariſoned his frontier-towns, and with the others he guarded the paſſes through which the Perſians were to march. The Perſian detached three bodies from his army. The firſt of them, commanded by Lachares the Theban, ſat down before Peluſium, gariſoned by five thouſand Greeks. The ſecond, under the command of Nicoſtratus the Argive, embarked on board a ſquadron of the Perſian fleet, and ſailing up the Nile into the midſt of the country, landed there, and made a ſtrong encampment. Hereupon the whole country being alarmed, Clinius of the iſland of Cos muſtered all the neighbouring gariſons, and offered to diſlodge Nicoſtratus from his intrenchments. This led them to a battle, which was fought with great obſtinacy; but at laſt the Egyptians gave way, having loſt Clinius and five thouſand more of their number, and were utterly broken and diſperſed. The loſs of this battle was the ruin of Egypt. For when Nectanebus heard it, he drew off from the paſſes, where he had very prudently poſted himſelf, and marched for Memphis to defend that city againſt Nicoſtratus, whom he feared had a deſign upon that capital with his victorious fleet and army. When the Greek gariſon in Peluſium heard that Nectanebus had deſerted his poſt, they thought there was no further room for hope; and therefore they came to a parley with Lachares, and delivered up the city to him, upon condition that they and their effects ſhould be ſafely conveyed to Greece. Mentor the Rhodian, who commanded the third body of the Perſian detachment, finding the paſſes unguarded, entered the country through them, and cauſing it to be univerſally ſpread abroad, That Ochus would graciouſly receive all that ſubmitted; but utterly cut off ſuch as reſiſted, as he had been known to have done before; both the Egyptians and the Egyptian Greeks ſtrove which ſhould make the moſt humble and ready ſubmiſſion. This when Nectanebus ſaw, he was driven to deſpair, and taking what treaſure he could carry with him, he fled from his palace in Memphis into Ethiopia, and never returned more. He was the very laſt Egyptian that ever governed Egypt, which has ever ſince been

Is invaded by the Perſians,

and flies into Ethiopia.

been under foreign ſubjection. Nectanebus loſt his kingdom by relying too much on himſelf. He, as has been ſhewn, was ſeated on the throne by Ageſilaus: his wars againſt Perſia (for they were always attempting a reduction of Egypt) were managed by the prudence and valour of Diophantus the Athenian, and Lamius the Lacedæmonian; but, arrogating to himſelf a ſhare of their ſucceſſes, he took upon him to act by his own ſuggeſtions [l], and ſo brought ruin upon himſelf, and ignominy and ſlavery upon his ſubjects, even to this day. For henceforward Egypt was a province of Perſia, till Alexander ſubverted that monarchy, and was received by the Egyptians with open arms, as their deliverer from the Perſian tyranny. They never had any tolerable underſtanding with that nation; which, it is likely, may have purely, if not chiefly, been owing to the wide difference between them in religious matters. We now conclude this ſection with the ſevere prediction of the prophet; *There ſhall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt* [m].

Egypt finally reduced by the Perſians. Year of the Flood, 2642. Year before Chriſt, 355.

Submits to Alexander. Year of the Flood, 2660. Year before Chriſt 337.

SECT. VI.

The ſucceſſion of the kings of Egypt, according to the oriental hiſtorians.

AS the oriental hiſtories differ entirely from the Greeks in their accounts of the Egyptian affairs, it may be perhaps deemed an omiſſion, if we ſhould take no notice of the ſeries of the kings of Egypt given us by the Eaſtern writers. Wherefore we ſhall ſet down their names, and briefly mention their principal actions, leaving the reader to judge what credit ought to be given thereto.

SOME [n] write, that before the flood Nakraüs, or Bakraüs, the ſon of Meſr, the ſon of Tarakil, the ſon of Zarayîl, the ſon of Aryân, the ſon of Adam, when contention and violence began to reign among mankind, retired into Egypt with ſeventy eight perſons, and finding it a fine fruitful country, ſettled there, and built a city on the banks of the Nile, which he called after the name of his father. But this city, others ſay, was built after

[l] Idem ubi. ſupr. p. 534, 535.
[m] Ezek. xxx. ver. 13.
[n] Al Soyuti.

after the flood, as will be observed by and by; and that the kings who reigned in Egypt before that destruction, were of the race of Cain. Their names follow.

Antediluvian kings of Egypt.

1. NAKRAUS called also Amasûs; who reigned 180 years.

2. NATRAS, son of Nakraüs, built several cities.

3. MESRAM, brother of Natrâs. These three princes are said to have been great diviners and magicians.

4. AICAM also practised divination. In his reign Edrîs, or Enoch, was translated.

5. ARYAK, son of the preceding prince. In his time the angels Harût and Marût, it is said, came down from heaven [o].

6. HASILIM, who first invented and built a nilometer.

7. HUSAL. In his reign Noah was born.

8. TEDARSAN, son of Hûsál, was the first who cut canals from the Nile.

9. SARKAK.

10. SAHLUK, his son.

11. SAURID, son of Sahlûk. This prince, as the Copts affirm, built the pyramids, and lies buried in one of them, with all his treasures [p].

12. HUJIB, brother of Saurîd; who, as the same people assure us, is buried in the next pyramid [q].

13. MANUS, or Mankaüs.

14. AFRUS, his son.

15. MALINUS, son of Afrûs.

16. PHARAOH, cousin of the last prince; who perished in the flood.

AFTER the flood, Kibt, or Kût (which we imagine to be a mistake for Phût,) one of the sons of Ham, founded a monarchy in Egypt; and the greater part of that nation were his descendants [r]. But after the dispersion, Ham himself went into Egypt, and there begat Beisar; who having settled near the place where he afterwards built Mesr, was declared by the idolatrous inhabitants of the country king of Monf, or Memphis, the most ancient city of Egypt, and the royal seat in the time of Joseph.

Kings

[o] See before, ch. 1. sect. 4. par. 23. in the notes. [p] See before, ch. 3. sect. 1. par. 49, 50. [q] Ibid. [r] Ebn Shohnah.

Kings of Egypt after the deluge.

1. BEISAR, the ſon of Ham, built Meſr; being aſſiſted therein by Cancahendi, or Cancah, the Indian, a perſon famous for his great learning and knowledge in nature, and the inventer of ſeveral noble arts; by whoſe ſkill in architecture this prince erected many magnificent ſtructures.

2. MESR, the ſon of Beiſar, ſucceeded his father. He was ſo named becauſe he happened to be born while the city of Meſr was building. This prince was employed, during his whole reign, in building cities, and warring againſt his enemies. It is ſaid, he divided Egypt among his ſons, giving the middle part to Kift, the upper to Aſhmun, and the lower to Athrîb and Sa.

3. KIFT, or Kibt aſcended the throne on the death of his father Meſr; and from him the Copts received their name.

4. ASHMUN (who ſeems to be the ſame with Eſmunus, or Æſculapius [s],) ſucceeded his brother; though ſome reckon him not among the kings. From him the city Aſhmunain in the upper Egypt took its name.

5. ATHRIB, the ſon of Meſr, built Ain Shams, or Heliopolis, ſome miles diſtant from Meſr. Athribis, the capital of a nome in the lower Egypt, was ſo called from this prince.

6. SANA, or Sa, another ſon of Meſr, is ſuppoſed to have built the city Saïs; and was the firſt who made laws, and eſtabliſhed rules for the government of the ſtate.

7. TEDARIS, or Edris.

8. MALIK.

9. KHARAYA, the ſon of Malîk.

10. KELKELI, the ſon of Kharâya, a wiſe and potent prince. Some ſay, he was the firſt who introduced the uſe of magic, which, others tell us, was firſt taught Solomon by the Genii.

11. HARBIYA, the uncle of Kelkeli; of whom nothing is recorded, but that he was an infidel, and very wicked.

12. TULIS was as bad as his predeceſſor, and a great lover of women; to obtain whom he ſcrupled not, on occaſion, to uſe force. In his reign Abraham came into Egypt, and knowing the king's character, to preſerve the honour

[s] See before, ch. 2. ſect. 3. not. P.

honour of his wife Sarah, ſhut her up in a cheſt, thinking to paſs the guards poſted at the city gate by that means; but they, opening the cheſt, and finding a beautiful woman in it, carried her before the king. Tulis no ſooner ſaw her, than he determined to enjoy her; but was not able to effect his purpoſe, being ſuddenly ſtruck with frigidity; ſo that after he had in vain attempted it thrice, he was obliged to deſiſt, and ſent her back to her huſband, having given her Hagar for a maid-ſervant, as ſome reparation for the affront he had offered her; but ſtill continued an infidel.

13. JURIAK Khatûn, daughter of Tulís.

14. DHALKA, or Zalkâ, daughter of Manûn Khatûn. This princeſs being unable to defend her kingdom, Walîd, the ſon of Thardân, king of the Amalekites, who originally dwelt in Syria, took that opportunity of invading Egypt; and, having ſubdued the Copts, ſeized the crown. Theſe Amalekites ſeem to have been the ſame people who are by the Greek hiſtorians ſtiled Shepherds; whoſe invaſion of Egypt was, in all probability, a famous piece of hiſtory in the eaſt.

15. WALID, the firſt king of Egypt, of the race of Amalek, took the ſurname of Pharaoh, which in the Coptic tongue ſignifies King, and was uſed by all his ſucceſſors. He is ſaid to have been an impious man, and rebellious againſt GOD; and delighting too much in hunting, and paſſing his time abroad and in the deſarts for the ſake of that exerciſe, he was at length ſlain.

16. RIYAN, the ſon of Walíd, ſucceeded his father; and firſt dwelt at Ain Shams, but afterwards removed to Memphis. In his reign Joſeph was ſold into Egypt, and having lain in priſon twelve years, was at length delivered thence, on his interpreting of a dream, and, being brought to court, was made Wazir (or Viſir) in the room of Kolfair, and had the management of the whole kingdom put into his hands. This Riyàn is reported to have embraced the true religion, and to have been a ſtrict adminiſtrator of juſtice. One author [t] tells us, that he ſpoke no leſs than ſeventy different languages; in every one of which he put queſtions to Joſeph, who anſwered him in the ſame. This prince flouriſhed four hundred years before the Pharaoh of Moſes.

17. DA-

[t] Kitab Tafafir.

17. DAREM, the ſon of Riyân was an impious perſon, rebellious againſt heaven, and exceſſively proud; for which he was, by a juſt judgment of GOD, drowned in the Nile.

18. CATHIM, the ſon of Mádân, an Amalekite, was famous throughout the world for the magnificent buildings erected by him. Some aſcribe the pyramids to this prince; adding, that thoſe ſtructures being in after-times propoſed to be demoliſhed, for the ſake of the treaſures hidden in them, that deſign was laid aſide, on a remonſtrance of the wiſe men of the country; who made it appear, that the riches, which might be found in them, would not countervail the charge of pulling them down. Cathim was the laſt king of Egypt, of the race of the Amalekites.

SOME writers ſay, that the Wazir of Cathim ſucceeded to the crown, and was the Pharaoh of Moſes; but the more exact, leaving out both theſe laſt princes, tell us, that Riyân was ſucceeded by his grandſon.

19. KABUS, the ſon of Maſáb [u], who being invited by Joſeph to embrace the true religion, refuſed, and died ſoon after that patriarch. Some hiſtorians will have Kabûs to be the Pharaoh of Moſes, pretending, that he lived ſix hundred and twenty years, and reigned four hundred; which is more reaſonable, at leaſt, than the opinion of thoſe who imagine his father Maſáb, or his grandfather Riyân, to have been that Pharaoh [w],

20. WALID, the brother of Kabûs, is generally ſuppoſed to be that king of Egypt with whom Moſes had to do, and who was drowned in the red ſea. Moſt of the commentators on the Korân tells us, this prince was an Arab, of the tribe of Ad, or, as others ſay, of Amalek, who were alſo Arabians; though ſome pretend he was of Coptic deſcent. What the oriental authors write concerning this Pharaoh, and his conteſts with Moſes, we may take notice of in another place.

21. DALUKA, ſurnamed al Ajûz, or the old woman, of the royal blood, ſucceeded the Pharaoh who periſhed in the red ſea. This queen is ſaid to have been the moſt expert woman of her time in magic. She lived an hundred years; and encompaſſed the city of Meſr with walls, which were looked on as one of the wonders of the world; and ſome attribute the pyramids to her.

22. DARKUN,

[u] Ibid. [w] Kitab Taffir Lebab, et al Keſhaf.

22. Darkun, the ſon of Maltûs, came to the crown very young; and, being of an illuſtrious family among the Copts, was greatly beloved and reverenced by his ſubjects.

23. Tardas reigned a long time.

24. Lofash ſucceeded; but who he was is unknown.

25. Marina.

26. Malus.

27. Manakil.

28. Bula. The actions of theſe ſix laſt kings are not recorded; and there ſeems to be an omiſſion of ſome intermediate princes; as alſo between the two following.

29. Ashyaf; or, as Ebn Shohnah more correctly writes the name, Shiſhâk, was contemporary with Solomon; and after his death took Jeruſalem, and greatly diſtreſſed the Iſraelites.

30. Pharaoh, ſurnamed al Araj, or the lame. In his time Nebuchadnezzar, governour of Babylon, led an army of 600,000 men againſt Jeruſalem, and ſlew a third part of the Iſraelites, carried a third part of them into captivity, and impoſed a tribute on the remaining third. But many of them flying into Egypt, he purſued them thither, and demanded them of Pharaoh; who refuſing to deliver them up, Nebuchadnezzar beſieged his capital city Meſr; and having taken it, hanged him. Then he burnt and demoliſhed the city, and proceeded forward into Africa. Meſr, they ſay, remained deſolate forty years; but was afterwards rebuilt, and the nation ruled by governours, who reſided there, firſt for the kings of Perſia of the ſecond race, called Cayânians; then for Alexander, who conquered Perſia: afterwards for the Greek kings, or Ptolemies; and at length for the Romans, and the Chriſtian emperors of Conſtantinople, who held Egypt, till it was ſubdued by Amru Ebn al As, a general of Omar, the ſecond Khaliff, or ſucceſſor of Mohammed; ever ſince which that kingdom has been in the hands of Mohammedan princes [x].

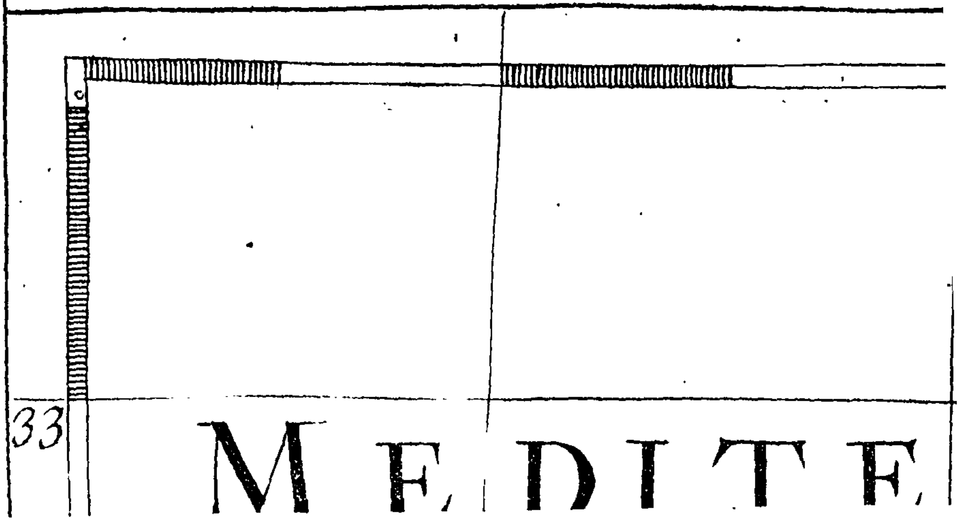
There is a ſeries of the kings of Egypt, ſomewhat different from this, given by a Jewiſh hiſtorian [y]: but as the names are moſt of them corrupted, and ſeem to have been originally taken from the Arab writers, we ſhall not trouble the reader with them; having perhaps already ſaid too much of ſo apocryphal a piece of hiſtory.

CHAP.

[x] Ex libro Mirat. Caiuat dicto. [y] R. Abr. Zacuth, in libro Juchaſin.

P.t 7 th

A MAP of ANCIENT



33

MEDITE

Vol 2.o Place this opposite to p. 278.

A MAP of ANCIENT EGYPT, and its Circumadjacencies according to this History.

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Canopus
The Canopic or Heracleotic Mouth
The Bolbitic
The Sebennytic
Pineht. Boad.
Dicl. Boad.
The Phatnitic
The Mendesian
The Tanitic
The Pelusian
Rhinocolura
Ostracine
Pelusium
Augustamnica
Alexandria
Busiris
Sais
Leontopolis
Tanis
Mendes
Bubastus
Valcratis
Sebennytus
Memphis
Lake Maris
Labyrinth
Arsinoe
Oxyrynchus
Heracleopolis
Cynopolis
Hermopolis
Lycopolis
Antæopolis
Aphroditopolis
Nilopolis
Heliopolis
Babylon
Heroopolis
Plinthine
Casis the lesser
City of Venus
Panopolis
Crocodilopolis
Ptolemais
Thebes
Abydus
Diospolis parva
Coptos
The lesser City of Apollo
Oasis the Greater
Tentyra
Thebes the Great or Diospolis magna
Pampanis
Hermonthis
Typhium
Chnubis
Latopolis
Elethya
The greater City of Apollo
Ombi
Syene
Elephantine
Cataracts the lesser
Philæ

CANAAN
Sea of Tiberias
Dead Sea
AMMON
MOAB
PART OF ARABIA the DESART
EDOM
ARABIA PETRÆA
M. Sinai
The Heroopolitan Gulf
The Elanitic Gulf
THE ARABIAN GULF or RED SEA
PART OF ARABIA the HAPPY

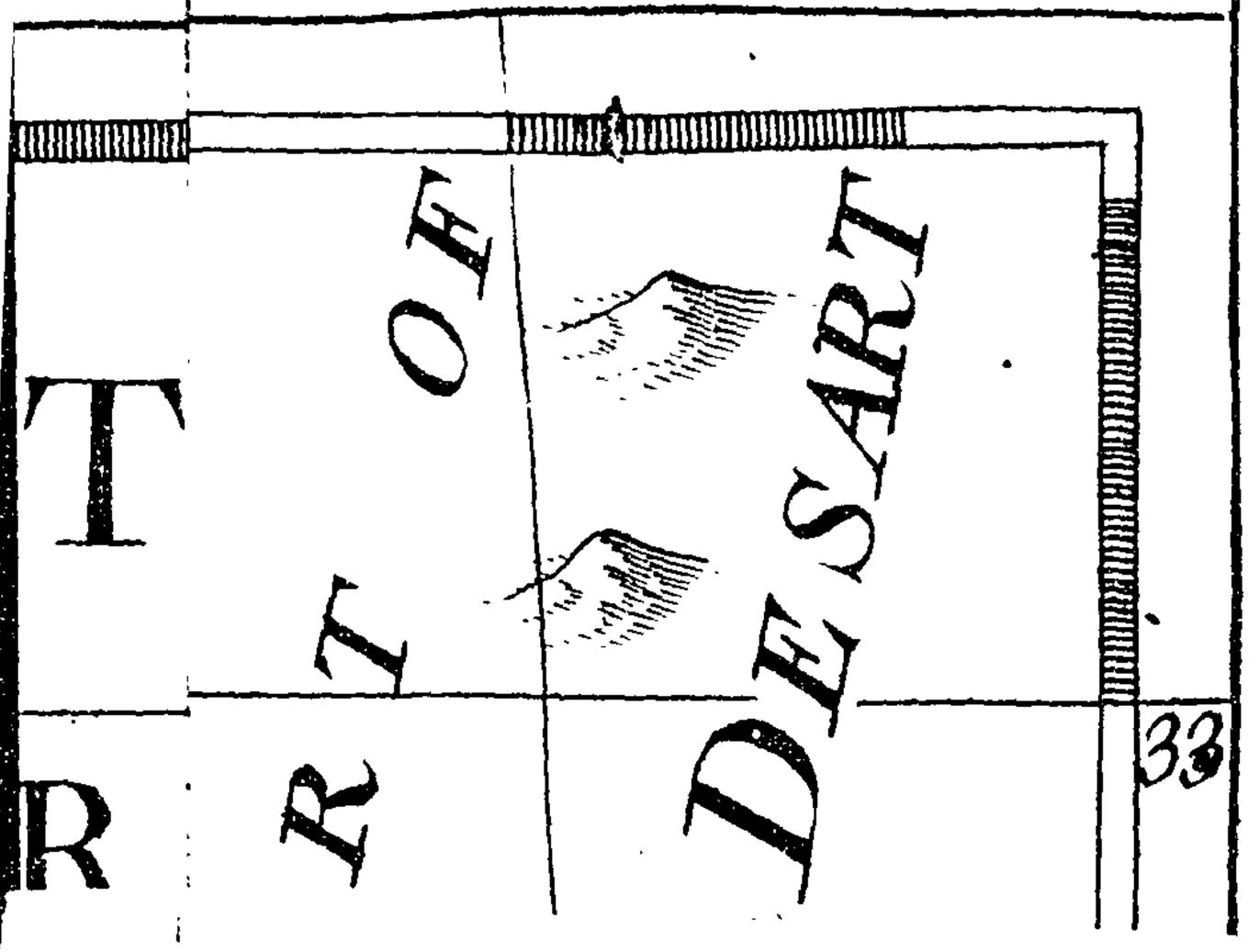
MARE OTIS
Casius
The lesser CATARATHM
LIBYA MARMARICA
HEPTANOMIS
THEBAIS
R. Nile
THE TROPICK OF CANCER

33 32 31 30 29 28 27 26 25 24 23

S. W. Sculp.t

Place this opposite to p. 278.

E History.



CHAP. IV.

The Hiſtory of the Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Edomites, Amalekites, Canaanites, *and* Philiſtines.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory of Moab.

DESIGNING in this chapter to write the hiſtories of thoſe nations with whom the children of Iſrael had to do, before, or upon, their ſettling in the land of Canaan, we ſhall begin with that of the Moabites. The deſcent of the Moabites.

THIS people were deſcended from Moab, the ſon of Lot, by his eldeſt daughter: but, before we mention the occaſion of that inceſt, it may be proper to take the hiſtory a little higher.

LOT was the ſon of Haran, the brother of Abraham [z] and after his father's death was brought by his grandfather, Terah, together with the reſt of his family, from Ur of the Chaldees, their native city, to Haran in Meſopotamia; where Terah dying, Abraham afterwards took his nephew under his protection, and, as Joſephus tells us [a], adopted him, deſpairing of any children of his own. He therefore carried him with him into Canaan [b]; where, after they had dwelt ſome time, they were obliged by a famine to go into Egypt [c]; ſoon after their return from whence, they parted; for their flocks and herds were ſo much encreaſed by this time, and their ſubſtance was ſo great, that they could not dwell together any longer; the paſture and water not being ſufficient for both; which occaſioning diſputes between their herdſmen, Abraham propoſed, to prevent any miſunderſtanding between ſo near relations, that they ſhould ſeparate; and gave Lot the choice of removing to what part of the country he thought fit. Whereupon Lot choſe the plain of Jordan, lying eaſtward of Bethel and Ai, between which [z] The life of Lot their anceſtor.

Abraham

[z] See before, ch. 2. ſect 2. at the latter end. [a] Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. [b] Gen. xii. 4, &c. [c] Gen. xii. 10. & xiii. 1.

Abraham and he then dwelt, and which, at that time, before the terrible destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, was so fruitful and well watered, that it is compared to the land of Egypt, and even to Paradise it self [d]. To this delightful plain or valley therefore Lot came, and pitched his tent not far from Sodom, infamous for the unnatural wickedness of its inhabitants; and afterwards dwelt in the city it self [e]: but that city, with others in the same plain, being not long after taken by Chedorlaomer and his allies, Lot, who, as Josephus tells us [f], assisted the Sodomites, had the misfortune to be taken by the enemy, with his family and all his substance; and had been carried into captivity, had he not been timely rescued by Abraham, who not only delivered him, but recovered all his goods [g]. Notwithstanding this warning, and the abominable wickedness of the inhabitants, Lot still continued to live in Sodom, and had perished in the fearful catastrophe of that people, if he had not been miraculously preserved, and that partly for Abraham's sake [h]. Two angels, who were sent to destroy the place, came to Sodom in the evening, in the appearance of travellers; and Lot, sitting in the gate, no sooner saw them, than he invited and pressed them to be his guests that night, according to the hospitality of the eastern nations. They had scarce refreshed themselves, when the inhabitants of the city, both old and young, being informed that Lot had strangers with him, and in all probability tempted by the beautiful forms which the angels had assumed [i], encompassed the house, and demanded them to be delivered to them, that they might abuse them. Lot endeavoured to dissuade them from their purpose; and, rather than violate the rights of hospitality, offered to give up his two virgin daughters to their discretion, if they would not molest his guests; but, instead of accepting this offer, they came to violence, and pressed forward to break open the door: whereupon the angels suddenly pulled Lot into the house, shut the door, and struck the riotous assembly with blindness (A); so that they sought in vain to find the door, till they were tired.

Whilst

[d] Gen. xiii. 10. [e] Gen. xiv. 12. [f] Antiq. l. 1. c. 10. [g] Gen. xiv. 16, &c. [h] Gen. xix. 29. [i] Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 11.

(A) It is a very probable opinion, that those men were struck, not with actual blindness, but with a dizziness, which disturbed their

WHILST they were thus buſied, the angels acquainted Lot with their commiſſion; that they were ſent to execute the divine vengeance upon that ſink of iniquity; and adviſed him, if he had any friends, for whoſe ſafety he was concerned, that he would immediately let them know their danger, and warn them to depart in time. Whereupon Lot, before it was light, went to his ſons-in-law, to whom his daughters were contracted (B), and, telling them what they muſt expect if they ſtaid longer in the city, earneſtly perſuaded them to leave it: but they, thinking he either laughed at them, or was out of his wits, rejected his advice [k].

THIS circumſtance is the only one which Moſes mentions of Lot's admoniſhing his fellow-citizens; though it is probable this juſt perſon omitted no opportunity of endeavouring their reformation; for it is ſaid, that *in ſeeing and hearing he vexed his righteous ſoul from day to day with their unlawful deeds* [l]: which words give countenance to the tradi-

[k] Gen. xix. 1—14. [l] 2 Pet. ii. 8.

their ſight, and repreſented objects falſely, and in confuſion (1), as were the Syrians, who were ſent to take Eliſha (2): and this is the ſenſe of the Septuagint. The author of the book of Wiſdom ſuppoſes ſome change in the air, ſaying, that they were compaſſed about with horrible great darkneſs, which he compares to that with which Moſes plagued the Egyptians: he adds, that they could not even find the way home; but every one ſought the paſſage of his own doors (3).

(B) The Septuagint, Syriac, Arabic, and other tranſlations, and ſome of the Rabbins ſuppoſe, theſe were the huſbands of other daughters of Lot, who were married, and had left their father's houſe: which ſeems to be confirmed by the angels ordering Lot to take with him his wife and his two daughters which were there preſent (4). But the original words, which in our verſion are rendered his ſons in law which married his daughters (5), may be tranſlated, according to the interpretation of Onkelos, his ſons in law, which were to marry, &c; the contract having been paſſed, but the marriage not conſummated; and there is no mention in ſcripture of any daughters Lot had, except the two who were ſaved with him; but if he had, they muſt have periſhed with their huſbands.

(1) Vide Auguſtin. de civit. Dei. l. 22. c. 19. Heidegg. Hiſt. Patr. T. 2. Exerc. viii. § 16. Cleric. in Loc. (2) 2 Kings vi. 18. (3) Wiſd. xix. 17. (4) Gen. xix. 15. (5) Ibid. ver. 14.

traditions, adopted afterwards by Mohammed, of Lot's being ſent to preach to the inhabitants of Sodom [m].

Lot not having been able to prevail on his ſons-in-law to ſave themſelves; as ſoon as it was day-break, the angels ordered him immediately to depart, with his wife and two daughters, leſt they ſhould be involved in the common ruin: but he delaying to go, being probably intent on preſerving ſome of his moſt valuable goods, the angels haſtily laid hold on them, and brought them out of the city, commanding them to make a ſpeedy eſcape, for that their lives were in danger; and in particular directed them not to look behind them, nor to ſtay in the plain; but to make the beſt of their way to the mountains. Upon which Lot, conſidering the mountains were at a good diſtance, began to fear, he could not reach them time enough, and begged, he might be permitted to eſcape to a ſmall city not far from Sodom, then called Bela, but from this accident Zoar, or the little, which was elſe to have been deſtroyed with the other cities of the plain. This requeſt was granted; and the angels promiſed him, that their commiſſion ſhould not be executed till he got thither; which he did by ſun-riſe. Immediately upon which the fearful deſtruction of thoſe cities enſued: and Lot's wife, contrary to the expreſs command of the angel, looking back, was changed into a pillar of ſalt [n] (C), which Joſephus [o] tells

[m] Korân, c. vii. ver. 81. c. xxvi. ver. 159. c. xxvii. ver. 55. c. xxix. ver. 28, &c. [n] Gen. xix. 15—26. [o] Antiq. l. 1. c. 11.

(C) It is not agreed by commentators what was the crime for which Lot's wife was thus ſeverely puniſhed. Some are of opinion, ſhe deſerved it meerly for diſobeying the command of the angel, and expreſſing too much concern for a people who deſerved no compaſſion (6): which yet ſhe might be the more apt to entertain, as ſhe was probably a native of Sodom (7), and had near relations among them. Others ſay, that being anxiouſly ſolicitous for her daughters, who were married there, and turning about to ſee whether they followed her, ſhe ſaw the divine Shechinah, or majeſtic appearance of God, deſcending to deſtroy the place; which was the occaſion of her metamorphoſis. The writer

(6) Joſ. Ant. l. 1. c. 13. Heidegg. ubi ſupr. § 18. p. 23.
(7) Targum Hieroſol.

tells us was remaining in his days, and that himſelf had ſeen it.

AFTER

writer from whom we take this, calls her Adith (8). Mohammed, from ſome traditions he met with, goes farther, and repreſents her as rebellious to her huſband (9); and the commentators of the Korân, who name her Waïlah, ſay, ſhe was in confederacy with the Sodomites; telling them her huſband was diſtracted, and giving them notice when any ſtrangers came to lodge with him, by a ſign of ſmoke by day, and of fire by night (10); or, according to others, by knocking at the wall, and crying, Give me ſome ſalt (11). Others, however, think the ſcripture does not repreſent the fate this woman met with as a puniſhment for any crime; but ſuppoſe it meerly accidental, as will be obſerved immediately.

The manner of her transformation or death is alſo differently apprehended. From the various acceptations of the word we render pillar, ſome have fancied ſhe was turned into an heap of ſtones (12); others into a pillar (13), without any reſemblance of human ſhape; and a third party have imagined ſhe was changed into a ſtatue (14), having the perfect form of a woman. Nor is there any better agreement as to the matter of this monument, than the figure of it. Some ſuppoſe it to have been of rock ſalt, which laſts a long while, and is not ſubject to be waſted or diſſolved by the weather, as common ſalt is (15). Aben Ezra is of opinion, that Lot's wife was burnt with fire mixed with ſalt; and Grotius is of the ſame ſentiment (16). But others think the word ſalt does not relate to the matter of the pillar or ſtatue, but either deſcribes the place where it ſtood; and then the meaning of the paſſage is no more, than that it was in a ſalt, or barren ſoil (17); or elſe that it ſignifies only the permanency of the ſtatue's duration; as a covenant of ſalt is elſewhere (18) uſed to expreſs a laſting, or perpetual covenant (19). Hence the Rabbins take occaſion, according to their cuſtom, to carry the matter farther, and ſay this ſtatue was deſigned for an everlaſting monument of divine juſtice, and ſhall remain till the day of judgment (20). They add, that though it is continually licked by the cattle, yet it is always miraculouſly repaired again (21); that it has not only the lineaments of a woman, but alſo the diſtinction of ſex, and

(8) R. Eliezer, Pirke, c. 25. (9) Koran, c. 66. (10) Jallaladdin, &c. (11) Pentat. Ebn Sina. (12) Sulpic. Sever. (13) Septuag. (14) Hieron. Onkelos. (15) Vide Watſii Miſcel. Tom. 2. and Howell's Hiſtory of the Bible. (16) Deut. xxix. 22. (17) Pſal. cvii. 34. (18) Numb. xvii. 19. (19) Vide C'erici Diſſert. de ſtatua ſalina. (20) Targ. Hieroſ. (21) R. Eliezer, ubi ſupr. Benjam. Itin. p. 44.

AFTER this cataſtrophe, Lot ſtaid not long in Zoar, fearing ſome further misfortune; but went with his daughters to the mountains on the eaſt of the dead ſea, and dwelt in a cave there. In this ſolitude the two young women ſeeing no hopes of their ever being married (D), and

regular purgations, as if it were alive (22): which fable has been ſwallowed by ſome Chriſtian writers (23). Some late commentators (24), after all, think, that there was no miraculous metamorphoſis at all in the caſe; but that ſhe either turned back out of curioſity to ſee the burning nearer, and ſo periſhed in the dreadful ſhower, or by ſome poiſonous vapour; or elſe that the horror of the ſight, when ſhe looked back, and plainly beheld the terrible deſtruction of a place ſhe had but juſt quitted, ſtruck her ſtiff, and motionleſs like a ſtatue, and that ſhe died of the fright. And as to what is urged from Joſephus (25), and ſome books of travels (26), that this ſtatue or pillar was many ages after, or is now to be, ſeen, it is anſwered, that Joſephus might be deceived therein, as many others have been, and daily are, in things of this nature: which really ſeems to have been the caſe; becauſe the more intelligent and credible travellers ſay they could never ſee it; and when they have aſked the people of the country after it, they either aſſured them there was no ſuch thing (27), or pretended it ſtands ſomewhere in the mountains, where the acceſs to it is very dangerous, becauſe of the wild beaſts and ſerpents, but more ſo on account of the Arabs (28).

(D) Several writers (29) excuſe this act of Lot's daughters, by ſuppoſing what they did was for the reparation of mankind, which, as they thought, had been utterly deſtroyed, and none left, except their father and themſelves. But there is no manner of foundation for ſuch an opinion; wherefore St. Auſtin very juſtly condemns the action, ſaying, they ought never to have been mothers, rather than to have made ſuch uſe of their father (30). One of theſe daughters a Jewiſh writer calls Pelotith (31).

(22) R. Eliezer. ibid. (23) Tertul. vel Auctor Carm. de Sodoma, Irenæus, l. 4. c. 51. (24) Vatablus, Bodinus, P. Simon, Bibl. Crit. T. 4. Let. 44. Clerici Diſſert. de ſtatua ſalina. (25) See alſo Wiſdom, x. 7. (26) Vide Quareſm. Elucid. terræ ſanct. Tom. 2. l. 6. c. 14. (27) Radzivil, Itiner. Hieroſ. p. 95. (28) Bochart, Deſcr. terræ ſanct. p. 1. c. 7. Numb. 24. (29) Joſeph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 12. Chryſoſt. Hom. 34. in Gen. Irenæus, l. 4. c. 51. Ambroſ. de Abrah. l. 1. c. 6. Theodor. in Geneſ. quæſt. 69. c. 5. (30) Auguſt. cont. Fauſt. l. 22. c. 43. (31) R. Jehuda, apud Eliezer, Pirke, c. 25.

and being very deſirous of having children, to want which was reckoned a great reproach and ſcandal in thoſe days, plotted together to deceive their father, and have iſſue by him. Accordingly they put their project in execution; and making him drink wine plentifully one evening, the eldeſt daughter lay down by him the firſt night, and the old man knew not when ſhe lay down, nor when ſhe aroſe: not that we ſuppoſe he was ſo far overcome as not to be ſenſible of what he did, which would have rendered him rather unfit than fit for their purpoſe; but he knew not who it was he lay with, imagining, probably, that it was a ſervant, to make uſe of which was then reckoned no crime. The next night they imployed the ſame artifice, and the youngeſt took her turn. They both proved with child; and from this inceſtuous commerce proceeded two ſons; that of the eldeſt daughter was therefore named Moab, ſignifying (though not in pure Hebrew, yet perhaps in ſome dialect of that tongue) *Of a father*, and was the progenitor of the people we are now ſpeaking of [p].

Of the country poſſeſſed by the Moabites.

THE poſterity of this perſon ſettled in the country bordering on the mountain where he was born, which ſome authors make part of Cœle-Syria [q], others of Arabia [r]; and, having driven out the old inhabitants, poſſeſſed a large tract, thence called Moabitis, or the land of Moab, bounded on the weſt by the mountains, on the eaſt of the lake Aſphaltites, or the Dead-Sea, and by the river Jordan; on the north by the country poſſeſſed by the Ammonites, the deſcendants of Lot by his younger daughter; on the ſouth by the brook, or little river, Zered, which runs into the Dead-Sea, and by the countries of Midian and Edom; and on the eaſt by the deſarts of Arabia; which tract might be about forty miles long, and as many broad. This country, which is chiefly mountainous, intermixed with vallies proper for paſturing of cattle, was given by GOD to the children of Moab; and the Iſraelites, notwithſtanding the great provocations they received from them, were expreſly forbidden to diſturb them [s]. However, by the time of Moſes, the Amorites, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of great part of the land of Ammon, took alſo the adjoining part of the land of Moab, reducing their limits on that ſide to the brook Arnon, called alſo the river of Gad [t], which empties itſelf

[p] Gen. xix. 30—37. [q] Joſeph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 12. [r] Stephan. de urb. in Μωάβ. [s] Deut. ii. 9. Judg. xi. 15. [t] 2 Sam. xxiv. 5.

into the lake Asphaltites, and before passed through the midst of their territories. This the Israelites, seizing on as part of Sihon's kingdom, which was theirs by right of conquest, keep it for several centuries, till recovered by the Moabites, when they brake into the borders of Reuben and Gad, on the declension of the kingdom of Israel, as will be observed hereafter.

THE chief city of Moab was Ar [u], situate on the river Arnon, called also Rabbah [w], or, The Great; and, to distinguish it from a city of the same name in the land of Ammon, Rabbath Moab [x]. In after-times it was called Areopolis [y], by addition of a Greek word signifying a city. The other cities of Moab were Mizpeh, Luthith, Horonaim, and some others, whose situations are not certainly known.

Their government, customs, &c.

THE customs and manner of life of these people we know very little of. They were governed by kings, used circumcision [z], and seem to have employed themselves mostly in pasturage and breeding of cattle, wherein their riches chiefly consisted. They were one of the nations whose good the Jews were forbidden to seek [a]; nor were they to be admitted to intermarry with the Israelites, even to their tenth generations [b]. However, they appear to have cultivated a good understanding with that people after their settlement in Canaan, as appears from the sojourning of Elimelech there [c], and the reception David met with in his troubles at Mizpeh [d]. What language they used we cannot say; but suppose they spoke a dialect of the Canaanitish, or Hebrew.

Their religion.

THAT this people had once the knowledge of the true GOD, we may not only conclude from the piety of their great ancestor, who, without doubt, instructed his offspring in their duty, but it appears from scripture; for they retained this knowledge till the time of Moses, even after they had monstrously corrupted their religion by introducing the worship of false gods [e]; which they seem to have done pretty early, though the time cannot be fixed.

THE idols of the Moabites taken notice of in scripture are Chemosh [f] and Baal-peor [g], sometimes simply Peor [h]; or,

[u] Deut. ii. 9. 18. 29. Numb. xxi. 15, 28. Isaiah xv. 1, &c. [w] Josh. xiii. 25. [x] Hieron. in Moab. [y] Idem Ibid. [z] Jerem. ix. 25, 26. [a] Deut. xxiii. [b] Ibid ver. 3. [c] Ruth i. 1, 2. [d] 1 Sam. xxii. 3, &c. [e] See Numb. xxiv. 11. [f] Numb. xxi. 29. 1 Kings xi. 7. Jerem. xlviii. 13. [g] Numb. xxv. 1, and 3. [h] Ibid ver. 18. Josh. xxii. 17, &c.

or, as the Septuagint write the name, Phegor. But what gods theſe were, learned men are not agreed. St. Jerom ſuppoſes, that they were both names of one and the ſame idol [i]: and from the debaucheries into which thoſe fell who defiled themſelves with their worſhip, ſeveral writers, both ancient and modern, have repreſented them as obſcene deities, not much different from Priapus [k]. This opinion they endeavour to ſupport from the etymologies of the names, and fancy ſome filthineſs is employed therein (E). Others [l], however, imagine, that though the Iſraelites and Solomon were drawn in to worſhip thoſe idols by debauching themſelves with Moabitiſh women [m]; yet it does not thence follow, that any immodeſt ceremonies were uſed in their worſhip; nor are any ſuch mentioned in the moſt ancient authors [n]; and the etymologies, we think, are not much to be built on. Peor was the name of a mountain, where the high places of Baal [o], which word ſignifies no more than Lord, and was a title of the ſun, were ſituate;

[i] Hieronym. in Eſai. l. 5. [k] Idem in Oſeam, & contr. Joven. l 1. c. 12. Origen. in Numer. Homil. 20. Theophylact. in Hoſeam. Cumberland on Sanchon. p. 67, &c. [l] Selden de Diis Syris. Syntag. 1. c. 5. Cleric. in Numer. Patrick's Comment. on Numb. xxv. [m] Numb. xxv. [n] See Patrick's Comment. ubi ſupr. [o] Numb. xxiii. 38.

(E) Peor they derive from פער paar, to open, or ſtretch; becauſe they uſed an indecent poſture before the idol (*diſtendebant coram eo foramen podicis*,) and offered him dung; which the Jews pretend was the worſhip proper to this Idol (31). If this derivation be true, it was moſt probably a name of contempt impoſed by the Jews; and the naſty ceremonies they mention may have been invented to give ſome reaſon for the name.

Chemoſh, for want of a better etymology, they will have to come from the verb משש Maſhaſh, to feel: but Dr. Hyde derives it from the Arabic Khamuſh, which ſignifies gnats (though in the particular dialect of the tribe of Hodail), ſuppoſing it to have been an aſtrological Taliſman in the figure of a gnat, made to drive away thoſe inſects (32): and Le Clerc, who takes this idol for the ſun, from Camoſha, a root in the ſame tongue, ſignifying to be ſwift (33).

(31) Solom. Yarhi in Numer. 25. 3. Maimonides More Nev. part 3. c. 46. Vid. Philon. Jud. de nomin. mutatione, p. 1061. (32) Hyde de rel. vet. perſ. c. 5. p. 131. (33) Cleric in Numb. xxxi. 28.

and probably was added to that name by way of distinction, to denote the deity adored in that place [r], though he had probably also a temple in Beth-Peor, which stood in the plain [q]. Vossius [r] supposes Baal-peor to be Bacchus; and Dr. Cumberland [s] says he was properly called Meon, and will have him to be the same with Menes, Mizraim, and Osiris (F), who, according to his hypothesis, were all one and the same man [t]. Chemosh seems to have been a different idol. Nebo is thought by some to have been another deity of the Moabites. It was, without dispute, an idol of the Babylonians, and possibly the same with Mercury: but whether the Moabites worshipped it is not so certain. There was

[r] Theodoret ad Psal cv. Vid. Suid in Βεελφεγώρ. [q] See Josh. xiii. 17 & 20. [r] De idolatr. l. 2. c. 7. [s] On Sanchon. p. 67. [t] See before, ch. 2. sect. 3. latter end. [u] Isai. xv. 2. Jerem. xlviii. 1——22.

(F) This learned prelate supposes Peor was not his true name; and finding Baal-Meon (34) and Beth-Meon (35), and Beth-Baal-Meon (36), mentioned in scripture, as a place lying within the old territories of Moab, concludes Meon was the proper, or honourable, title of this deity, whom he will have to be the same with Osiris, because of the obscene processions used in honour of the latter, agreeing very well with the immodest ceremonies used in the worship of the former, and from the affinity between the names of Meon and Menes, The chief reason he gives, why Meon was the name of an idol, and the same with Peor, are, 1. The Septuagint and Arabic versions have Meon for a proper name or title of a deity (37). 2. The Targum of Jonathan (38) calls Baal-Meon a city of Balak in which Israel destroyed the idol Peor in the house of altars. 3. Meon was so great a title of honour, that it is given to God himself in scripture (39), though it is translated dwelling-place. But we think nothing can be concluded from passages where the word is plainly an appellative. 4. Beth-Meon signifies the house or temple of Meon; and no other than a supposed deity can be said to have a temple dedicated to it. Yet there are several names of places compounded with the word Beth, which have no relation at all to idols. 5. The Israelites changed the name of the city Baal-Meon, when they had rebuilt it, as they did that of Nebo, because they were so named from false gods (40). But this is no necessary consequence.

(34). Numb. xxxii. 38. 1 Chron. v. 8. Ezek. xxv. 9. (35) Jerem, xlviii. 23. (36) Josh. xiii 17. (37) Ibid. 1 Chron. v. 8. Jerem. xlviii. 23. (38) On Numb. xxxii, xxxviii. (39) Psal. xc. 1, and xci, 9. (40) See Cumberland on Sanchon. chap. 2.

was a town of this name in that part of the ancient dominions of Moab, conquered by Sihon, which the Iſraelites rebuilt, and changed its name [u]; and a part of mount Abarim in the ſame tract was alſo called Nebo.

Of their religious rights and ceremonies we can ſay very little. The obſcenity attributed to them by ſome authors we have already mentioned; of which, however, the Pſalmiſt takes notice, in ſpeaking of thoſe who *were joined* to Baal-peor; but ſays only, that they *eat the offerings of the dead*: by which words he may either mean, that the idol, to which they impiouſly gave divine honour, was no more than a dead man; or elſe that their oblations were made to the infernal gods. They ſacrificed both in the open air, on mountains dedicated to that ſervice [w], and alſo in temples built to their idols in their cities; and, beſides oxen and rams, on extraordinary occaſions offered human victims, according to the Phœnician cuſtom; an inſtance of which will be given by and by.

The Moabites drive out the Emims.

The firſt inhabitants of the land, afterwards poſſeſſed by the poſterity of Moab, were the Emims, a great and powerful people and of extraordinary ſtrength and ſtature [x]. They were, moſt probably, deſcendants of Ham, and of the ſame gigantic race with the Anakins and Rephaims, though the Moabites called them by the name of Emims [y], which in Hebrew ſignifies terrible. Theſe having been much weakened by the invaſion of Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and his allies [z], became the eaſier conqueſt to the Moabites; who drove them out, and took poſſeſſion of their country; but about what time is uncertain. However, they kept not their new dominions long entire; for in the days of Moſes, Sihon king of the Amorites, who bordered on them eaſtward, fought againſt the king of Moab, the predeceſſor of Balak, and took from that nation all their land, to the north of the river Arnon [a].

But loſe part of their acquiſitions to the Amorites.

Balak ſends to Balaam to curſe the Iſraelites

Year of the Flood 1547. Year before Chriſt, 1451.

Balak, the ſon of Zippor, was on the throne of Moab when the Iſraelites, having ſubdued Sihon, were incamped in part of their new acquiſitions, called the plains of Moab, becauſe they had lately belonged to that nation [b]. This prince being exceedingly diſmayed at the approach of the victorious people, whom he was not in a condition to reſiſt, and not knowing that God had forbidden them to attempt

[u] Iſai. xlvi. 1. Pſal. cvi. 28. [w] See Numb. xxii. 41. & xxiii. 2. [x] Deut. ii. 10. [y] Ibid. 10, 11. [z] Gen. xiv. 5. [a] Numb. xxi. 26. [b] Numb. xxii. 1.

the conqueſt of his remaining territories, aſſembled the nobles, and alſo the princes of the Midianites (a branch of which nation dwelt within the borders of Moab, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter), and acquainted them with his apprehenſions, that the Iſraelites ſhould, as he expreſſed it, *lick up all that were round about them, as the ox licketh up the graſs of the field.* Having conſulted together, and not daring to truſt to their arms alone, the aſſembly agreed to ſend for Balaam, the ſon of Beor, a famous prophet (G), or diviner, of that time, in the prevalency of whoſe prayers and imprecations they had great confidence, that he might come and curſe the people, which gave them ſo much

(G) Some Jews imagine this Balaam was an aſtrologer, who obſerving when men were under a bad aſpect of the ſtars, pronounced a curſe upon them; which, ſometimes coming to paſs, in neighbouring nations gained him a great reputation. Several of the ancient fathers ſuppoſe him to have been no more than a common ſoothſayer (41), who pretended to foretel future events, but by no juſtifiable arts. Origen will have it, that he was no prophet, but only a ſorcerer, who went to enquire of the devil; but that God was leaſed to prevent him, and to put what anſwer he thought fit into his mouth. It cannot be denied, however, but that the ſcripture expreſly calls him a prophet; and therefore ſome later writers (42) are of opinion, that he had been once a good man, and a true prophet, till, loving the wages of unrighteouſneſs (43, and proſtituting the honour of God to his covetouſneſs, he apoſtatized from God, and, betaking himſelf to idolatrous practices, fell under the deluſion of the devil, of whom he learned all his magical enchantments; though at this Juncture, when the preſervation of his people was concerned, it might conſiſt with God's wiſdom to appear to him, and vouchſafe him revelations. Balaam indeed was a man of no great probity, and might by profeſſion be a diviner; but, by the free acceſs he had to God, it ſeems apparent, that he was no common ſorcerer or magician (44).

The Jews ſay Balaam was not his true name; but that he was ſo called, becauſe by his counſel בלע עם Balaam, i. e. he deſtroyed the people of God (45): and ſome have taken him to be

(41) See Joſeph. 13. 22. (42) See Patrick's Comment. on Numb. xxii. (43) 2 Pet. ii. 15. (44) Stackhouſe's Body of Divinity, p. 465, &c. (45) Vide Hottinger. Smegma Orient. P 444.

much uneaſineſs (H). Accordingly ambaſſadors of both nations were ſent, not empty handed, but with preſents, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, to Balaam, who dwelt at Pethor, a city of Meſopotamia, ſituate on the Euphrates [c], and told him the occaſion of their coming. The prophet deſired them to ſtay with him that night, that he might enquire of GOD, whether he ſhould go with them and curſe the Iſraelites or not: but being commanded not to go, nor to curſe a people whom GOD had determined to bleſs; the next morning he told them, he could not diſobey the divine command, and ſo diſmiſſed them. On their return with this anſwer, Balak, whoſe ſole hopes lay in the prophet, ſent a ſecond embaſſy to him, conſiſting of perſons of more diſtinguiſhed quality, and in greater number, with promiſes of great riches and preferment, if he would comply with his requeſt. Balaam told them, that if he might gain ever ſo much wealth, he durſt not act contrary to the divine directions: however, being willing to gratify Balak, and tempted by the large offers which had been made him, notwithſtanding he knew it was a thing diſagreeable to GOD, yet he conſulted the oracle once more, and had then leave given him to go, provided he ſaid nothing, but what GOD ſhould put in his mouth. Balaam therefore went with the ambaſſadors, reſolving, as it ſeems, with himſelf, to do his utmoſt for the ſervice of thoſe who had employed him. But his intentions being diſpleaſing to GOD, he ſent an angel to withſtand him by the way, who placed himſelf in the road with a drawn ſword in his hand, as Balaam came riding on his aſs,

[c] Geneſ. xv. 10, 18. Joſh. 24. 2—15.

be the ſame perſon who in the book of Job is named Eliſha (46). The prophetical traditions of Balaam the Perſian Magi are ſaid to have had (47), and it is thought, that from his prophecy (48) the wiſe men knew the ſignification of the ſtar which appeared at our Saviour's birth (49).

(H) It was a received opinion among the heathen nations, that imprecations might be made which would have effect, not only on private perſons, but even whole armies and nations; and there were particular forms and ceremonies for that purpoſe (50).

(46) See Patrick's Comment. ubi ſupr. (47) D' Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 528. (48) Numb. xxiv. 17. (49) Theodor. Tarſenſis, apud Hyde de rel vet. Perſ. p. 384. (50) Vid. Macrob. Saturn. l. 3. c. 9. Plutarch, in vita Craſſi, p. 553.

aſs, attended by two ſervants only, and at a diſtance from the reſt of the company; the aſs ſeeing the angel (though her maſter did not) turned out of the way into the field; on which Balaam ſtruck her: then the angel went forward, and ſtood in a path between two walls; againſt one of which the aſs thruſting her ſelf to avoid the angel, cruſhed Balaam's foot, and provoked him to ſtrike her again. At length the angel went farther, and ſtood in a place ſo narrow, that there was no room for the aſs to turn out of the way; but ſhe fell down under the prophet, and enraged him ſo, that he ſtruck her a third time. Whereupon GOD miraculouſly opened the aſs's mouth (I), and ſhe ſpoke to her maſter with an articulate voice, and aſked him, why he had given her thoſe three blows? Balaam, in the heat of his paſſion not conſidering the prodigy (K), angrily anſwered, that ſhe had purpoſely provoked him; and wiſhed he had a ſword to kill her. But on the aſs's demanding if ever ſhe had ſerved him in that manner before, he confeſſed that ſhe had not. Immediately on this Balaam's eyes were opened, and he ſaw the angel ſtanding before him armed with a naked

(I) This was ſo extraordinary an event, that ſome Jews, as great lovers of miracles as they are, have not been able to perſwade themſelves that it really came to paſs. Philo *(50)*, in relating the ſtory of Balaam, wholly omits this circumſtance; and Maimonides (51) pretends it happened to Balaam in a prophetical viſion. But as there is no doubt of God's power to effect ſuch a miracle, and the words of ſcripture are very expreſs, there can be no reaſon for diſbelieving it. The heathens cannot reproach Moſes with any abſurdity in this ſtory, ſince they themſelves relate ſo many of the like nature, but not near ſo well ſupported. Witneſs what they ſay of the aſs upon which Bacchus rode; of the ram of Phryxus; the bull of Europa; the horſes of Achilles and Adraſtus; the elephant of Porus in India, and the lamb in Egypt when Bocchoris reigned there *(52)*.

(K) This ſeems to be the true reaſon why Balaam expreſſed no more ſurprize on this occaſion. But ſome ſuppoſe Balaam might have imbibed the doctrine of tranſmigration of ſouls, which was, and ſtill is, too common in the eaſt, and from thence might be the leſs aſtoniſhed to hear a brute ſpeak *(53)*. Joſephus indeed tells us, but without authority, that he was affrighted at the accident *(54)*.

(50) De vita Moſis, l. 1. *(51)* More Nevoch. part. 2 cap. 42. *(52)* See Patrick's Comment. ubi ſupr. *(53)* Vide Clerici Comment. in locum. (54) Joſeph. Ant. l. 1. c. 10.

naked sword; whereupon he fell prostrate on his face, and the angel told him, that he had struck his ass without cause, since it was he that opposed him because of his perverseness; and that if the ass had not turned out of the way he should have killed him, and saved her alive (L). The prophet on this reprimand offered to return home again; but the angel bid him go on, taking care only to say no more than what GOD should direct him [d].

BALAAM being come to the borders of Moab, Balak went out to meet him; and, after some expostulations for not coming on the first message, brought him to Kirjath-huzzoth, where the king offered sacrifices, and feasted Balaam and the princes who were with him. The next day Balak brought the prophet up into the high places of Baal on mount Abarim, where he might have a full prospect of the camp of the Israelites, whom he had hired him to curse [e]. There Balak, by the prophet's direction, built seven altars, in which number there might possibly be some superstition; but the altars, as it appears, were erected to the true GOD, to whom they offered a bullock and a ram to each altar; and the same they did afterwards in two other places on the mountain. The two first times Balaam sought for enchantments [f], or used such means as he was able, to obtain leave of GOD to curse the children of Israel; but without success; for on the contrary he was commanded to bless them, sore against his inclination, and to the great mortification of Balak [g]. Wherefore the third time, finding that no enchantments could prevail against Jacob, nor any divination against Israel, he omitted his former arts, and not only blessed them a third time, but pronounced those cursed who should utter any imprecations against that people. Balak was exceedingly enraged at this disappointment, and ordered him to depart immediately; but Balaam, before he went, pronounced in Balak's presence a noble and magnificent prophecy of the future successes of the Israelites, and what should befall several nations and kingdoms [h]. As to Moab in particular, he foretold, *that*

[d] Numb. xxii. 2. 35. [e] Numb. xxii 36—41. [f] See before ch. 4. sect. 5. par. 54. [g] Numb. xxiii. [h] Ibid. c. 24.

(L) An instance of a prophet's being slain for disobedience, and his ass being saved alive, we have in the first book of Kings (55).

(55) Chap. xiii. 23, &c.

that a ſtar (M) *ſhould come out of Jacob, and a ſceptre ſhould ariſe out of Iſrael, which ſhould ſmite the corners* (or, as it may be better tranſlated, *the princes) of Moab, and deſtroy all the children of Seth* [i] (N). Which prophecy the moſt judicious interpreters take to be primarily ſpoken of David, and fulfilled by his victories over that nation; though it be allowed alſo ſecondarily, and in a more exalted ſenſe, to refer to the Meſſiah. After this Balaam returned home [k], but not without giving a moſt wicked counſel (O) to Balak and the Midianites, which proved very pernicious

[i] Ibid. ver. 17. [k] Ibid. ver. 25.

(M) The eaſtern nations denoted a king by a ſtar or comet, the appearance of which they thought portended the riſe of great princes, and the revolutions of empires (56).

(N) According to the genius of the Hebrew tongue, wherein it is elegant to repeat the ſame ſentence in different expreſſions, by the children of Seth, the Moabites ſhould be intended; but why they are ſo called we cannot find. There is a paſſage in Jeremiah, which ſeems to prove, that in his time this place was differently read. A fire, ſays that prophet, ſhall come out of Heſhbon, a flame from the midſt of Sihon, which ſhall devour the corner of Moab, and the crown of the head of the tumultuous ones, or, as is better rendered in the margin, of the children of noiſe (57). The former part of this paſſage is taken from another text (58), and the latter from that which we are now ſpeaking of. The difference between them is very little in the original: Jeremiah inſtead of קרקר karkar, ſhall deſtroy, having קדקד kadkod, the crown of the head (which is the reading of the Samaritan pentateuch in this very place) and inſtead of שת Seth, שאון Shaon, noiſe. But we dare not hence make any correction.

(O) Though Moſes mentions not this where he deſcribes the interview between Balaam and Balak, yet in another place (59) he lays the whole blame on Balaam, ſaying, that the Iſraelites treſpaſſed through his counſel. Joſephus is very particular in relating this circumſtance, and tells us, that Balaam bethought himſelf of it when he came to the Euphrates, and thence ſent to ſpeak with Balak and the princes of Midian (60). The Targum of Jonathan and that of Jeruſalem ſuppoſe he gave this counſel juſt before he pronounced the laſt prophecy; and that the ſame is intimated by theſe words, I will adviſe, or counſel thee (61).

(56) Vide Cleric. in loc. (57) Jerem. xlviii. 45. (58) Numb. xxi. 28. (59) Numb. xxxi. 16. See alſo Revel. ii. 14. (60) Joſeph. Antiq. l. 4. c. 6. (61) Numb. xxiv. 14. Vid. etiam Cleric. in loc.

pernicious to the children of Iſrael: for he told them, that it was in vain to expect that GOD would ever deſert that nation, ſo long as they continued in their duty; and therefore the only way to hurt and diſtreſs them would be to tempt them to idolatry and diſobedience, which he thought no means ſo proper to effect, as by enticing them to debaucheries with the Moabitiſh and Midianitiſh women. And therefore he adviſed them to ſend the moſt beautiful virgins they could find to the Iſraelitiſh camp, with proper inſtructions [l].

THIS was put in execution; the chief men among them making no ſcruple to proſtitute their daughters on this occaſion [m]: and the ſtratagem ſucceeded but too well. For the Iſraelites were immediately ſmitten with the charms of theſe fair idolatreſſes; and, having began to commit whoredom with them, were eaſily ſeduced in another point, and prevailed on to comply with the worſhip of their falſe gods. This occaſioned a dreadful plague, which deſtroyed 24,000 of them, beſides thoſe who were put to death by the order of Moſes [n].

THEIR hiring of Balaam to curſe Iſrael was the reaſon, why the Moabites were not to be admitted to mix, or intermarry, with that people, as has been obſerved [o]; but the Midianites, who ſeem to have been more particularly the inſtruments of ſeducing them to idolatry, were more ſeverely puniſhed ſoon after, as will be related in a more proper place: and Balaam himſelf had his reward, being ſlain by the Iſraelites, when they took their revenge on Midian [p].

THE next action which is recorded of the Moabites is, that they were the inſtruments of the ſecond oppreſſion of the Iſraelites after their ſettlement in the land of Canaan. For that people, on the death of Othniel the ſon of Kenaz, being without a head, returned again to idolatry; whereupon GOD raiſed up Eglon king of Moab to puniſh them. This prince therefore having entered into an alliance with the Ammonites and Amalekites his neighbours, with their aſſiſtance ſucceſsfully invaded Iſrael, and ſeized on the eaſtern part of their country, and particularly on a city called by Moſes the city of palm trees, by which is gene-

rally

[l] Joſeph. Antiq. l. 4. c. 6. [m] Numb. xxv. 15. [n] Ibid. ver. 1—5. [o] See before, ch. 3. ſect. 3. par. 50. [p] Numb. xxxi. 8. Joſeph. Antiq. l. 5. c. 5.

rally understood Jericho (P), which was in the lot of the tribe of Benjamin; and having left garisons to keep the inhabitants in subjection, obliged them to pay tribute, and exercised great tyranny over them for no less than eighteen years. At the expiration of which time, the children of Israel, returning to a better mind, had recourse to God in their distress, who raised up to them a deliverer, a Benjamite, named Ehud. This person, being deputed by his countrymen to carry a present, or rather the tribute which was exacted of them, to Eglon, formed the design of freeing them from the intolerable oppression they had so long undergone, by taking off their tyrant; he therefore provided himself with a dagger fit for the execution of his purpose, though short enough to be hidden under his garments; and, being left-handed, he girt it on his right thigh, which also gave the less suspicion of his being armed. Having delivered the tribute to the king, he sent away those who had brought it, and followed them so far homewards as the quarries near Gilgal (Q); but when he came thither he turned back again, and being admitted into the king's presence, who was then in a summer apartment, he pretended to have something to impart to him in private. Whereupon Eglon ordered his attendants to withdraw: and Ehud told him, that he had a message to deliver him from God; which the king rising from his seat to receive, Ehud stabbed him with his dagger in the belly, and that with so violent a thrust, that the haft went

(P) Jericho was famous among other things for the great numbers of palm trees of different kinds which grew in its neighbourhood (62). Josephus says, that Eglon removed his court to this city (63): but he seems to have been mistaken: for after it had been burnt by Joshua (64). who cursed the person that should rebuild it (65), it lay in ruins till the days of Ahab (66). However, the place might serve for a garison to keep the country in awe, for which use it was very well situated.

(Q) The word Pesilim which in our version is rendered the quarries, is by the Septuagint translated τὰ γλυπτὰ, and in the vulgate, the idols, the sculptures, which some suppose to have been set up there by Eglon (67).

(62) Deut. xxxiv. 3. Joseph. de bello Jud. l. 5. c. 4. (63) Idem Antiq. l. 5. c. 5. (64) Josh. vi. 24. (65) Ibid. ver. 26. (66) 1 Kings xvi. 34. (67) Chytræus, &c. See before, ch. 3. sect. 3. par. 52. in the notes in loc.

went in after the blade; and, Eglon being a very fat man, the fat cloſed upon it, ſo that he was obliged to leave it in his body. Having thus executed his purpoſe, he locked the door of the apartment upon the king, and went out unſuſpected (R). The ſervants, after Ehud was gone, coming, and finding the door locked, concluded the king was eaſing himſelf, and therefore waited at the door till they were aſhamed; but at length they opened it, and found their maſter breathleſs on the floor. Ehud in the mean time eſcaped beyond Jordan, and gathering together what forces he could, attacked the Moabites, that were gariſoned on the weſt of the river within the land of Canaan, and ſlew ten thouſand of their beſt men; which utterly broke the power of Moab, and freed the Iſraelites from the yoke of that nation [q].

We hear no more of the Moabites after this diſaſter till the time of Saul, who warred againſt them with ſucceſs [r]. The enmity which ſubſiſted between him and this nation probably induced David, when perſecuted by that prince, to aſk the king of Moab's protection for his parents, till his affairs ſhould be in a better poſture [s]; which the Moabites readily granted, and treated them with great hoſpitality, while David lay in the cave of Adullam. However, when he came to the crown, the Moabites entered into a confederacy againſt him with ſeveral of the neighbouring nations [t]: whereupon he declared war againſt them; and, having obtained a ſignal victory, put two thirds of them to the ſword (S), and made the reſt his vaſſals and tributaries [u].

From.

[q] Judges. iii. 12—30. [r] 1 Sam. xiv. 47. [s] 1 Sam. xxii. 3, 4. Joſeph. Antiq. l. 6. c. 14. [t] Pſal. lxxxiii. 5, 6, &c. [u] 2 Sam. viii. 2.

R) This action of Ehud ſome juſtify, by ſuppoſing he had God's expreſs command for it (68). But, as the ſcripture intimates no ſuch thing, others think he might lawfully rid his country of a tyrant, who had unjuſtly enſlaved it, by any means (69). A poſition which may encourage aſſaſſinations in every caſe, where the actor judges the cauſe he engages in to be righteous.

(S) This is the meaning of the ſacred hiſtorian, when he ſays, "That David meaſured them with a line, calling them down to "the ground; even with two lines meaſured he, to put to death; "and

(68) Vid. Patrick in loc. (69) Cleric in loc.

FROM this time they continued ſubject to Solomon and Rehoboam, till the revolt of the ten tribes; upon which it ſeems they became tributaries to the kings of Iſrael, though they had all along kings of their own, which were little better than viceroys. Meſha one of them paid Ahab a yearly tribute of 100,000 lambs, and as many weathers, with the wool; his riches conſiſting chiefly in ſheep [w]. But when Ahab was dead he rebelled againſt his ſon Ahaziah [x], whoſe ſhort reign not permitting any attempt to reduce him, his brother and ſucceſſor Jehoram, aſſiſted by Jehoſhaphat king of Judah his ally, and the king of Edom, his tributary, made an expedition for that purpoſe, and took a compaſs of ſeven days march through the deſart of Edom, in order to ſurprize the enemy. Having reached the land of Moab, the army was diſtreſſed for want of water, and muſt have periſhed, had not the prophet Eliſha obtained a ſudden and large ſupply for them by a land-flood. The Moabites, being by this time alarmed, got together all that were able to bear arms, and early in the morning, ſeeing the water to the weſtward look red, like blood, by reaſon of the reflection of the ſun, and never ſuſpecting it to be water in that dry deſart, and in ſo great a quantity, they immediately took it to be blood, and ſuppoſing the confederated princes had fallen out, and turned their arms againſt one another, concluded, they had no more to do than to take the ſpoil. On this imagination they ran in confuſion to the camp of Iſrael, but ſoon found their miſtake; for not being able to ſuſtain the firſt attack of the Iſraelites, they preſently turned their backs, and great numbers of them were ſlain by the enemy, who purſued them into the very heart of their country,

[w] 2 Kings iii. 4. [x] 2 Kings i. 1, & iii. 5.

" and with one full line to keep alive." It ſeems to have been a cuſtom in the eaſt, to order the priſoners of war to lie down, and to meaſure by a line ſuch a part of them as they deſigned to put to death. Le Clerc thinks this probably was a juſt retaliation for ſome cruelties of the ſame kind which the Moabites had been guilty of. As the ſcripture does not ſay whether David put to death two thirds of the whole nation, or only of thoſe who appeared in arms againſt him; it is more for the honour of that prince to ſuppoſe the latter (70).

(70) Idem, in 2 Sam. viii. 2.

try, waſted their lands, and demoliſhed their cities, except Kir-Haraſeth, where the king of Moab ſhut himſelf up. Meſha, being beſieged and cloſely preſſed, made a ſally with 700 choice men, and endeavoured to eſcape, by breaking through the quarters of the Edomites, which were the weakeſt; but failing in the attempt, in the height of deſpair he took his eldeſt ſon, who ſhould have ſucceeded him in the throne, and offered him for a burnt-ſacrifice on the wall (T). Which barbarous act raiſed ſuch horror and indignation in his enemies, that they immediately raiſed the ſiege, and returned home [y].

It was not long before the Moabites attempted to revenge the loſſes, they had ſuſtained in this invaſion, on Jehoſhaphat king of Judah (U), by whoſe aſſiſtance chiefly Jehoram was enabled to undertake it; and, to ſtrengthen themſelves, entered into alliance with the Ammonites, the Edomites of mount Seir (who were almoſt ripe for rebellion, and actually did rebel againſt Jehoſhaphat's ſon), and ſome other neighbouring nations (W), and formed a very large

[y] Ibid. ver. 6, 27. Joſeph. Antiq. l. 9. c. 1.

(T) Several writers (71) ſuppoſe Meſha did not ſacrifice his own ſon, but the ſon of the king of Edom, whom, they ſay, he took in the ſally; and that this is the ſame action with that mentioned by the prophet Amos, who threateneth Moab, becauſe he burnt the bones of the king of Edom into lime (72). But they ſeem to be different actions; for, not to inſiſt on the ſtrict acceptation of the two paſſages, one ſpeaking of a king of Edom, and the other of a king's ſon, it was a known cuſtom in ancient times, for princes, in extreme calamities of the public, to offer their moſt beloved child as an expiatory ſacrifice, to avert the impending vengeance of the gods (73).

(U) Some make this action prior to the invaſion of Moab by this prince and Jehoram; but we ſhall elſewhere ſhew that it ought to be placed after it.

(W) Who theſe nations were is uncertain. The original word Mehaammonium ſhould be tranſlated (as it is in the Vulgate) with the Ammonites, were it not that the children of Ammon are men-

(71) See the Argument to the iii chap. of 2 Kings, in the Engliſh Bible; and Uſher's Annals, ad Annum Mundi, &c. (72) Amos ii. 1. (73) See before, ch. 2. ſect. 3. par. 20. Vide etiam Porphyr. de Abſtin. l. 2. Ælian. var. Hiſt. l. 12. c. 28. Juſtin. l. 18. c. 6. Plut. in Pelopida, &c.

large army, carrying on their design with such secrecy and dispatch, that they were entered the kingdom by the way of Edom, and were got to Hahazon-tamar, or Engedi, on the west of the dead Sea, before Jehoshaphat had any advice of their motion. That good prince was greatly dismayed at the news, and, being unprepared for the reception of his enemies, had recourse to GOD, who promised him by the prophet Jahaziel to deliver him from his enemies, without his striking a blow. And it happened accordingly: for while Jehoshaphat and his army, in confidence of the prophecy, were marching towards the enemy, with the priests and singers at their head, praising GOD, the several nations that had leagued against them destroyed one another, by falling into the ambushes which themselves had set against the men of Judah; so that the Ammonites and Moabites first fell upon their confederates of Edom; and, having put them to the sword, began to cut one another's throats till none were left alive. And when Jehoshaphat and his people came up with them, they had no more to do than to seize the plunder, which was very rich, and in such abundance that they were three days in gathering it [z].

AFTER

[z] 2 Chron. xx. 1—25. Joseph. ubi supr.

mentioned before. To avoid the absurdity of which repetition, the Septuagint, if their copies were not different from the present Hebrew in this place, render it some of the Minæans; of which name Bochart supposes there were two people, one of the race of Shem, dwelling in Arabia felix, and the other of the race of Ham, who settled in Arabia petrea, and are meant in this place, being, as he thinks, by the Jews called Meonim, which word occurs in two places of the book of Chronicles (74) (though the English translation in the first place takes it for an appellative, and renders it the habitations), and is in both by the Septuagint translated Minæans. Wherefore Bochart prefers the Greek reading in the passage before us to the Hebrew; being of opinion, that there is a transposition of the letters Mim and Ain (75). The Chaldee paraphrast has it, with the Edomites. But there seems to be no occasion for any change, since the particle prefixed may, agreeably to its force elsewhere, be rendered beyond or besides (76); for which reason the English Version is judged to have rightly interpreted the words, and others besiege the Ammonites.

(74) 1 Chron. iv. 41. 2 Chron. xxvi. 7. (75) Bochart. Phaleg. l. 2. c. 23. (76) Vide Cleric. in loc.

AFTER this we do not find, that the Moabites diſturbed Iſrael for many years; however, between this and the reign of Uzziah king of Judah, they had invaded their neighbours of Edom; and having the better of them, inhumanly burnt their king (whether alive or dead is not ſaid), and reduced his bones to aſhes: for which piece of cruelty GOD denounced ſevere judgments againſt them by the prophet Amos [a]. And on the declenſion of the kingdom of Iſrael, they alſo ſeem to have retaken, from the tribes of Reuben and Gad, great part of the land which had formerly belonged to them before the invaſion of Sihon; for in the prophecies of Iſaiah and Jeremiah againſt Moab ſeveral cities in thoſe territories are mentioned, as then in the poſſeſſion of that nation, or of the Ammonites [b], who were probably their confederates in oppreſſing the Iſraelites. Theſe ſucceſſes elated the Moabites ſo much, that for their pride and inſolence GOD threatened them with utter deſtruction, by ſeveral of his prophets [c]: And Iſaiah in particular foretold, that within three years Ar and Kir-Haraſheth, two of their principal cities, ſhould be deſtroyed, and the reſt of their country brought to contempt and deſolation [d]. This prophecy being dated in the firſt year of king Hezekiah [e], muſt have been executed the very year that Samaria was firſt beſieged by Salmaneſer king of Aſſyria, who probably ſubjected Moab, and placed gariſons in thoſe towns, to ſtop the incurſions which the Arabs might that way make on him, before he began the ſiege [f].

AFTER the fearful deſtruction of the army of Sennacherib the ſon of Salmaneſer, the Moabites often revolted from his ſucceſſors, and were as often reduced, till they were entirely ſubdued by Nebuchadnezzar, into whoſe hands their king was given, according to a prediction of Jeremiah [g], the fifth year after his taking Jeruſalem [h]. For the Babyloniſh yoke ſat ſo uneaſy on them, that though they took advantage of the low condition of Judah, and miſſed few or no opportunities of haraſſing that nation [i], yet, on Nebuchadnezzar's departure from Judea and Syria, after his ſecond expedition into thoſe parts, they with

[a] Amos ii. 1, 2, 3. [b] Iſaiah xv, & xvi. Jerem. lxiii. [c] Ibid. & Ezek. xxv. 8, & 9. Zeph. ii. 8, 9, 10, 11. [d] Iſai. xv. 14. [e] Ibid. c. xiv. 28. [f] Vide Prid. Connect. part 1. B. 1. p. 18. [g] Jerem. xxvii. 3—6. xxv. 21. [h] Joſeph. Antiq. l x. c. 11. [i] 2 Kings xxiv. 2.

the other neighbouring nations propoſed to Zedekiah to enter into a league with him againſt the Chaldeans; which that prince [k], notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Jeremiah to the contrary, conſenting to, on the acceſſion of the Egyptians to their confederacy, it became the occaſion of his utter ruin; his new allies deſerting him in his diſtreſs.

FROM this time hiſtory makes very little mention of the Moabites, who were hence-forward ſubject to the great empires, and at length coaleſced with, and were ſwallowed up in, the neighbouring nations which inhabit the deſarts of Syria; ſo that though Joſephus mentions the Moabites as a diſtinct nation long after, ſaying they were ſubdued by Alexander Jannæus king of the Jews [l], and tells us they were a populous nation, even in his time [m]; yet by the third century after CHRIST they loſt their ancient name, and became comprehended under the more general denomination of Arabians [n].

SECT. II.

The Hiſtory of Ammon.

THIS people were the poſterity of Ammon, otherwiſe called Ben Ammi (though that is not poſitively known), ſignifying *the ſon of my people* our kindred, the offspring of Lot and his younger daughter [o]. We have given the hiſtory of this inceſtuous birth in ſpeaking of Moab, the ſon of the elder ſiſter by her father [p].

Of the country poſſeſſed by the Ammonites.

THE children of Ammon poſſeſſed themſelves of the country called, after their own name, Ammonitis, adjoining to the north of Moabitis, after having driven out the Zamzummins, as they called them, who were giants, and the ancient inhabitants of the land [q]. This country [r], as well as Moabitis, is by ſome reckoned a part of Cœle-Syria [s], and by others of Arabia, and was, in its firſt ſtate under the Ammonites, bounded by the river Jabbok on the north [t]; though elſewhere it ſeems as if it extended beyond

[k] Jerem. xxvii. [l] Joſeph. de bello Jud. l. 1. c. 4. [m] Idem Antiq. l. 1. c. 11. [n] Origen. in Job. l. 1. [o] Gen. xix. 38. [p] See before, Vol. II. p. 98, 99. [q] Deuter. xi. 20. [r] Joſeph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 16—5. [s] Steph. de urb. in Ἀμμων. [t] Judg. xi. 13.

beyond that northward, into the mountains of Gilead [u]: on the weſt, it had the river Jordan; on the ſouth, the river Arnon [w], or the confines of Moabitis; on the eaſt, the deſarts of Arabia. But in the days of Moſes the Amorites had diſlodged them from their firſt boundaries, at the ſame time they diſturbed the Moabites, driving the Ammonites from the weſtern part of their poſſeſſion into, and acroſs, the mountains, which ſerved them for an immediate defence, perhaps, againſt the farther purſuit of the Amorites, and as a ſtrong barrier to protect them, in part, from invaſions thereafter [x]. Their exact boundaries, eſpecially after this expulſion, we cannot ſettle. We have only to add, that their kingdom, probably, was not of very wide extent, no more than that of Moab; and that it was chiefly a corn country, as may be gathered from the tribute, which will be ſeen on its inhabitants in the courſe of their hiſtory.

THE cities of this kingdom we know little enough of. The metropolis was called Rabbah; which, to diſtinguiſh it from the chief city of Moab, which bore the ſame name or epithet, was called Rabbah of the children of Ammon [y]. It was alſo known by the name of Ammana [z]. This capital ſeems to have been diſtinguiſhed into two parts, Rabbah properly ſo called, and the city of waters. Whence the waters were derived to it, whether from the river Jabbok, or whether from exuberant ſprings in or about it, cannot be determined. This only we have ſome authority to ſay, that it was the moſt delightful part of the city, and that the king's houſe ſtood there; from whence this part may have been ſtiled the royal city [a]. Rabbah moreover was famous for being the place where the great iron bedſtead of Og king of Baſan was to be ſeen [b]. In proceſs of time this city was called Philadelphia [c] from Ptolomy Philadelphus, who rebuilt it in a ſumptuous manner; and for ages after it was a city of firſt note: nay, of ſuch eminence as to impoſe its name upon the countries of Ammonitis and Moabitis; from whence you have the Philadelphian Arabia [d]. The other conſiderable cities of this kingdom were Minnith (concerning which there is ſome doubt) and Abel of

[u] Joſh. xiii. 24, 25. [w] Judg. ubi ſupr. [x] See Numb. xxi. 24. [y] Deut. iii. 11. [z] Steph. in Αμμαν. [a] See 2 Sam. xii. 26, 27. [b] Deut. ubi. ſupr. [c] Vide Euſeb. Onomaſt. urbium & locorum. [d] Vide Cellarii notitias Orbis Antiqui. c. 14.

the vineyard [e]. Jaſer, or Jazar, is alſo reckoned among the cities of Ammon [f], but inaccurately [g].

We know very little of the manners and cuſtoms of this people. They had kings, and were circumciſed [h], and ſeem to have been principally addicted to huſbandry. They, as well as the Moabites, were among the nations, whoſe peace or proſperity the Iſraelites were not to ſtrive after. Neither the one nor the other of them were to be admitted into the congregation to the tenth generation; ſo wide was the diſtance between the Iſraelites and them! The reaſon, becauſe they did not come out to relieve them in the wilderneſs; and becauſe they joined to hire Balaam to curſe them [i]. However, we find there was afterwards a very good underſtanding between their king Nahaſh and David [k].

Their religion.

The religion of the Ammonites, as we have already obſerved concerning that of the Moabites, was originally as pure as it could flow from ſo clear a ſtream as the inſtruction of Lot; but they alſo ſwerved therefrom by degrees, and at length degenerated into the moſt ſtupid, and, as is generally ſuppoſed, the moſt cruel, idolatry.

Their chief and peculiar deity is in the ſcripture called Molech, or Moloch. He is thought alſo to be underſtood under the names of Baal, Milcom, Melech, Adramelech, Anamelech, and the like. Theſe names, or titles, ſignify no more than lord, or king, and ſometimes have a prejunctive epithet, as in the two laſt, where he is ſtiled the mighty and rich Melech, Moloch, or king: theſe two were the gods of the Sepharvites. We ſhall only ſpeak of the Ammonitiſh Moloch in this place. The learned are not poſitively agreed in what relates to him. It is on all hands allowed, that they addreſſed him under the title of king, or Moloch [l]. His image is ſaid to have been hollow, and to have been divided into ſeven receptacles. The firſt was opened for an offering of fine flour; the ſecond for an offering of turtles; the third for a ſheep; the fourth for a ram; the fifth for a calf; the ſixth for an ox; the ſeventh for a child. It had the head of an ox, and the arms of a man

[e] Judg. xi 33. [f] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11. 1. Maccab. v. 8. [g] Vide Cellar. ubi. ſupr. [h] Jerem. ix. 25, 26. [i] Deut. xxxiii. [k] 2 Kings xi. [l] Vide Voss. de Idolalat. & Selden de Diis Syr. Syntag. 1. c. vi.

man ſtretched out in act to receive [m] (A). Now theſe ſeven receptacles are alſo called ſeven chapels; and inſtead of being within the image itſelf, are placed orderly before it [n]. Whatever was the diſpoſition of theſe ſeven places, their number correſponding with that of the ſun, moon, and five planets, has given room to ſuppoſe, that they worſhipped the ſun intentionally [o]; and the rather, as the oblations ſeem to riſe in ſuch proportion as might, according to this people, beſt befit the degree of each of theſe heavenly bodies. But it were endleſs to expatiate in a conjectural way upon ſo obſcure a matter, as the learned have done. Some accounts there are farther concerning this idol, but they are very doubtful (B). Chemoſh alſo was a god of the Ammonites, concerning whom we have ſaid all we can already *.

As to the ſuperſtitions paid to Moloch, there is a wide diſcrepancy among authors. By the ſcripture it is often ſaid, that the Ammonites *paſſed their ſeed through fire to* Moloch. This expreſſion is taken in a literal ſenſe by ſome, in a figurative ſenſe by others. The firſt ſentiment

[m] Paul Fagius apud eund ubi. ſupr. [n] See Bedford's Script. Chronol. p. 259. [o] Vide Voss. ubi ſupr. * See before, Vol. II. p. 100.

(A) An ancient Jewiſh traveller ſays, "that when he was in "theſe parts, there were yet ſtanding remains of the ancient "temple of the Ammonites, and therein their idol ſeated upon "a throne. This idol was of ſtone, gilt over with gold, and "had on each hand the image of a woman in a ſitting poſture "(77): before the idol was the altar on which the Ammonites "offered their ſacrifices and incenſe". Selden thinks this idol and this temple cannot be thought to have been erected to Moloch, that moſt ancient deity of the Ammonites (78). And indeed we think this traveller muſt have been ſome how or other impoſed on, or miſtaken. However, we muſt not apprehend, that the images of Moloch were always large and fixed: they were likewiſe ſmall and portable, and carried up and down in ſhrines, according to appearance, and as the cuſtom was with other idolaters, as will be obſerved at due times (79).

(B) To give you the various opinions of ſome learned men, Moloch has been taken for Priapus, for Mercury, for Saturn, and for Venus or the morning ſtar (80). But as fancy, chiefly, rules over theſe conjectures, it is enough that we give the bare mention of them.

(77) Benjamin Itinerar. (78) In Syntag. prim. de diis Syr. (79) Vide eund. ibid. (80) Vide Voſs. de Idolatria, lib. 2. c. 5.

is embraced by the Jewish writers (C), who for the most part hold, that the children were barely carried or led between two fires, by way of purification: the latter is adopted by the christian writers chiefly, who think, that they actually burnt their children, by way of sacrifice to this grim idol. There was a place near Jerusalem where this horrid custom was observed. It was called the valley of the sons of Hinnom [p] (D), so named from the shrieks of the children sacrificed: as also Topheth [q], from a Hebrew word, Toph, signifying a drum or tabret, which they used among

[p] 2 Chron. xxviii. 3. [q] 2 Kings xxiii. 10.

(C) Some of the Jewish writers hold, That the children were solemnly delivered to the priests; who returning them again, they were carried by their parents, upon their shoulders, between two fires. According to others, the priests carried them. A very eminent writer of this sort says, "That the priests, or servants, of fire, perswaded men that their children would die if "they did not pass them through fire: wherefore parents being "anxious for the lives of their children, and perceiving there "was neither danger nor difficulty in performing the ceremony, "no one neglected it, considering that the children were not to "be consumed by fire, but only to pass through it" (81). This also is the opinion of Solomon Yarhi, Joseph Karo, and others; but Aben Ezra dissents therefrom, and affirms, that passing through fire must be here understood of burning. Vossius insists on it, that where-ever the expression of passing through fire is met with, it must be taken in the strictness of the letter; but allows, that in cases of great calamity and upon other particular occasions, they gave up their offspring as an expiatory sacrifice to their god (82). Selden is of a quite different sentiment, and will have it, that they not only led their children through fire, but burnt them also at the same time. This he proves as far as a matter of this nature can be ascertained (83). Upon the whole, remembering how common a practice it was to offer up these unnatural oblations among some of the neighbouring nations, the same may probably have prevailed among the Ammonites.

(D) This valley was a very delightful place, watered by the springs of Siloah. It was shady and beautified with gardens. And indeed it is remarkable, that the heathens commonly chose fountain heads and solemn groves for the scenes of the homage they paid their deities. This custom our author supposes they borrowed from the Ammonites. (84).

(81) Moses. Maim. More Nevoch lib. 3. c. 38. (82) Vide Voss. ubi supr. (83) Vide Seld. ubi supr. (84) Hieron. in Jerem. c. vii. xxxii.

among other inſtruments, to drown the dreadful outcries of the unhappy victims. Whence this cruelty took birth, is what we may have occaſion to diſcuſs at large hereafter.

As the Moabites drove out the Emims, and poſſeſſed themſelves of their country, ſo the Ammonites forced the Zuzims, or Zamzummins, as they called them, from their habitations, and ſettled themſelves there. Theſe Zamzummins, as well as the Emims, are ſtiled giants [r], and were doubtleſs both derived from the ſame ſtock [s]. This gigantic race had been invaded by Chedorlaomer king of Elam [t]: who, deſtroying great numbers of them, as ſhould ſeem, made it the eaſier for the children of Ammon to diſlodge them. When this expulſion was effected, or in what manner, we know not. However, the Ammonites themſelves underwent the ſame fate in the days of Moſes, being diſpoſſeſſed by Sihon the Amorite, who drove them into, and to the eaſtward of, the mountains. They drive out the Zamzummins.

THE names of their firſt kings do not occur. They joined Eglon king of Moab againſt Iſrael [u], and ſhared in the ſucceſſes of that war; but who was their leader at this time is not ſaid. Their hiſtory.

ABOUT two hundred years after this, we find the Ammonites as principals in a war, under an anonymous king, againſt the Iſraelites. This prince took it into his head to attempt the recovery of the ancient country of Ammonitis; and making an irruption into it, he bore down all before him, and reduced the land, and kept it in ſubjection to him eighteen years. Encouraged by his ſucceſs, he croſſed over the river Jordan, and inſulted the tribes of Judah, and Benjamin, and Ephraim [w]; but returned to the other ſide again, and prepared (E) to make a compleat They war with the Iſraelites under an anonymous king.

[r] Deut. ii. 20, 21. [s] See before, Vol. II. p. 103.
[t] Gen. xiv. 5. [u] See before, Vol. II. p. 109. [w] Judg. x. 8.

(E) There is pretty conſiderable difference here between the ſcripture and Joſephus. He ſays the Ammonites and the Philiſtines had only prepared to croſs the river Jordan. The ſcripture ſays, the Ammonites did actually croſs over to fight with Judah, and Benjamin, and Ephraim; ſo that the Iſraelites were in great diſtreſs. We have therefore harmonized the one with the other; in which we know not but we may be miſtaken. For, after all, this warfare is not very clearly related in ſcripture. If they croſſed to this ſide of Jordan, what did they here? we are

pleat conqueſt of the country on both ſides of the river[x]; or at leaſt to get a handſom portion of it. For it is ſaid, that the Philiſtines alſo at this time invaded Iſrael; but whether with ſeparate views, or in combination with the Ammonites, does not appear; though it is moſt likely they intended to ſhare the ſpoil between them. But to ſpeak of the king of Ammon ſingly, he perſevered in his purpoſe, and encamped in Gilead; and the Iſraelites having turned to GOD, who had ſuffered them to be ſo long oppreſſed for their wickedneſs, they were inſpired with a courage to oppoſe this arrogant invader, and not only ſtop the progreſs of his arms, but drive him out of Gilead, where he had lorded it for eighteen years. Accordingly, meſſengers came to him from their new general Jephthah, to demand his reaſons for perſiſting in his enmity againſt them, and threatening them with farther calamities. His anſwer to them was, that the remembrance of the injuries his forefathers had ſuſtained, when the Iſraelites diſpoſſeſſed them of their country, had excited him thereto; and therefore required them forthwith to reſtore that realm to him, as in juſtice they ought. In reply to this pretenſion, there came ambaſſadors to him again from Jephthah: and theſe made an hiſtorical remonſtrance to him of his miſtake, in ſaying the Iſraelites had driven out the Ammonites, and, ſtifly expatiating upon the truth of the ſtory throughout the ſeveral circumſtances, expected his anſwer: but he gave no ear to them, and was bent at all hazards upon a war. And therefore, as he lay near Aroer, he was attacked by Jephthah, who gave him a total overthrow; and being put to flight, he was purſued with great loſs of blood, even into his own dominions, to Minnith, and from thence as far as Abel of the vineyards: ſo that not only his army was ſlaughtered, but good part of his country alſo was pillaged and waſted[y]. This was the event of the war, which put an end to the tyranny of Ammon over the

[x] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. v. c. 9. [y] Judg. xi.

are not told. How came it to paſs that the inhabitants of thoſe tribes did not croſs over to Gilead, where the war was decided? we know not. In a word, this war ſeems by the ſcripture to have affected only the north-eaſtern Iſraelites, who had been oppreſſed by the Ammonites, and ſhook off the yoke at laſt by their own ſtruggles, without any other aſſiſtance.

the Iſraelites on the other ſide of Jordan, and which had laſted eighteen years.

THE next of their kings we find mentioned, is called NAHASH. He flouriſhed in the days of Saul, from whom he received the juſt reward of his great inſolence and barbarity. For reviving the old claim upon the territory inhabited by the Iſraelites on the other ſide of Jordan, he waged war with them, and in the beginning was attended with all the ſucceſs imaginable. At length coming to the city of Jabeſh, he beſieged it. The terror of his arms was ſo great, that the inhabitants were at once for throwing themſelves at his feet, and acknowledging him for their lord and king. This ſubmiſſion, which might have mollified the leaſt generous heart, ſerved only to harden his. He would hearken to them upon no other condition, than their conſenting every one to the loſs of his right eye, that in them he might ſtigmatize the whole body of Iſrael. The inhabitants returned, That if he would allow them but ſeven days to endeavour a deliverance from him, they would ſubmit to his terms after the expiration of that time, if none was found to deliver them. This he granted them, and, ſecure within himſelf, waited for the cruel ſatisfaction he propoſed ſhortly to enjoy. But he was aſſaulted in three ſeveral parts of his camp by Saul, very early on the eighth morning, when he expected the inhabitants to march out to him, as they deceitfully told him they ſhould the night before; and his army was put into ſuch confuſion, that the Iſraelites had little elſe to do but to put them to the ſword. Inſtead of a battle it is termed a ſlaughter, which laſted till the heat of the day; at which time the ſurviving remnant of Nahaſh's army was ſo perfectly diſperſed, that there was no two of them to be ſeen together [z]. Thus ended this war. We are informed, that Nahaſh did ſome kindneſſes to king David. Joſephus differs from ſcripture in his account of this war (F).

Nahaſh king.

HANUN

[z] 1 Sam. xi.

(F) There ſeems to be ſomething very unaccountable in Joſephus's hiſtory of this war: he ſays, that Nahaſh began it, and carried it on for ſome time with the violences uſual in the like caſes, and with this political addition, of plucking out the right eyes of all thoſe he took, that they might loſe the uſe of their bucklers, which covered the left eye, or the uſe of that eye at all; and ſo reduce them to a ſlavery for life, ſeeing they would be unable

Hanun king. HANUN succeeded his father Nahash (G) in the kingdom; but whether this Nahash be the very same who was defeated by Saul at Jabesh, we are not told. However this was, we are informed, that Nahash, the father of Hanun, had lived in a very fair intelligence with David. Wherefore when this latter heard, that Nahash was dead, and that his son succeeded, he, for the father's sake, sent ambassadors to the young king, to condole with him for his loss, to congratulate him upon his accession, and to offer a continuance of the friendship which had been cherished between the late king and him. Hanun seems to have been a weak prince, and had very ignorant counsellors about him. Whence it came to pass, that when he received these compliments from king David by the mouth of his ambassadors, he, instead of improving them to advantage, took a false step which he never could recover. For instead of entertaining these ambassadors with the hospitality and decency which became him, he suffered himself to be perswaded, that they were no better than spies; and accordingly, forgetting the sacredness of their character, he shaved off the half of their beards, cut away their garments by the buttocks, and in that shameful disguise sent them back to their king. This amazing defect in policy and contempt of David, in open defiance of the laws of nature, hospitality, and gratitude, brought on a war [z], which ended very destructively upon him and his kingdom.

IT was soon told him how grievously David resented the affront, and what preparations he was making to chastise him

[z] 2 Sam. x. 1. Chron. xix. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 7. c. 6.

unable to defend themselves. But may it not be asked how it could come to pass, that those, who pressed on so hastily to relieve Jabesh, could have suffered Nahash to have gone on in a course of this cruelty for even the shortest space of time? this historian seems here to be quite wide of the sense of the sacred text.

(G) Notwithstanding Josephus informs us, that Nahash was killed upon the breaking up of the siege of Jabesh (85), we cannot forbear thinking that he lived many years afterwards, and was the father of this Hanun. His behaviour at Jabesh speaks him to have been a rash, hot-headed, young man at that time, and he might naturally enough have lived fifty or threescore years afterwards. We are seemingly supported in our opinion by the scripture itself.

(85) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 6. 6.

him for it. Hanun, therefore, perceiving himself on the brink of a war, to which he singly was unequal, dispatched ambassadors to the neighbouring princes, to hire and solicit the assistance of troops from them, to enable him to withstand the invasion which threatened his kingdom. What the troops he procured were, either in quality or number, is not clearly evident, inasmuch as the scripture varies (H) concerning them. First, we are told, that Hanun sent to the Syrians of Beth-rehob, and to the Syrians of Zobah, from whom he had twenty thousand footmen; to the king of Maachah, who furnished one thousand men; and to the king of Ishtob, who sent twelve thousand men [a]. With this Josephus agrees pretty well in respect of number, retrenching only the one thousand men supplied by the king of Maachah, and allowing him and the king of Ishtob to have contributed twelve thousand men between them [b]. Whence, instead of making the number of these mercenaries to have amounted to thirty three thousand, as the scripture does, he gives them at thirty two thousand. Again, we are told, that Hanun sent a thousand talents of silver, therewith to hire chariots and horsemen out of Mesopotamia, and out of Syria Maachah, and out of Zobah; and that he actually hired thirty two thousand chariots besides the king of Maacha's men [c]. Between Josephus and this passage of scripture there is a more material difference than before: He says, those which came out of Mesopotamia were footmen [d]. Here also we see the scripture keeps to the number of thirty three thousand. However, though the number be the same as before, the difference is very great. But let us proceed to the actions and event of this war.

HANUN, having thus drawn a considerable force from the neighbouring countries, and raised an army of his own subjects, marched out of Rabbah to fight Joab, whom David had sent at the head of his army. The Ammonites and their

[a] 2 Sam. ubi supra. [b] Joseph. Antiq. ubi supra. [c] 1 Chron. ubi supra. [d] ubi supra.

(H) This we cannot pretend to account for, nor do we know that it was ever cleared by any one, in a satisfactory manner. Haderezer is in scripture mentioned as the chief prince of the Syrian nations; Josephus speaks of one Syrus as chief, and calls him king of Mesopotamia (86).

(86) Ib. lib. 7. c. 7.

their auxiliaries drew up in two diſtinct bodies; (viz.) the Ammonites under the walls of their city, and the auxiliaries at ſome diſtance on the plain. By this diſpoſition they thought to have charged Joab's front, and at the ſame time to have fallen upon his rear; but this took not effect. For the Ammonites were attacked by Abiſhai, Joab's brother, whilſt Joab himſelf charged the Syrians. The Ammonites (E) ſuſtained Abiſhai's charge with great conſtancy, and maintained the conflict with intrepidity, till, perceiving their Syrian friends to give ground, they thought it moſt adviſeable to retreat into their city, and they did ſo.

THE next year their Syrian allies, aſhamed of their laſt defeat, made head again, (F) but being utterly routed by David

(E) In what concerns this battle we reject Joſephus *, and chooſe to interpret the ſcripture according to reaſon and the nature of things. He ſays, the Ammonites, perceiving their allies to be routed, hurried into their city without ſtriking a ſtroke. Partiality for his fore-fathers might perhaps have tempted him to repreſent them ſo very formidable to their enemies. But can it be ſuppoſed, that when Joab divided his army between his brother and himſelf, that they did not advance with an equal pace each againſt his oppoſite? And eſpecially, as Joſephus allows, that the Syrians ſtood their ground till a conſiderable ſlaughter was made among them, which could not be the work of a minute; Abiſhai muſt have moved on very ſlowly, if before the Syrians were broke he did not charge the Ammonites. On the other ſide, the Ammonites, who were principals in this war, if they had perceived Abiſhai afraid to give them battle, or ſeemingly ſo, and at the ſame time beheld their auxiliaries in a furious and doubtful conflict with Joab, they muſt have had ſenſe and courage enough to march up to Abiſhai, and force him to battle, before the Syrians began to flee. If the whole ſtory be well conſidered, it is not to be imagined, that Abiſhai and the Ammonites kept looking at one another, or what is next of kin to it, made very ſlow advances towards each other.

(F) Thus it appears by ſcripture, which, turning the tables, makes the Syrians principals in this war, rather avenging their laſt overthrow, than eſpouſing the cauſe of the Ammonites. Joſephus ſtrays here again very unaccountably. He makes the Ammonites ſend to one Balama, a king of the Syrians beyond the Euphrates, for another army thrice as big as that they hired before (87)

* Antiq. lib. 7. c. 7. (87) Ubi ſupra.

David in perſon, the Ammonites were left to defend themſelves againſt the violent and juſt reſentment of their injured enemy [e].

It came down heavily upon them. For the very next year, the third of this war, the country was entered by Joab, who haraſſed and waſted it far and wide; and at length beſieged Hanun in Rabbah, the capital of his kingdom. The place held out about two years; during which Hanun made one deſperate ſally, and cut off many of the beſiegers, and, among the reſt, Uriah the huſband of Bathſheba. At length the city was reduced to the utmoſt extremities of famine, and was ſtormed by David in perſon, who came to have the honour of completing the work. In the aſſault Hanun was ſlain, and his crown, which weighed a talent of gold (one hundred thirteen pound ten ounces one penny-weight $10\frac{2}{7}$ Gr. of our Troy weight *), and was adorned with precious ſtones, a ſardonyx Joſephus ſays, was taken from off his head by David. What other ſpoil was found in this metropolis is no where ſpecified. The inhabitants were treated with extraordinary ſeverity, being led out, and put to death by the moſt exquiſite torments, harrowed, ſawn, and hack'd with axes, and paſſed through the brick-kiln. This dreadful uſage extended to the reſt of the cities of Ammon (G), which held out againſt the conqueror; all ſuch ſharing in the fate of the city of Rabbah, which was deſtroyed, and laid level with the ground [f]. And thus did the Ammonites ſuffer, ſeemingly too much, for the raſhneſs of a young king, and the fooliſh advice of empty counſellors.

After this vengeful execution, it is no wonder we hear nothing of a king of Ammon, nor indeed of the nation itſelf, till the reign of Jehoſhaphat king of Judah. At this time we find them united with their brethren the Moabites, and the inhabitants of mount Seir, againſt the ſaid king of Judah. The particulars of this war, and how it ended, we have given in the hiſtory of Moab [g].

After

[e] Sam. ubi ſupra. Joſeph. Antiq. ubi ſupra. * See Arbuth. Tab. of an. coins, weights, and meaſures, Tab. XX.
[f] See 2 Sam. xii. 1, 29, 31. Joſeph. ubi ſupra. c. 7. 1 Chron. xx. [g] See before, Vol. II. p. 213.

(G) The ſcripture ſays it extended to all the cities of Ammon; but we cannot forbear thinking, that this expreſſion means only all ſuch as held out obſtinately, and defied the king of Iſrael; and herein we are ſupported by Joſephus.

AFTER this they were overthrown by, and made tributary to, Uzziah king of Judah [h].

THE Ammonites bore this yoke as long as Uzziah lived, but in the reign of his ſon Jotham they had an anonymous king over them, who ſtirred them up to rebellion againſt him. The nation at this time muſt have been pretty well recovered, and, having a martial prince at the head of them, they reſolved to free themſelves from the oppreſſions of their old enemies in Judah. The event was unhappy; they were overthrown in battle, and were reduced to compound for their peace with Jotham, by paying a tribute of one hundred talents of ſilver, ten thouſand meaſures of wheat, and as many of barley [i], in all about one hundred ſixty thouſand of our buſhels; and this ſame tribute did they pay for three ſucceſſive years [k].

AT length when the Babylonians grew mighty, and threatened all the kingdoms of this part of Aſia with ſubjection, it is likely they might have entertained thoughts of withſtanding the common enemy with their joint force. From hence, poſſibly, a good underſtanding between Baalis, the laſt king of Ammon, and Zedekiah, the laſt king of Judah [l], might ſeemingly ariſe. But when deſtruction came upon Zedekiah and Jeruſalem, the Ammonites ſhewed themſelves, and exulted over the ruins of that unhappy city [m], for which they were ſeverely threatened by the Prophet. It ſeems impoſſible that they ſhould have refrained from it, conſidering the ſteadfaſt enmity which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the nations. However, Baalis received all the Jews, that fled into his dominions to avoid the captivity, and among thoſe one Iſhmael, of the royal blood, whoſe intereſt he pretended to have much at heart. And, to give him an inſtance of his readineſs to aſſiſt him, with counſel at leaſt, adviſed him to go back again into his own country and aſſaſſinate Gedaliah, who, by the expreſs appointment of the Babylonians, was left ſet over the poor remnant of the Jews. By thus ſtirring up a pretender, he ſeems to have aimed at the utter extirpation of the nation, either out of a pure deſire of revenge, or with ſome view to his advantage at the ſame time. His bloody counſel was taken, and the aſſaſſin did his work, and was obliged

[h] 2 Chron. xxvi. 8. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 9. c. 11. [i] Vid. Arbuth. ubi ſupra. [k] Idem ubi ſupra. [l] 2 Chron. xxvii. 5. [m] See Jerem. xxvii. 3.

liged to fly back again to Baalis, who received him into his protection [n]. But Baalis lived not long unpuniſhed, for having been ſo nearly acceſſary to the murder of the innocent Gedaliah: for a ſhort time afterwards, he was attacked by Nebuzaradan the Babylonian general, who put his country to fire and ſword, and deſtroyed his chief city Rabbah, and carried away Baalis and moſt of the nobles of Ammon into captivity, as had been propheſied by Amos: *I will kindle a fire in the wall of Rabbah, and it ſhall devour the palaces thereof, and their king ſhall go into captivity, he and his princes together, ſaith the Lord*; *and* Ezekiel: *And I will deliver thee for a ſpoil* [o] *unto the men of the Eaſt, and will give them the Ammonites in poſſeſſion, that the Ammonites may not be remembered among the nations* [p].

THIS laſt prophecy was in due time compleated, their name being blotted out from the book of nations in the end. But in the mean time they are mentioned as conjoined with the Arabians, Moabites, and Samaritans, in giving all the diſturbance they were able to the rebuilding of the temple of Jeruſalem; which they endeavoured to prevent as much as in them lay. One Tobiah, called the ſervant, is ſaid to have been at the head of them upon theſe occaſions [q].

LIVING in peace and quietneſs under the great monarchies, the Ammonites in proceſs of time grew to be more conſiderable, and in the days of Judas Maccabæus were aſſembled together, in a very great army under their governor Timotheus, to fight againſt that heroic Jew. They came to a battle, wherein Timotheus and the Ammonites were worſted, and the ſame ill-fortune attended them in other ſubſequent conflicts, under the ſame leader, and againſt the ſame enemy. In the end their city Jaſer (it was not anciently reckoned a city of theirs) and the neighbouring towns, fell a prey to the Jews, who ſmote the men, and carried their wives and children into captivity, and plundered and burnt the city of Jaſer; and thus ended this, as it ſeems, their laſt warfare with the deſcendants of Iſrael [r].

NEVERTHELESS, towards the beginning of the ſecond century of the chriſtian æra, they were thought worthy of being

[n] See Ezekiel xxv. [o] See Jerem. ch. xl, xli. c. 1. 14, 15. [p] Idem xxv. 7—10. [q] See Nehem. ii, iv, vi, xiii. [r] See 1 Macc. v. 6—8. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 11. 12. Prideaux Connect. part 2. book 4. p. 212.

being called a numerous nation[s]; but towards the latter end of the fame their name was vaniſhed, and they themſelves blended among the Arabians[t], as happened alſo to the Moabites, Edomites, and others.

[s] Vide Juſt. Mart. in dial. cum Tryph. p. 272. [t] Orig. lib. 1. in Job.

The End of the Hiſtory of Ammon.

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of MIDIAN, *or* MADIAN.

Their deſcent.

IT is generally agreed, that this people drew their origin from Midian, the fourth ſon of Abraham by Keturah, from whom they were called Midianites. He received large gifts from his father, as did the reſt of his brethren, and was, as well as they, ſent eaſtward, into the eaſt country, to be at a proper diſtance from Iſaac [a]. The ſons of Midian were Epha, and Epher, and Henoch, and Abidah, and Eldaah [b].

THE Midianites were, in their moſt early times, evidently confounded with the Iſhmaelites [c]; and many ages afterwards they are mentioned in conjunction with the Nabatæans and Kedarenes, the poſterity of Nabaioth and Kedar, the ſons of Iſhmael [d]. Doubtleſs, remembering their kindred, they adhered to each other, and were pretty much blended together. On the other hand, we find them to have been ſo incorporated as it were with the Moabites, that Moſes almoſt conſidered them as but one nation [e]. Their religion was the ſame, and they acted in the ſtricteſt concert together againſt him and the Iſraelites. The ties of blood united theſe likewiſe, as on the one ſide they were deſcended from Abraham, and on the other from Lot. So, juſt as they happened to live in the northern or ſouthern parts of their country, they joined themſelves either to the Moabites or the Iſhmaelites. From hence we, in part, gather the extent of their territory, and that there was

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[a] Gen. xx. 2. 6. 1 Chron. i. 32. [b] Ibid. ver. 33. Gen. xxv. 4. [c] See Gen. xxxvii. 25—28. Judg. viii. 24. [d] Iſa. lx. 6. 7. [e] See Gen. xxxvi. 35. 1 Chron. i. 46.

a pretty wide difference between the Midianites and Madianites.

THE country of Midian was a part of Arabia Petræa. Its exact limits cannot be aſcertained. From what we find in ſcripture, it muſt have lain ſouth-eaſt-ward of the lake Aſphaltites, or the Dead ſea [f]. On the north it was bounded by Moab, or rather mixed with it [g]. Its boundary on the eaſt is uncertain. On the ſouth, it was bounded by the Red ſea. On the weſt, by Edom, or Idumæa, and, partly, alſo on the north, as ſhould ſeem [h]. The country poſſeſſed by the Midianites.

BEING a part of Arabia Petræa, it was moſtly rocky, mountainous, and ſandy. Theſe barren and difficult defects were pretty well amended by the numbers of camels and dromedaries it abounded with; creatures moſt admirably adapted for the uſe of ſuch whoſe lot it was to live upon ſo dry and rugged a ſoil. It was alſo well ſtored with other cattle, which in great herds were driven about to paſture, and to ſprings of water [i]. Though it is certain, that this country was not very well furniſhed with fixed habitations, ſuch as towns and cities, yet we read of their cities and goodly caſtles: but theſe we muſt underſtand to have ſtood in the neighbourhood of Moab only [k]. Two of its cities we have expreſs mention of, and both called Midian, or Madian; the one ſituated in the north towards Rabbah of Moab, or Areopolis; the other in the ſouth, by the red ſea [l]; and was very probably the ſame which Ptolemy calls Modiana, and is perhaps the ſame with a ruined place which the Arabs call Madyan, to this day. Finally, we muſt not forget that mount Sinai is placed within this territory [m].

THE Midianites were a very numerous race, and may be diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts, ſhepherds and merchants. The ſhepherds moved up and down in tents, and drove their cattle before them, even when they went to war [n]. The merchants alſo travelled from place to place in companies [o], or caravans, as the merchants of thoſe parts do at this day, and left the care of their cattle to the women, as ſeems by the ſtory of Jethro's daugh- Their Manners.

[f] See Exod. iii. 1. xviii. 5. Judg. vi. 3. vii. 12, 24, 25. [g] See Numb. xxii. 4. [h] See 1 Kings xi. 18. [i] See Judg. vi. 5. [k] Numb. xxi. 10. [l] Hieron. in Numb. xxxi. 8, 10. [m] Vide Euſebius Onomaſt. in voceni Χωρὴβ. [n] See Judg. vi. 5. [o] See Gen. xxxvii. 28.

ters (A). The ſhepherds, it is likely, had few or no fixed habitations, except ſome ſtrong holds near their borders; the merchants probably had few or none but marts and ſtations, in places convenient for their trade. Theſe grew to be exceeding rich, and by exchanging their gold and jewels with their brethren for their cattle, the ſhepherds were thereby ſtored with precious ornaments [p]. Their manners muſt have been in many reſpects as different as their way of life. However, they are in general repreſented to have been very ſumptuous in their exterior. We read of their *jewels of gold*, *chains*, *bracelets*, *rings*, *ear-rings*, *tablets* [q], *the purple raiment of their kings*, *and the gold chains*, *or collars*, *round the necks of their camels* [r].

Their learning.

IT appears very plain from Job, that they had the uſe of writing very early in theſe parts [f] among the deſcendants of Abraham; and the Midianites being alſo of the number, we cannot ſuppoſe them to have been ignorant therein (B). Sir Iſaac Newton gives them the honour of having

[p] See Numb. xxxi. 50, 51, 52. Judg. viii. 24. [q] Numb. ubi ſupr. [r] Judg. ubi ſupr. ver. 26. [f] See Job xix. 23. 24.

(A) That ſtory ſeems to inform us, that the men in the ſouth part of Midian were not ſhepherds; and therefore we imagine they were merchants. Joſephus expreſly tells us, that it was the cuſtom of the women in this part (which he miſtakenly calls Troglodytica) to look over the cattle; though indeed in this he ſeemingly contradicts what he ſays but a line or two before, viz. that the ſhepherds of the counrty were continually at ſtrife, which ſhould get firſt ſerved with water; and from thence infers the irregularity committed upon Jethro's daughters (1). Thus ſeemingly inconſiſtent is this author with himſelf. But if this laſt cuſtom prevailed, Jethro's ſon Hobab (for that he had ſuch a ſon we ſhall endeavour to make out hereafter) would have been much more equal to ſo troubleſome a taſk, than all the young women, his daughters.

(B) It is almoſt plain, that Jethro himſelf had the art of writing, and, though we dare not poſitively aſſert it, ſent a letter to prepare Moſes for his reception, when he was on his way to the Iſraelites with his daughter Zipporah and her two ſons. This is very naturally inferred from Jethro's form of addreſſing himſelf to

(1) Joſeph. Antiqui. lib. 2. c. xi.

having inſtructed Moſes in writing [t]. The merchants muſt alſo have been verſed in arithmetic of ſome kind or other; and there being ſhips on the mediterranean ſo early as in the days of the patriarch Jacob [u]; and theſe being themſelves traders, and ſituated on the Red ſea, it cannot be ſuppoſed that they could refrain from ſhip-building, and exploring the ſhores of their own ſea, and the coaſts thereunto contiguous. From hence we may naturally enough extend the circle of their ſciences beyond bare writing and arithmetic, and allow them a competent ſkill in geography, geometry, and aſtronomy.

Their religion.

IT is very apparent that the Midianites varied as much from each other in the matter of religion, as in their manner of life. At firſt they were, to be ſure, pure and right in their way; how long they perſevered in it is not ſaid. But in the days of Moſes they partly wallowed in all the abominations of the Moabites [w]; thoſe we mean who were neareſt to that idolatrous nation; nay, exceeded them in their endeavours to pervert the children of Iſrael, when they lay in the plains of Moab, and perſwaded them to bow down to Peor [x]; but we are indeed told, that Peor was worſhipped by the Midianitiſh women chiefly [y]. Thus ſtood religion in the north of Midian. Now in the ſouth, we find them enlightened by a rational and ſublime ſyſtem, long after their brethren

[t] Chron. of ancient kingd. amended, p. 210. [u] See Gen. xlix. 13. [w] See before, ch. 3. ſect. 3. par. 50. [x] See Numb. xxv. 18. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 4. c. vi. [y] Hieron. in Numb. Hom. xx.

to Moſes, and what is ſaid to have happened thereupon: *I thy Father-in-law, Jethro, am come unto thee, and thy wife, and her two ſons with her.* What was the conſequence of this? *Moſes went out to meet his father-in-law.* Had theſe words been uttered face to face, Moſes could, with no manner of propriety, be ſaid to have gone out to meet his father-in-law. Nor could this notice have been delivered by a meſſenger, who could not, without the moſt ridiculous abſurdity, have ſaid, *I Jethro, am come unto thee,* and ſo on *(2)*. As to the manner of writing in theſe days, and in theſe parts, there is mention made of graving with an iron pen or ſtyle upon lead, in the book of Job (3).

(2) Vide Lightfoot Spicilegia in Exod. § xxiii. (3) Chap. xix. 24.

thren had fallen into the fouleſt corruption. As a proof of this, we need only mention Jethro, who is commonly ſtiled the prieſt of Midian, and is ſaid to have lived [z], and is by ſome thought to have preſided [a] over the Midianites, near the Red ſea. His behaviour [b] in the camp of Iſrael is a ſufficient argument in favour of them; yet, though their religion was otherwiſe very pure, it is remarkable they could not bear circumciſion (C) [c]. They offered up praiſes, and thankſgivings, and ſacrifices to GOD, but their religious rites or ceremonies are not ſpoken of.

WE know not whether they were divided as much from each other in form of government, as in occupation and religion: excepting the caſe of Jethro, their government is repreſented rather as ariſtocratical than monarchical. Their chiefs, however, are ſtiled kings, and therefore we ſhall dignify them with the ſame title.

Their hiſtory.

THE moſt ancient record we find concerning this nation, after what has already been ſaid, is their war with Hadad the Horite, when Midian (D) was ſmitten by him in the field of Moab [d].

THE next is their purchaſing of Joſeph from his brethren, for twenty pieces of ſilver, and carrying him away with them into Egypt, where they ſold him to Potiphar, one of Pharaoh's chief officers [e].

MANY years after this there lived a prieſt, or prince, (E) of the ſouthern Midianites, called Reuel, or Jethro

[z] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 2. c. xi. [a] Vide Tremelii Bibl. Lat. Exod. iii. [b] Exod. xviii. 10——12. [c] See ibid. iv. 25, 26. [d] Gen. xxxvi. 35. [e] Ibid. xxxvii. 28. 36.

(C) This we think we have authority to ſay; but it is a controverted point. The text, to our apprehenſion, ſuggeſts at leaſt as much for it as againſt it. We ſhall briefly conſider this hereafter.

(D) Doctor Cumberland is inclined to think, that Moſes recorded this, as it was a calamity, to Jethro his father-in-law; and that it was Midian himſelf that was ſmitten, ſomewhat before he was an hundred and nine years old (4).

(E) The Hebrew word is כהן chohen, which ſignifies a prince, or a prieſt, and is promiſcuouſly rendered by both the one and the other. But let this condition of life have been great or mean, we

(4) Origin Gent. Antiquiſſ. p. 14, 136.

thro (F), or the Kenite, the father of Moſes[f]. This perſon reſided in the city of Madian by the Red Sea[g]. It happened that his daughters, who were ſeven in number, met with ſome diſturbance one day from certain rude ſhepherds, in watering their father's flock. Juſt before this, Moſes had ſet himſelf down to reſt in the ſame place, being then upon his flight from Pharaoh; and perceiving the outrage of the ſhepherds, who drove the maidens and their cattle from the water they had been at the pains of drawing (G), he roſe up, and withſtood them, and aſſiſted the young women in completing their work. When they went home to their father, he wondered to ſee them come back ſooner than uſual; and enquiring into the cauſe of their diſpatch, they gave him an account of the inſult they had received at the well; and how an Egyptian (ſo they called Moſes) had protected and aſſiſted them. The good man enquired where this worthy ſtranger was, and reproved his daughters for being ſo unkind as not to bring him home with them; and ſtraightway ſent them to invite their friend and protector to refreſh himſelf. They obeyed, and brought Moſes to their father Jethro; who, taking a fancy to the man, retained him in his family, committed the care of his flocks to him, and in proceſs of time gave him his daughter Zipporah to wife; and Jethro had Moſes with him forty years. At length, underſtanding that his Jethro.

I 4 ſon-

[f] Exod. iii. 1 Judg. i. 16. [g] Joſeph. ubi ſupr.

we may be excuſed for inſerting what we find concerning him and his family, inaſmuch as it is the only fragment we have left in hiſtory concerning the ancient Midianites in the ſouth.

(F) This is by ſome held to have been the firname of the family (5). The ſeventy call him Ῥαγουήλ, Raguel, and ſo does the vulgate, and even our own verſion in another place: however, this name is by ſome thought to have been the name of Jethro's father (6): but with what foundation may be curſorily conſidered hereafter.

(G) This inſult has given birth to a ſuſpicion, that their father was ſo far from being chief, either as prince, or prieſt, that he was only an inferior in the ſacred order, and then no wonder they were abuſed, ſays our commentator. Indeed, if we do not ſuppoſe theſe ſhepherds to have been ſtrangers in this part, it muſt be

(5) Vide Cleric. in Exod. ii. (6) Vide cund. ibid.

ſon-in-law was commiſſioned by GOD to lead out the children of Iſrael from bondage, he conſented to part with him, and his daughter, and his grand-children, who ſet out for Egypt: but a diſpute ariſing between Moſes and his wife about circumciſing a child upon the road [h], ſhe came, or was ſent, back again (H) by her huſband, and he went on without her [i].

WHEN Jethro heard of the mighty things which the LORD had done through Moſes, and how he had delivered his people, and brought them out of Egypt, he took his daughter Zipporah, and her two ſons, and his own ſon Hobab, and ſet out with them towards his ſon-in-law Moſes, to congratulate him, and reconcile him with his daughter Zipporah. They were all received very affectionately by Moſes, and Jethro hearing from him the wondrous works which had been done for Iſrael, he bleſſed GOD for the ſame, acknowledged him to be far ſuperior to all other gods, and took a burnt-offering and ſacrifices for GOD: and Aaron and all the elders of Iſrael came to aſſiſt at the ſolemnity, and to pay him the reſpect due to ſo venerable a perſon.

THE next day, Jethro had an opportunity of diſplaying his great wiſdom and ſkill in the due regulation of government,

[h] Exod. ii. iii. iv. [i] Ibid. xviii. 2.

be acknowledged, that it does not look as if Jethro was a man in any great repute or authority.

(H) In caſes of doubt like this, we can only take what ſeems to us the moſt rational ſide of the queſtion. Divines have explained this matter many ways (7), and ſome ſeem unwilling to allow there was any jar between Moſes and his wife, apprehending, perhaps, that it cannot ſuit with the dignity of that law-giver's character. But for our parts we do not perceive how it can reflect any diſhonour upon him, eſpecially when the ſubject of the diſpute was ſo very important. Farthermore, if the cuſtom had been that Jethro's family was circumciſed, Zipporah his daughter would certainly have made no words about the execution of a practice, which ſhe muſt have thought to have been eſſential. That there was ſome ſort of miſunderſtanding in this matter muſt be allowed; and therefore we have urged it as an inſtance to prove, that theſe Midianites did not uſe circumciſion; and have alſo made it the cauſe of Zipporah's returning back to her father.

(7) Vide Lightfoot, ubi ſupr. § 8, 9. Cleric. in Exod. iv.

ment. He obſerved, that the people crouded about Moſes all day long; and aſking him the meaning of it, Moſes anſwered him that he had been ſitting in judgment. Upon this Jethro told him, he was quite wrong to charge himſelf with ſo grievous a burden, too much for any one man to bear; that it would be enough for him to attend upon the ſublimer concerns only, to conſult with GOD, to declare his holy laws and ordinances, to inſtruct the people in the right way, and the like; and commit the judging and well-ordering of the people to a ſelect number of the moſt righteous men among the multitude, who ſhould, according to their abilities, be appointed over thouſands, and over hundreds, and over fifties, and over tens; abſtaining from every buſineſs himſelf that was not of the higheſt moment. Jethro gave not this counſel in vain, and thereby adminiſtered great eaſe to his ſon-in-law Moſes [k] (I).

ANY thing farther concerning Jethro we know not, except that Moſes diſmiſſed him; that he ſeems to have left

[k] Ibid. ver. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, & ſeqq.

(I) A very eminent divine contends, that this whole ſtory is miſplaced, and ought to ſtand between the tenth and eleventh verſes of the tenth chapter of Numbers (8): Firſt, becauſe Jethro is ſaid to have taken burnt offerings and ſacrifices for God. Secondly, becauſe Moſes is ſaid to have ſitten to judge the people, and to have made known to them the ſtatutes of God and his laws. As this ſtory now ſtands, it refers to a time when as yet the tabernacle was not erected, nor any altar built; Moſes had not yet received any laws from God; nor had they reached mount Sinai, ſays our author. But it is nevertheleſs poſſible, that Jethro might have offered a ſacrifice in his way, particularly as he was a prieſt; nor is it unlikely that Moſes acted as judge and arbitrator before he received any particular ſyſtem of laws from God. But Thirdly, becauſe Moſes puts off the inſtitution of the judges and elders over the people, which he was adviſed to by Jethro, till after they moved from mount Sinai. This third proof ſeems to be more valid than the two former, but yet, not quite ſo plain and deciſive as might be wiſhed. The putting of Jethro's advice in execution effectually and orderly, muſt have been certainly the work of time. But were we to enlarge upon theſe obſcurities ſo far as we might, there would be no end to our work.

(8) Lightfoot ubi ſupr. § xxiii.

left his ſon Hobab (K) behind him, with a friendly intent, that he ſhould ſerve as a guide through the wilderneſs; but it was with reluctance he went through with them; nor was he prevailed on to do it without very large promiſes [1]. We read farther concerning the deſcendants of Jethro, that they were called Kenites, and that they joined the children of Judah, and marched with them from the

The Kenites.

[1] Numb. x. 29—32.

(K) It is very ſtrange, that thoſe who know not how to think that Raguel and Jethro were both names belonging to one man, will yet have it that Hobab and Jethro mean one and the ſame perſon. And, contrary to the apparent reaſon of things, that it was Jethro himſelf under the name of Hobab, who is here intreated to ſerve as a guide to the Iſraelites (9). Joſephus frequently calls him by the name of Raguel, and ſays he was Moſes's father; ſo ſays the ſcripture, under the name of Raguel, in the place where Hobab is mentioned. In ſcripture he is conſtantly called Reuel or Jethro, till he departed from the camp. Shall we ſuppoſe that he came back again, and was from thenceforward called Hobab? That Jethro, returned to his own country, is expreſly ſaid (10). That Hobab did ſerve the Iſraelites as a guide, is plainly enough inſinuated (11). What ſettlement could Jethro want? how, as father of a family, could he deſert them? how, as he was a prieſt or a magiſtrate, could he be abſent from his charge? On the other ſide, how can it be ſuppoſed, that a man who expreſſed ſo much good will towards the children of Iſrael, who was ſo thankful to God for their deliverance, who owned his conviction that they were under the protection and care of the Lord God; how can it be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a perſon would have made the leaſt ſcruple of doing any thing that could have been requeſted by Moſes, whom he looked on as the immediate miniſter of the Almighty? It is more rational to ſuppoſe, that it was a ſon of his called Hobab, who is here ſpoken of, who was left behind by his father, as one well acquainted with the deſart, and ſo might be of good uſe to Moſes; but who, not having the ſame faith and aſſurance in God which his father had, ſaw no great proſpect of good things to come, and therefore wanted to return home again; but that he was tempted to ſtay, and go through with them, is clearly enough ſaid. If Moſes's father-in-law is afterwards called Hobab, as he is (12), that is not the only little diſſonance of the hiſtorical kind we find in ſcripture.

(9) Vide Cleric. in Exod. xi. & Numb. x. (10) Exod. xviii. Judg. i. 16. (11) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. v. c. 2. (12) Judg. iv. 11.

the city of palm trees [Jericho [m]] into the wilderneſs of Judah [n]. That upon the taking of Hebron they were rewarded with a large portion of ground, in conſideration of their having forſaken their native place, and ſuffered with the Iſraelites all the toils of their wars, and all the diſtreſſes in the wilderneſs [o]. That Heber the huſband of Jael, who killed Siſera, was particularly of this family [p]. That on the aforeſaid conſideration alſo, the Kenites were many years afterwards warned by Saul to move off from the Amalekites, when he had it in charge to extirpate that nation, that they might be no way prejudiced thereby. Thus were they preſerved, and fixing their ſeat upon a rock, and there poſſeſſing a ſtrong hold, they grew wanton and preſumptuous, and were carried away into captivity by the Aſſyrians, together with the ten tribes of Iſrael, as Balaam had propheſied long before: "And he [Balaam] looked on "the Kenites . . . and ſaid, ſtrong is thy dwelling-place, "and thou putteſt thy neſt on a rock. Nevertheleſs the "Kenite ſhall be waſted, until Aſhur ſhall carry thee "away captive [q]." And thus have we traced down the poſterity of Jethro to their exit.

THE Midianites we ſhall have now occaſion to mention as at enmity with Iſrael, we apprehend to have been chiefly thoſe who bordered upon, or lived, as it were, in common with, the Moabites. EVI, REKEM, (L) HUR, ZUR, and REBAH, were all five of them kings, or dukes of Midian (M), when Moſes overcame Sihon the Amorite, and greatly fearing for themſelves, they entered into counſels with Baalak king of Moab, to conſider upon what methods they could take to avoid the dangers which they thought threatened them. We ſhall not repeat here what we

Evi, Rekem, Hur, Zur, and Rebah.

[m] See before in the Notes Vol. II. p. 110. [n] Judg. i. 16. [o] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 5. c. 2. [p] Judg. iv. 11. [q] Numb. xxiv. 21, 22.

(L) Joſephus calls theſe five kings Oeus, Sures, Robeas, Urcs, and Recem, and ſays, that this laſt built, and gave name to, the city of Rekem, the capital of Arabia, by the Greeks called Petra (13).

(M) They are alſo ſtiled princes of Midian, and dukes under Sihon king of the Amorites (14). Perhaps they might have paid ſome homage or tribute to Sihon, or ſome other way might have been deemed as feudatory under him.

(13) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 4. c. 7. (14) Joſh. xiii. 21.

we have already ſaid concerning this abſurd and iniquitous matter in the hiſtory of Moab [r]. Only it will be neceſſary for us to remark here once more, that the Midianites ſeem to have ſignalized themſelves in a moſt extraordinary manner, in their endeavours to turn the children of Iſrael from GOD. For it muſt be remembered, that Balaam had ſent them word either upon, or after, his return home, that it was in vain they hoped to hurt the darlings of heaven by any other means than enticing them to ſin, the ſole means whereby GOD could be brought to forſake them: that upon this occaſion it would be proper for them to take the moſt beautiful of their young women, and deck them out in the moſt gorgeous manner, and ſend them to the Iſraelites, with ſuch inſtructions for their behaviour, as that, after having enſnared their hearts, might beſt corrupt their minds alſo [s]. This counſel they ſwallowed down very greedily, and were ſo ſanguine upon the matter, that we find Zur, one of their kings, made no ſcruple to ſend his daughter Cozbi among the reſt; but it was a tragical buſineſs for her; ſhe was killed by a wound in the belly, given with the ſame weapon, and with the ſame ſtroke, as made an end of her huſband or friend Zimri. For the reſt, theſe fair idolatreſſes played their part ſo well, as to captivate many of the Iſraelites, and ſo abſolutely to prevail over them, as to bring them to bow down before Baalpeor, from whence great trouble and deſtruction came upon the whole body of them (N) [t].

THE Midianites herein enjoyed but a ſhort-lived ſatisfaction; their forwardneſs upon this occaſion, and ſubdolous practices, kindled the wrath of GOD againſt them, and Moſes had poſitive orders to ſmite them particularly. When they heard that the divine command was on the point of being executed upon them by twelve thouſand of the Iſraelites, under the conduct of Phinehas, they made the beſt preparations they could to withſtand the invaſion, by arming their caſtles, and muſtering their ſtrength. But their caſtles

[r] See before, Vol. I. p. 189. [s] Vol. I. p. 189. [t] Numb. xxv. 15.——18. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 4. c. 6. See before, Vol. II. p. 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109.

(N) Joſephus ſpeaks of a plague upon this occaſion which carried off fourteen thouſand Souls (15).

(15) Joſeph. ubi ſupra.

caſtles availed them but little, nor the ſtrength they muſtered. They were defeated, and every man of them put to the ſword, and among the reſt Balaam [u] (O), and all their cities and goodly caſtles were laid in aſhes. Not one male of any age or degree was ſpared, they were all put to the ſword, as were all the females likewiſe that were not pure virgins. The country was laid waſte, and all the cattle driven off before the conqueror, to the number of ſix hundred ſeventy five thouſand ſheep, ſeventy two thouſand beeves, and ſixty one thouſand aſſes. The virgins which were carried away captive were thirty two thouſand in number; and there is mention made of great riches in gold, and ſilver, and iron, and other metals, which were carried off in this general devaſtation [w]. Thus were they puniſhed for their folly and wickedneſs, and their country made quite deſolate.

THUS was a branch of the Midianites utterly cut off; but in proceſs of time this loſs was ſupplied, and it pleaſed GOD, for the puniſhment of Iſrael, that they roſe up in war againſt that ſinful nation, and in their turn were very near deſtroying the whole generation of them by fire, and ſword, and famine, for ſeven ſucceſſive years. For, about one hundred and fifty years after this ſlaughter of the Midianites, there appeared two kings at the head of them, and the Amalekites, and Arabians.

THESE two kings are called ZEBAH and ZALMUNNA, and waged ſo cruel a war againſt the Iſraelites, that not daring to ſtay in the low country, they betook them to the mountains, and there, where nature had been defective, they made themſelves caves and fortreſſes to ſhelter them. The Midianites having therefore no enemy that withſtood them, they waſted the fruits of the earth, and drove off all the cattle. This deſtruction they continued for ſeven years together marching every ſummer ſeaſon in vaſt multitudes, with numberleſs camels, and herds of cattle, about the

Zebah and Zalmunna.

[u] Numb. xxxi. 1—8. [w] Ibid. ver. 9, 10, 11. & ſeqq. Joſeph. ubi ſupr. c. 7.

(O) Balaam is poſitively ſaid to have gone to his place (16), to have returned home; but whether he came back again in compliance with a ſecond meſſage, or whether of his own accord, to ſee the iſſue of his wicked counſel, or to forward it, is not ſaid.

(16) Numb. xxiv. 25.

the time the fruits were far advanced, all which they reaped for themselves; so that, between them and their infinite flocks, there was scarce any sustenance left for the Israelites, who continually fled up to the mountains upon their approach [x].

But God at length put a stop to these mercileſs incursions of Zebah and Zalmunna, who meant nothing less than to starve the inhabitants, and possess themselves of the land [y]. Gideon was chosen by heaven for the delivery of his country upon this calamitous occasion, and he did it so effectually, that the Midianites never dared afterwards to contend with Israel, as will immediately be seen. Zebah and Zalmunna and their confederates marching into the country, according to their annual custom, pitched their tents in the valley of Jezreel, on this side of Jordan. Here, as they lay covering a vast tract of ground, their camp was explored by Gideon one night, who overhearing one of the camp telling his dream to another, who interpreted it in favour of Gideon, he was more than ever encouraged to put in agitation a stratagem, which had been formed for their destruction, with only three hundred men, armed with no other weapons than a ram's horn in one hand, and a light concealed in a pitcher in the other. Accordingly about midnight the Midianites were alarmed in three several quarters of their camp, by the sound of one hundred horns or trumpets in each; and starting from their sleep, perceived also as many lights breaking in upon them on three several sides. The sound of the horns, the glare of the lights, the gloom of the night, and the loud shouts they heard, struck them with horror and amazement, and having no time to recover from their first consternation, they fell into unspeakable confusion; and, being of different languages, struck at one another, not knowing friend from foe; so that a dreadful slaughter ensued, which was chiefly owing to their own weapons. The kings Zebah and Zalmunna, however, found means to extricate themselves, and fled off with a body of about fifteen thousand men: Oreb and Zeeb, two princes of Midian (P), also found means to

[x] Judg. vi. 1—6. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 5. c. 7. [y] Psalm lxxxiii. 11, 12.

(P) According to Josephus, Oreb and Zeb were kings of Midian (17).

(17) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 5. c. 8.

to escape for the present; but they immediately fell into the hands of the Ephraimites, who put them to death; and by the slaughter which happened upon this occasion, and what before happened in the camp, there fell one hundred and twenty thousand men. The kings Zebah and Zalmunna (Q), with their party, got over the river, and held on their flight to Karkor, and there thought themselves safe; but being hotly pursued by Gideon, they were unexpectedly surprized, and put to farther flight, and being overtaken again, their fifteen thousand men were beaten and dispersed [z], and they themselves taken prisoners, and carried back again by Gideon [a]. When he had brought Zebah and Zalmunna home with him, he asked them what kind of men they were whom they had formerly slain at Tabor; they answered they were just such as himself, of majestic deportment; to this he replied, they were his own brethren, and therefore he could not spare their lives: wherefore he ordered his son to stand up and kill them; but they, perceiving the youth to be but weak and fearful, requested of Gideon, as a favour, that he would dispatch them himself, and he did so, and they were no sooner dispatched than the ornaments were taken from the necks of their camels. Thus were the Midianites slaughtered a second time, and plundered of immense wealth in cattle, gold, jewels, rich attire, and the like. The very ear-rings only, taken from them, weighed 1700 shekels [b]. This downfal is, by the prophet, termed, the day of Midian [c], and the slaughter of Midian at the rock of Oreb [d]. From henceforward they gave over the trade of war [e].

THEY were, however, a famous nation many ages afterward, and are mentioned for their industry, and riches [f], and the magnificence of their tents [g]: but in the first century

[z] Judges ubi supra. 10, 12, 13. & seqq. vii, viii. 1—18. [a] Vide Joseph. ubi supra. c. viii. [b] Judg. viii. 18, 26. [c] Isa. ix. 4. [d] Isa. x. 26. [e] Judg. ubi supr. ver. 28. [f] Isa. lx. 6. [g] Habak. iii. 7.

(Q) Josephus says, they were brethren, and calls them Zebin and Hezarben (18). He says also, that these fifteen thousand men were all slain (19) to a man; the scripture only says they were discomfited or terrified, which is by much the more likely to have happened.

(18) Idem ubi supra. (19) Idem ubi supra.

tury their name was difuſed, being by that time ſwallowed up by the more famous of Arabia. Between three and four hundred years ago, there was a ruined city which bore the ancient name (R); in the neighbourhood of which they pretend to ſhew the place where Moſes watered his father-in-law's cattle.

SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of Edom.

ESAU, called alſo Edom, was the progenitor of this people. He was the ſon of Iſaac, the ſon of Abraham, by Rebekah, and born at a birth with Jacob, being his twin-brother, and the elder of the two (A). Theſe twins contended while yet in their mother's womb; an early preſage of the ſtrife which was to take birth between them, and revive between their deſcendants, as GOD himſelf explained it to their mother. Eſau was born with red hair all over him (B); and as he grew up he proved to be a very ſtrong

(R) Abu'lfeda, from whom we have authority to ſay this, calls it مدين Madyan, and Moſes's father-in-law, شعيبا Shoaib (20); and the place is ſtill one of the ſtations in the pilgrimage from Egypt to Mecca, under the name of Shoaib's Cave (21).

(A) It is remarkable, that as he came into the world his brother Jacob had him faſt hold by the heel, as if he would ſupplant him, as he afterwards did, ſays a learned commentator (1).

(B) Much is ſaid concerning this extraordinary hairyneſs of the new born Eſau: but not to enter into the little uncertain niceties of a ſubject of this kind, it is in general thought, that he had not only hair on his head, but all over his body; and that this hair was as ſtrong as briſtles; in ſhort, that he was as rough and ſhaggy as a Satyr (2): and this indeed ſeems to be the meaning of the text, which ſays he was red all over, like a hairy garment. This expreſſion has given birth to a conjecture, that the hair-garments they wore in thoſe days, were of a reddiſh colour, like the hair of Eſau (3). Inſtead of garment the LXX render it δοραδασύς, a briſtly, ſhaggy ſkin, and the vulgate has the ſame interpretation. It is thought, that each interpretation has an eye to the faſhion among

(20) Deſcrip. Arab. p. 42. inter Geo. Vet. Script. Grec. Min. (21) See Ray's Collect. of curious Travels and Voyages, Tome 2. p. 158. (1) Patrick's Comment. upon Gen. xxv. 26. (2) Idem ubi. ſupr. ver. 25. (3) Cleric. in Gen. Loc. ſupra cit.

ſtrong and active perſon, and delighting in the chaſe, became a man of the field; by which means providing plentifully and deliciouſly for his father's table, he won his particular affection. On the other hand, being of a very maſculine turn of mind, and much abſent from home, he retained not the kind inclinations of his mother Rebekah, who prided herſelf wholly in Jacob, who was a gentle-ſpirited man, and more frequently in her eye. On a day it happened, that Eſau came home quite ſpent with faſting and exerciſe, and perceiving that his brother Jacob had cooked ſome pottage, begged he might have ſome of it, being quite empty and ready to die. Jacob, taking advantage of his brother's diſtreſs, tells him, if he would make over his birth-right to him, he ſhould have ſome: whereupon Eſau, thinking himſelf at the point of death, and that his birth-right was of no value to himſelf, conſented to Jacob's ungenerous motion, and ſware away his birth-right to him, and accepted of a meſs of pottage in conſideration thereof; and thus is he ſaid to have deſpiſed his birth-right. Upon this occaſion he was called Edom, which ſignifies red, the colour of the pottage which Jacob ſo dearly ſold him (C). [a] At the age of forty years, he gave

[a] Gen. xxv. 24—34.

among the Arabs of wearing ſkins (4), as ſome of them do at this day, but they are ſheep-ſkins, warm and ſoft, ſown together, the wool being worn innermoſt (5).

(C) We are well apprized of all that has been ſaid by commentators and others upon this great tranſaction between theſe brethren; but it will hardly be expected we ſhould run the ſame lengths they have, nor enter into their infinite repreſentations of this matter; and therefore we ſhall briefly touch upon ſome general points only. The pottage it ſeems was red, or yellowiſh, and made of lentils (6) from Egypt (7); of which there was two ſorts, one darker than the other (8), and both highly prized by the antients, both of the eaſt and weſt. Pliny relates from others, that equanimity is the uſual effect of feeding upon lentils: and another writer ſays they inſpire with joy (9.) It is unlucky they ſhould

(4) Idem ibid. (5) Thevenot, Part. 1. lib. 2. chap. 32. (6) Gen. ubi ſupra, ver. 30, 34. (7) St. Auguſt. in Pſal. xlvi. (8) Plin. Hiſtor. Nat. l. 18. c. 31. (9) Auctor Geopon. lib. 2. c. 35. p. 71.

gave great trouble and ſorrow to his parents by marrying among the daughters of Heth; he took two of them, Judith the daughter of Beeri, and Baſhemath the daughter of Elon

have kindled ſuch a ſtrife between Eſau and Jacob. To this ſome anſwer, that Eſau had never ſeen any afore (10); and this is pretended from Eſau's ſaying only, give me ſome of that red, red, as it is in the original: but this is at firſt ſight very unlikely to be true; for doubtleſs theſe lentiles muſt have been a food he and the reſt of the family were well acquainted with; ſo that what the ancients held concerning the harmonious effects lentils have upon the mind, muſt fall to the ground. But to leave this ſubject, let us take a view of the birth-right which was exchanged for theſe lentils. The chief privilege of the birth-right, ſay ſome, was the inheriting a double portion of the father's eſtate (11): others annex the prieſthood thereto, and ſuppoſe, that Eſau's cloaths, with which Rebekah clad Jacob, were his ſacerdotal veſtments (12); but this notion is ſtrongly repugned by what ſtands on record concerning Cain and Abel (13). Thirdly, a ſuperiority over the reſt of the children is thought to have been the principal prerogative of the birth-right. Again, the chief privilege of the birth-right might have been to challenge the particular bleſſing of the dying parent. To conclude upon this head, the prerogatives of the primogeniture were not confined to the perſon of the ſon, on whom the bleſſing was conferred, ſo as to die with him, but deſcended to his poſterity. So the promiſes made to Jacob in his bleſſing were not fulfilled in him, but in his children after him. Such was the pottage, and ſuch the birth-right, which were ſet in oppoſition to each other. The Hebrew word הלעיטני halhiteni, which Eſau uſes in addreſſing Jacob, occurs no where but in this place, and therefore there is ſome doubt about the true interpretation of it. The LXX render it γεῦσόν με, fac me guſtare, which is not thought earneſt enough for a hungry man. Some, feed me with it, as if he was ſo thoroughly tired, that he could not lift his own hand to his head. Others, give me a good deal of it, which a very hungry man might ſay very naturally; and this is defended by the Samaritan reading, and from the affinity of an Arabic word, which has ſome relation to it in ſound and ſignification. From the ſame alſo it may be ſuppoſed, that he aſked for the thickeſt of the pottage. Conſidering the whole tranſaction between Jacob and Eſau upon this occaſion as meerly human, the former was guilty of a great breach of hoſpitality and brotherly affection at leaſt, and cannot be excuſed, as moſt, even divines, apprehend (14).

(10) See Patrick's Comment. ubi ſupr. ver. 30. (11) ver. 31. (12) Lightfoot Obſervations in Geneſin. c. xxvii. (13) Gen. iv. (14) Vide Cleric. in Geneſ. ubi ſupr.

Elon [b] ; but this wore off in time, and he was received into favour with his father again. Iſaac now grown old and very dim-ſighted called Eſau to him, and told him, that he knew not how few the remainder of his days were to be, and therefore ſhould be glad if he would take his weapons, his quiver and his bow, and go out and get him veniſon, and dreſs it for him in a ſavoury manner as he knew how, that *his ſoul might bleſs him before he died* (D). Eſau obeyed, but while he was abſent, his mother, who heard the words which paſſed between his father and him, dreſſed her ſon Jacob in Eſau's cloaths (E), and, preparing a diſh of ſa-

[b] xxvi. 34, 35.

(D) It is thought that Iſaac only ſent out Eſau by way of probation ; that is, to try whether he had good ſucceſs, or not, thereby to ſatisfy himſelf in a ſcruple he had, whether he ſhould bleſs him or no. For, as by his former ill ſucceſs he was reduced to the neceſſity of making away his birth-right ; ſo now, if the ſame ill luck attended him, he ſhould take it for a ſign that the bleſſing was to depart from him : And though he had pronounced the great bleſſing over Jacob, yet when he perceived that Eſau had brought home the veniſon he ſent him for, he deemed it a tacit expreſſion of the will of God, that Eſau ſhould have his bleſſing alſo, and he bleſſed him accordingly (15).

(E) Concerning theſe cloaths, it is ſaid they had been worn by Adam in his miniſtry, and that they retained the ineffable fragrancy of paradiſe (16). Others only ſuppoſe, that they were laid up in aromatic flowers, or other perfumes, to preſerve them from moths, and to refreſh the brain, when put on ; and that it is groundleſs in the Jews to imagine they deſcended from Adam to Noah, and ſo downwards to Abraham's family (17). Beſides, it may be aſked how it came to paſs, that Iſaac could part with ſo precious a relique to his ſon, during his own life-time ? Perhaps this is too early to ſuppoſe there was any ſuch delicacy in apparel ; but this is obviated by the near neighbourhood of Arabia (18). By the ſmell of the field ſome may underſtand a ſcent more manly than the ſteams of a perfume, eſpecially as Eſau was ſo great a hunter, and perpetually in the field ; but that expreſſion is ſuppoſed to have a different import, and to mean, that his cloaths were exquiſitively ſcented ; and this ſeems to be confirmed from the Samaritan reading, which after the word שרה Shadeh

(15) Vide Lightfoot Obſervat. in Geneſ. cap. xxvii. (16) Vide Braun. de Veſtib. Hebr. ſacerd. c. 4. (17) See Patrick's Comment. upon Gen. c. xxvii. 15 (18) Vide Cleric. in Gen. c. xxvii. 27.

voury meat, sent him in with it to his father, who pronounced the irrevocable blessing over Jacob. Thus was Isaac deceived, and Esau supplanted, who coming in with his venison just after Jacob was gone, Isaac in a great agony told him he had been circumvented by his brother, and that he neither could nor would recal the blessing. When Esau heard this he wept bitterly, and upbraided his brother with his unnatural and subdolous dealing, first, in extorting his birth-right from him, and now, in robbing him of his blessing. However, Esau did so far prevail with his tears and his sorrowful pressing intreaties, that his father blessed him also to this effect; that "his dwelling should be the "fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from "above (F), that he should live by the sword and serve "his

a field, has מלא full; and so the LXX have rendered it ὡς ὀσμὴ ἀγροῦ πλήρους, and so the Vulgate has it, Sicut odor agri pleni; as the smell of a full field, or as it is supplied, as the smell of a field full of sweet herbs and flowers.

(F) Some give this part of Esau's blessing a quite contrary turn, and will have it, that his lot was to be in a barren land; and that his living should be by rapine and violence; and accordingly, that Edom was an ungrateful soil, nor refreshed with timely rains (19). The interpretation of the LXX, with a trifling variation of ἀπὸ, by making it either a prepositon or an adverb, may be taken both ways. But, on the other hand, it is observed, that if we follow our own translation, which is directly in the sense of the Vulgate, and in the sense St. Hierom took it, there will be still a wide difference between Jacob's blessing and Esau's; that in the latter there is no mention made of corn and wine; no such dominion promised as in Jacob's; and that lastly, whatsoever fatness was in the soil of his country, it did not last long (20). Nevertheless, Moses seems to tell us, that the land of Edom was not so destitute as some may imagine; when he promises the king of Edom, that if he would permit the children of Israel to pass through his country, they should hurt neither the fields nor the vineyards (21): the fields may perhaps have been rather corn fields than pasture; and if this be true, the Edomites had their corn and wine too. As to what Malachi says of the infertility and desolation of the kingdom of Edom (22), that must, we think, be rather attributed to the cruel effects of their unfortunate wars, than to any failure in the usual product of the soil.

(19) Idem ubi supr. ver. 39. (20) Patrick's Comment. ubi supr. ver. 39. (21) Numb. xx. 17—20. (22) Malach. i. 3.

" his brother, but that he ſhould ſhake off the yoke at " laſt." It was with a heavy diſcontented mind that he heard his lot, and his reſentment wrought ſo ſtrongly upon him, that at firſt he determined to kill Jacob as ſoon as their father ſhould die; which coming to the knowledge of Rebekah, ſhe ſent Jacob away to Padan-Aram, under pretence of getting him a wife there from among her own kindred [c]. But Eſau cooled again, and generouſly forgot all that had paſt, and finding that Iſaac and Rebekah had a great averſion to the daughters of Canaan, he went over to Iſhmael, and took his daughter, Mehalath the ſiſter of Nebaioth (G), adding her to the wives he had already taken [d]; and removed with his family to mount Seir, not ſo much with a deſign to ſettle there perhaps, as to ſerve a preſent conveniency. The ſpot he occupied in this country took his name, and was called the field of Edom [e], and in a few years he became a very conſiderable perſon.

For, when news came to him hither, that his brother Jacob was on his return from Padan-Aram, he went out to meet him on the road with a train of four hundred followers, with which he meant to honour and aſſiſt his brother, and not inject fear into him as he did. The interview was very tender on both ſides, but eſpecially Eſau, unmindful of what moſt men would ever have retained, accoſted Jacob with tears of joy and the moſt melting affection: he nobly refuſed the preſents wherewith his brother would needleſly have bribed him to a reconciliation, and preſſed him to hold on his way to mount Seir, that they might be neighbours and live together; and when Jacob artfully waved this invitation, under pretence of the tedioufneſs of his marches for the ſake of the children and cattle, and ſeemed to ſay he would follow him; Eſau deſired he would let him at leaſt leave ſome of his followers behind to aſſiſt him and conduct him on his way; but this

[c] Gen. xxii. [d] Gen. xxvii. 6—9. [e] Gen. xxxiii. 3. in the Margin.

(G) It is obſerved from hence, that Eſau paid no regard to the divine revelation, or he would not have taken the deſcendant of a bond-woman [Hagar], who could not inherit the promiſes made to Abraham and Iſaac (23).

(23) See Patrick upon Gen. xxviii. 9.

being rejected, he with reluctance left Jacob behind him, and took the presents away which had been utterly forced upon him by his timorous brother (H); who, instead of following him, deceived him once more, and went another way [f]. Esau remained in Seir till he heard that his father Isaac was either dead, or upon the point to die, and went to

[f] Ibid. & xxxiii.

(H) It appears very plain from what now passed between Esau and Jacob at this meeting, that the former was not so great a reprobate, or naturally so bad a man, as some have unreasonably represented him. We had resolved to touch upon this matter in the behalf of Esau; but finding it generously done to our hands by a very worthy divine, we shall content ourselves with the substance of what he says: Esau was a plain, generous, and honest man; nor does he seem to have been more wicked than the other men of his age and times. His generous and good temper appears by his affectionate deportment towards his brother, and his speedy and utter oblivion of the injuries and slights he received from him: and though St. Paul calls him the prophane Esau, and says he was hated by God, it cannot thence be gathered that he was a wicked man, or that God punished him for an immoral life. 1. This sentence could not extend to his posterity, and is not said to be founded upon his actions. 2. God's hatred of Esau was not a hatred which induced him to punish him with an evil; for he was as happy in the blessings of this life as Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob, if not more. His children became masters of the land of their possession much sooner than the Israelites; and God was pleased to command the Israelites not to disturb them in their rights. And if his earthly felicity was such, why should we despair of his being a partaker of the heavenly? 3. If he was excluded from being the heir of the blessing, so was Lot, and Job, and other good and virtuous men. 4. St. Paul means no more than to shew the Jews, that God had all along bestowed the favours which led to the Messiah on whom he pleased; to Abraham, not to Lot; to Jacob, not to Esau: to the Gentiles, not to the Jews. 5. Though Esau be called βέβηλος, or prophane, he is never called ἀσεβὴς, or ἁμαρτωλὸς, wicked, or immoral. So that the only defect in his character is, that he does not seem to have been so mindful of the promises made to his family as Jacob was; from whence, and from his temper, it appears, that he was not quite so fit to be the heir of the mercies peculiar to his family (24).

(24) Shuckford's Connect. of the Sacr. and Prof. History of the World, vol. 2. p. 198 & seq.

to Mamre, where he aſſiſted Jacob at the funeral of their deceaſed parent, and took poſſeſſion of his inheritance; for his birth-right was a ſpiritual prerogative, and no-ways related to his father's temporal eſtate. By this addition to his former ſtore, and Jacob being alſo very rich and maſter of much cattle, they perceived it would be next to impoſſible to enjoy ſuch large poſſeſſions together in a country where they were both ſtrangers; and therefore, as Abraham and Lot had done before, they parted. Eſau returning to the country of Seir, being an hundred and twenty years old, married Aholibamah a daughter of the country, but originally of Canaan[g]; and from henceforward took ſuch meaſures as might be moſt conducive to the good and peaceable ſettlement of his deſcendants in this country.

Now though Eſau might have no poſitive knowledge of it, yet God deſigned this land for an inheritance to his line[h], as he did that of Canaan for the line of Jacob: and this naturally leads us to give the beſt deſcription we can of the realm ſo ordained for them; which we ſhall here do once for all. This country was originally, ſo far as we know, inhabited by a people called Horites, or Horim, whether ſo named from one Hor, or Hori[i], which was a name amongſt them, is what we know no more, than whether mount Hor was ſo denominated from him, as ſome think[k]. It was called the mount or land of Seir from one Seir an Horite, and not from the hairyneſs of Eſau, who came there long after, as Joſephus dreamed[l]. In the Samaritan Verſion it is called Gablah; by Jonathan's Targum Gobal; and by Joſephus Gobolitis; which ſeveral appellations are derived from Geboul, ſignifying a border; for it did border upon the land of Canaan on the ſouth; but the extent of the ancient country of Seir we take not upon us to ſay; and therefore can mention no other boundary. When the children of Edom ſeized on this country, it grew to be univerſally known under the name of Edom; but we cannot gather, that they extended their limits till the time they erected their monarchy, when they built Elath and Eſiongeber, as is likely, on the eaſtern ſhore of the Arabian gulf; but in the days of Moſes

Their country.

[g] Ubi ſupr. xxxv, xxxvi. [h] Deut. ii. 5. Joſh. xxiv. 4. [i] Gen. xxxvi. 22, 30. [k] See Wells's Hiſtoric. Geogr. of the Old Teſt. vol. 1. p. 533. [l] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 20.

ſes no part of their dominion abutted upon that gulf[m]. When the ancient kingdom of Edom was in its meridian, it was, as we think, bounded on the north by the land of Canaan and the ſalt ſea, or lake Aſphaltites, on the eaſt by Midian, on the ſouth by the Arabian gulf, or the red ſea, ſo called from the juriſdiction this people exerciſed over it, as is moſt likely (I); on the weſt it was bounded by Amalek.

THIS

[m] See Numb. xx. 17—21. Deut. ii. 1. & ſeq.

(I) The Red Sea, as we commonly call it, is more properly termed the Arabian gulf. By the Hebrews it was called Yam Suf, the weedy, or flaggy, ſea; by the Arabians Bahr Alkolzum, or the ſea of Kolzum, a ſmall town at the northermoſt end of it. But by the ancient iuhabitants of the adjacent countries it was called the ſea of Edom, becauſe it waſhed the ſouthern ſkirts of the land of Edom. The Greeks, finding that the Phœnicians called it Yam Edom, miſtook the word Edom to ſignify an appellative inſtead of a proper name; and therefore rendered it ἐρυθρὰ θαλάσσα, Mare Rubrum, and thence we have the Erythrean, or Red Sea (25). Others (26), however, derive the name from a certain king of the eaſt, in, or towards, Perſia, called Erythras; but by the Red Sea they manifeſtly underſtand what we call the Indian ocean; and therefore we cannot think with Sir Iſaac Newton (27), that this ſame Erythras is the Edom or Eſau of ſcripture (28), and that he was actually the firſt that invented the veſſels, rates, in which they navigated that ſea. Agatharcides expatiates on this, and will have it, that the Indian ocean was called the Red Sea; not becauſe the Arabian gulf belonging to it had hills on the weſt of it, which when the ſun ſhone intenſely upon them, looked ſomewhat like burning coals. On the eaſt he ſays indeed there were ſome red hills, and the ſame there are at this day; but this, he ſays, was not the reaſon why the ocean was called Red: nor was it becauſe the ſun in thoſe parts, inſtead of darting forth bright and clear rays, ſhone out only with a ſanguine light, which gave a bloody hue to the ſurface of the ſea; but he will have it derived from one Erythras, an obſcure and fabulous prince, concerning whom he tells a very abſurd and puerile ſtory, with a very grave air. From this it appears, that the Erythrean, or Red Sea of the ancients is the Indian ocean of our days, and that what we call the Red Sea was conſidered as a branch of it.

(25) See Prideaux's Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Part. 1. Book 1. p. 10 (26) Plin. l. 6. c. 28. Strab. lib. 16. p. 766. Pompon, Mel. lib. 3. cap. 8. (27) Chronol. of ancient Kingdoms amend. p. 211. (28) Apud Phot. in Biblioth. p. 1, 322.

THIS tract is very hilly and mountainous, and great part of it desart. It has few or no open streams, but latent springs of water sufficient for the use of the inhabitants, who know where to find them [n]. Corn and wine, nevertheless, it seems to have anciently abounded with in some degree [o]; so that Esau may have enjoyed the fat of the land (K); and besides, his posterity, by their situation, were able to supply and enrich themselves with the produce of some of the finest and most fruitful soils on earth, by means of their commerce with foreigners by the red-sea, in those days the greatest and most considerable trading water in the world. Amalekitis is by some reckoned to have been a part or province of Edom [p] (L), but, however it was considered in later days, it certainly was not so when the kingdom of Amalek flourished; and therefore we shall treat thereof separately, in the next section. We are positively told, that Job's country, the land of Uz, lies within

[n] Thevenot's Travels, Part 1. c. 32. Sandys, Book 2. p. 107.
[o] See Numb. ubi supra. [p] Vide Histor. Jul. in Edom. Joseph. Antiq. l. 11. c. 1.

(K) By modern travellers we are told, that this country at present is nothing less than a fertile spot (29). But it must bear a widely different face now that it is only frequented by the Bedouins, or wandering Arabs, from what it did, when occupied by a settled nation, who doubtless must with great pains and industry have prepared the soil for propagation: but we have spoken of this already (30).

(L) Josephus divides Edom into Gobolitis and Amalekitis (31); but this is a division which cannot be accurately spoken of, while the Edomites and Amalekites were independant states. The habitation of the Edomites is also frequently called Gebalene (32); and especially by Eusebius, who uses the appellations Gebalene and Idumea indifferently to denote the same place (33). Some later writers have torn the country asunder by a very violent and needless rent, placing one Edom in the land of Seir on the other side of Jordan to the north, and leaving the other in the place where the only land of Seir certainly stood; but this is a notion very solidly confuted by the best approved of the latest geographers.

(29) Sandys, Book 2. p. 107. (30) See before p. 148. note (F). (31) Joseph. Antiq. l. 11. c. 1. (32) Stephan. ad voces, Γάβαλα. & Γεβάλα. (33) In Onomast urbium & locorum ad voces Γεθεά, Σηεὶς Ἰάθερ.

in the limits of the ancient Edom [q]; but ſome very noted geographers [r] are unwilling to grant it, for reaſons which are not altogether ſo valid as might be wiſhed; but they are too obſcure and uncertain to be diſcuſſed here.

Now the cities and remarkable places of Edom were Teman, which, being mentioned for the wiſdom and counſel of its inhabitants [s], was, perhaps, the royal ſeat: The country around it was called Temani; of this part was Eliphaz, one of Job's friends [t]. Dedan, a city of great dealings with Tyre; ſome of the commodities are mentioned, ebony, ivory, and fine cloaths [u]; it ſeems to have been ſituated in an extremity of the country oppoſite to Teman [w]. Bozrah [x], Boſor, Bazrah, and the like, are names of another city of Edom; its name implies a fortreſs, which has made ſome imagine, that it was the capital of the kingdom [y]. By the manner of the prophet's introducing it, it may be gueſſed to have been a conſiderable place in his days. Selah or Petra being words of the ſame ſignification, the one in greek the other in hebrew, it is thought, the one is a tranſlation of the other, and that they both intend one and the ſame city [z]. If this be right, it ſtood on a level ſpot of ground, encompaſſed all round by ſteep rocks and craggy precipices, and within this incloſure were many gardens and rich ſprings; but beyond it the country was a deſart [a]. That it was thus naturally fortified, appears by ſeveral authors [b]. By one it is called the chief place of the Nabatæans [c], whom in another place he calls Idumeans [d], that is, Edomites; and ſays, that it was three or four days journey diſtant from Jericho. A ſecond author alſo calls it a city of the Nabatæans [e]. A third places it near mount Hor [f], and calls it the capital of Arabia [g]. A fourth ſeats it ten miles weſtward of Elath [h], a ſea-port on the red ſea belonging to the Edomites. Moreover,

[q] Auguſt. de Civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 47. See alſo Lament. iv. 21. [r] Vide Cellarii Notit. Orb. Ant. & Relandi Palæſt. Illuſtr. [s] Jerem. xlix. [t] Job ii. 11. [u] Jerem. ubi ſupr. ver. 8. Ezek. xxvii. 15, 20. [w] Idem xxv. 13. in the Margin. [x] Iſa. lxiii. 1. [y] See Fuller's Piſgah ſight, lib. 4. c. 2. [z] See Prideaux's Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Part 1. Book viii. p. 544. Fuller ubi ſupr. [a] Strabo, lib. 16. p. 779. [b] Joſeph. Ant. lib. 14. c. 9. Diod. Sic. lib. 19. p. 722. [c] Strabo, ubi ſupr. [d] Idem ibid. p. 760. [e] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupr. [f] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 4. c. 4. [g] Lib. xiv. c. 25. [h] Euſeb. Onomaſt. urb. & loc. ad vocem Πέτρα.

over, this kingdom had two very eminent ſea-ports, Elath and Eſiongeber, on the ſhores of the Arabian gulf, or red ſea [i]. Eſiongeber proved an unfortunate harbour, being rocky and very difficult, deriving its name from a ridge of rocks it had, which was thought to reſemble the back-bone of a man [k], and growing at length infamous for the many wrecks which befel the ſhipping that frequented it, it was deſerted very early; and therefore its ſituation is not exactly known, any further than that it ſtood very near to Elath. This [meaning Elath] was a fairer and more commodious haven, and for a long time was a ſtation for the ſhipping, which was ſent from theſe parts into the Indies. It is alſo called Eloth, Aela, Ailat, Elat, Elana, from whence you have the Elanitic gulf wherein it ſtood; and by the Arabians Ailah to this day (M). Upon the decay

[i] 1 Kings ix. 26. [k] See Prideaux's Connect. of the old and New Teſt. part 1. book 1. p. 7. and Patrick's Comment, upon the above-cited paſſage of Kings.

(M) Ailah, or Elath, is near the road the Egyptian pilgrims take, when they go to Mecca. In the fourteenth century there were conſiderable remains of it ſtanding. At that time an Egyptian governor reſided in a tower there: there were no fields about it. There was formerly a caſtle which ſtood out in the ſea, but that is deſtroyed. Our author calls it a ſmall city, and adds, that it had belonged to thoſe Jews who were turned into apes and ſwine (34). Elath and Eſiongeber grew at laſt to be ambigui juris, according to Sir John Marſham (35). But not to anticipate what we may have to ſay upon this matter, let it for the preſent ſuffice, that we obſerve the Edomites to have been ſo well able to defend the right they claimed of the empire of the Red-Sea, that the Egyptians were anciently unable to diſpute it with them, and were obliged to ſubmit to ſuch conditions as the Edomites were pleaſed to allow them, which are ſaid to have been hard enough; for they were allowed but one veſſel of burthen wherewith to ſail to the Indies, and not ſo much as one galley (36). Elath was particularly ſo conſiderable a place, as to give name to the eaſtermoſt of the gulfs which terminate the Red-Sea, and had the famous metropolis of Petra, ten miles to the weſtward of it (37), as is ſaid from very good authority, which has been followed by ſome geographers of firſt note.

(34) Abu'lfeda in Deſcrip. Arab. (35) Canon. Chron. ſecul. xiv. p. 367. (36) See before, Vol. I. Ch. 3. latter end of the ſecond ſect. Hiſt. de Huet, du Comm. & de la Navig. des Anc. c. 5. (37) Euſeb. Onom Urbium & Locorum ad vocem, Αἰλα.

decay of Esiongeber, it grew into great credit and resort, and was thought worthy of being contended for; and anciently changed its masters several times: it was wrested from the Edomites by David [l], it was afterwards forced from the house of David by the Edomites when they rebelled against Jehoram [m]; Azariah got it from them again [n]; but his grandson lost it to the king of Syria [o]; the Syrians held it a long time, and, after some revolutions and changes under the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, it fell to the share of the Romans. Remarkable places in this country were farther, mount Hor, where Aaron died, and the valley of Salt, a spot on which the Edomites were twice defeated with a great slaughter; and had its name, probably, from its salt springs, or the salt found there [p].

Now though the name of this kingdom is frequently rendered Idumæa, and Idumea, as in our version of the bible; yet when that name occurs in the prophane and the more modern writers, it must not be understood of the ancient Edom, which, losing its old name, was comprehended under the general appellation of Arabia Petræa, and the third Palestine. The southern part of Canaan came to be called Idumæa, and the whole nation of the Jews Idumæans sometimes. Whence this arose will in part be seen in the close of this section, and more amply in the history of the Jews.

Forms of government.

To return to the ancient Edom. How it was in its more early times governed is a matter of doubt, and being so, we can only embrace the most likely opinion. The Horites were at first ruled by patriarchs, or heads of families, and after that by kings, which were elected into the regal office. This elective kingdom was some how or other interrupted and dissolved, and the ancient form took place again, the governors being stiled dukes, who seem to have succeeded in right of birth. Perceiving the imperfections of this kind of administration, they coalesced under one king, thereby to be the better enabled to withstand an invasion from the Israelites when they came out of Egypt. It was governed afterwards by Edomitish kings quite down to the days of David, who subdued the kingdom; and this second monarchy seems to have been hereditary. These are the various forms of government, which seemed

[l] 2 Sam. viii. 14. [m] 2 Kings viii. 20. [n] Ibid. xxiv. 22.
[o] Ibid. xvi. 6. [p] Vide Salmas. Exercit. Plinian. Cap. 35. p. 613, 614.

ſeemed to have been exerciſed in the land of Seir and Edom, by the Horites and the Edomites, as will be ſeen in the courſe of this ſection.

THE character we have of the Edomites is, that they were a bold and daring people, fond of broils and tumults, which they as much delighted in, as others in the ſoftning pleaſures of luxury [q]. But this, we muſt tell you, is peculiarly the character of the later Edomites, who migrated into Judæa; nor ſhould we have inſerted it here, but that it ſeems to be of a piece with the genius of the people, as their great anceſtor Iſaac foretold it. However, though courage was to be one of their characteriſtics, and, perhaps, the chief, yet we are under no neceſſity to believe it to have been of ſo brutal a ſort as Joſephus repreſents above: for as they were, doubtleſs, a trading nation, it is incompatible to ſuppoſe they were a neſt of robbers and incendiaries, fewer ſuch being for ever found among thoſe that are addicted to commerce, and conſequently enjoy all the world can afford them, than among lazy and ſlothful nations, and ſuch as condemn induſtry out of a vain and ridiculous notion of honour. For theſe laſt are ſure to be mean, and beggarly, rude, ignorant, and baſe; the former quite the reverſe, flouriſh in plenty and eaſe, are learned, ingenious, and brave. What therefore their anceſtor foretold of them, that they ſhould live by the ſword, perhaps, imports no more, than that they ſhould maintain their rights, whether natural or uſurped, with a high hand and a jealous eye; as all thoſe who have claimed the empire of the ſea, as they did, have for ever done. Thus for want of due authority, have we attempted the character of the Edomites, by drawing a parallel between them and others of later, and our own times. And, abating the difference of climates which works a difference of tempers, we cannot be much out of the way in comparing them with other trading ſtates, that flouriſh within our knowledge, who are far from living upon plunder and rapine; and in this we ſhall be more confirmed, when we come to view their behaviour towards Moſes; when though they refuſed him admittance into their territories, yet they were ready to traffic with him, and ſupply him with neceſſaries, as we ſhall ſee anon. The Edomites, whoſe character Joſephus draws above, were a degenerate race, quite aliens to the liberties and noble ſpirit of their forefathers, as we may not unjuſtly ſuppoſe.

Their character.

THEIR

[q] Joſeph. Antiq. l. 13.

Arts and sciences.

THEIR arts and sciences were doubtless great, considering the time, many, and well perfected; and though perhaps there may be no necessity to suppose, as the excellent Sir Isaac Newton has done, that they were the parents of those amiable sisters; yet may we safely pronounce, that they were not much, if any thing at all, behind hand with the most ancient learned nations. The invention and use of constellations appear, by the Book of Job [r], to have been known among the Edomites, among whom he dwelt [s], a rare instance of the early progress of astronomy, if we suppose Job to have ever existed, or the book it self to be of such ancient date as many think. Writing is there mentioned [t] also, and ships [u], and many hints given sufficient to confirm us in a belief, that the secrets and beauties of nature, morality, and much sublime and truly-useful knowledge was cultivated among them. Nor is there wanting very ample evidence from prophane authors to make this out, as we shall take proper opportunities of shewing; and indeed it has been a common opinion of the learned, that great veneration is due to their memory on that account.

Religion.

CONCERNING their religion we are much in the dark. They at first were right in their belief and practice, as they were descended from Isaac, and used circumcision; but they by degrees forgot all, erred into idolatry (for idols it seems they had *), and disused circumcision; but in the end coalesced with the Jews, and were ever after considered as but one nation with them in divine matters, as will be seen at the decay of their state.

History.

WE now resume the history of Esau the father of this people. The number of his family and domestics when he fixed his dwelling here is uncertain, though probably very numerous. According to the hypothesis [w], which in this very obscure case we think ourselves obliged to adopt, he settled here under one of the Horite kings; and therefore he lived in a private manner, and was never considered any more than as the chief of his own house; and thence is dignified with no particular title by Moses. Concerning this matter, we cannot but think with bishop Cumberland,

[r] Chap. ix. 38. [s] St. August. de civitat. Dei ubi supr. Lamenta. ubi supr. [t] See before, in the Notes, p. 132. [u] Job c. ix. * See 2 Chron. xxv. in the Argument. [w] See Bishop Cumberland's Orig Gent. Antiq.

berland, that the Horites were at firſt ruled by ſeveral independant chiefs or patriarchs, till they were overpowered by Chedorlaomer king of Elam, who ſwept them before him, with the neighbouring nations. To ſecure themſelves therefore from ſo great an evil for the time to come, they united under a more ſtable and perfect kind of government, and formed themſelves into an elective kingdom, and their kings were,

BELA, the ſon of Beor: the name of his city was Dinhabah.

JOBAB, the ſon of Zerah of Bozrah. From a ſimilitude of names he has been taken for the holy and patient Job, whoſe hiſtory we might enlarge on, were it not too well known, or too uncertain for us to inſert here, which, for ought we are ſure of, is as proper a place as any other. But though we are well furniſhed with help towards this obſcure taſk, and might, to ſhew that we have read almoſt every thing neceſſary to qualify us for the undertakeing, introduce a cloud of commentators and interpreters; yet we ſhall forbear, becauſe it will naturally lead us into a very dry diſcourſe, and be perhaps very diſſatisfactory to ſome, and very diſguſtful to others. Wherefore we will only ſay, that, according to ſome, Job was a real, according to others, an imaginary, perſon. Some ſay the book was written by himſelf in Arabic, and tranſlated by Moſes into Hebrew; others, that Moſes compoſed it originally while he was in Midian; others again, that it was originally written by Ezekiel: Some hold it to be a genuine and ſincere hiſtory: others, that it is a dramatic entertainment, or a pious fable for the inſtruction of men in the great duty of reſignation to GOD. Some place his abode in, or upon the ſkirts of, the ancient kingdom of Edom; others, upon the banks of the Euphrates (N). Some reckon

(N) Some have not ſcrupled to ſay, that Job's diſtemper was the foul diſeaſe; for indeed he might have been ſmitten with that as well as with any other; ſo that in this caſe there is no reaſon to believe that he drew it on himſelf. He is the patron of all thoſe that labour under that filthy affliction within the pale of the Roman church; but ſhe revered him before the ſaid diſeaſe was known in Europe. As to that miſtake about the ſepulchre without the walls of Conſtantinople, and that other, that the Turks take him to have been the chief judge of Solomon's court; they have been fully detected (38).

(38) Bayle Art. Job.

reckon him among the moſt early of Eſau's deſcendants, others bring him down to the days of Joſiah. Having thus given a tranſitory view of the great miſt which hangs over the ſtory of Job, we proceed.

HUSHAM of the land of Temani.

HADAD, the ſon of Bedad, he ſmote Midian in the field of Moab, and the name of his city was Avith.

SAMLAH of Mareſkah; in his reign, or in that of his ſucceſſor, came Eſau, as we think, into this country.

SAUL of Rehoboth.

BAAL-HANAN, the ſon of Achbor.

HADAR; the name of his city was Pau, and his wife's name was Mehetabel.

UNDER the three laſt, or four laſt, of theſe kings, did Eſau and his family live as ſojourners in a ſtrange land, as Abraham and Iſaac their forefathers had done before them in other parts. This monarchy, which was plainly elective, came ſome how or other to be interrupted, and broken into ſeveral petty and independant principalities or dukedoms; and, ſeeing that the poſterity of Eſau exceed in the number of their dukes, it cannot be very incongruous to ſuppoſe, that they had the largeſt ſhare in bringing about this revolution. It is very accurately obſerved by a late and learned writer, that the firſt dukes of the Edomites are not ſtiled dukes of Edom, but dukes in the land of Edom [x]. From whence we gather, that the grandchildren of Eſau, grown ſtrong and potent, could no longer brook ſubjection to a ſtrange line, and would govern themſelves; ſo that now the whole country became divided into ſeveral diſtinct juriſdictions, and under ſeveral petty princes, called dukes, both of the poſterity of Eſau, and of that of Seir, who are all collateral. The dukes in the land of Edom were, 1. Duke Teman; 2. Duke Omar; 3. Duke Zepho; 4. Duke Kenaz; 5. Duke Korah; 6. Duke Gatam; 7. Duke Amelek. Theſe ſeven were the ſons of Eliphaz the firſt-born of Eſau. 8. Duke Nahath; 9. Duke Zerah; 10. Duke Hanimah; 11. Duke Mizzah: theſe four were the ſons of Reuel, the ſecond ſon of Eſau; 12. Duke Ieuſh; 13. Duke Jaalam; 14. Duke Korah: theſe three were the ſons of Eſau himſelf, begot by him, after he was an hundred and twenty years old, on Aholibamah his laſt wife. All theſe were the dukes in the land of

[x] Shuckford's Connect. of the ſacred and prophane Hiſt. Book 8. p. 192.

of Edom; that is, in that part poſſeſſed by the Edomites, and thence called after them. At the ſame time were ſeven Dukes over the poſſeſſion of the deſcendants of Seir. 1. Duke Lotam; 2. Duke Shobal; 3. Duke Zibeon; 4. Duke Anah; he found mules (O) in the wilderneſs, as he fed the aſſes of Zibeon his father; 5. duke Diſhon: 6. Duke Ezer; 7. Duke Diſhan [x]. Now ſeeing that the dukes of Eſau's line in the land of Edom, being more in number, may have been greater in might than thoſe of the Horites in the land of Seir, it ſeems not unnatural to ſuppoſe, that theſe laſt were now expelled by the former, who ſeized on the land by the preordained diſtribution of GOD [y]. At the ſame time, Amalek or his ſpurious offſpring may have been driven out alſo.

ACCORDINGLY

[x] Gen. xxxvi. [y] Deut. ii. 12.

(O) Concerning this remarkable event there is ſome variety of judgment and interpretation. The Hebrew word is הימים hayyemim, which the LXX, not knowing how to render, have retained, and accordingly have ἰαμεὶν, and ſo have Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus. From St. Jerom we have ſeveral traditions of the Jews concerning this matter. Some thought, that by the above word muſt be underſtood ſeas, or large waters; for the ſame letters are uſed for the word which bears that import; and will have it, that, while he fed his father's aſſes in the wilderneſs, he found a collection of waters, or ſeas, according to the Hebrew idiom, an uncommon diſcovery in a deſart, and therefore worthy of notice. Some would have it to mean hot waters in the Phœnician tongue. Some again, that he ſuffered wild aſſes to cover his tame ones, and that the ſwifteſt breed of thoſe creatures called Yamim, ſprang from thence: And moſt of the Rabbins teach, that he, firſt of all men, ſuffered aſſes to cover the mares in the wilderneſs; whence the unnatural breed of mules were ſhewn to the world. Now theſe interpretations, or ſuppoſitions, are thus combated. 1. To make the Hebrew word mean ſeas, it muſt be altered in the reading contrary to all authority and likelihood: and beſides, as the Hebrews call great ponds or lakes ſeas, it is no wonder, that he found out ſuch congregations of water; but there is nothing of that kind that can be conſidered in thoſe parts, except the lake Aſphaltites, which was made afterwards. 2. Thoſe who render the word hot-baths, as the Vulgate, according to the Phœnician ſignification, ſeem to have read חמים hhemim, and to have believed,

ACCORDINGLY the next generation of theſe princes are ſtiled dukes of Edom, and had no rivals of any other family in any other part of the country, which now we ſuppoſe to have been all called Edom. The Dukes of this ſecond race were; 1. Duke Timnah; 2. Duke Alvah; 3. Duke Jetheth; 4. Duke Aholibamah; 5. Duke Elah; 6. Duke Pinon; 7. Duke Kenaz; 8. Duke Teman; 9. Duke Mibzar; 10. Duke Magdiel; 11. Duke Iram [z] (P). Theſe eleven were dukes of Edom when the

[z] Gen. ubi ſupr.

that it is ſynonymous with חמים hhammim, which ſignifies hot baths; but this is countenanced by no reading or interpretation. 3. Thoſe who will have him to have firſt found out the breed of mules, are confuted by Bochart, with the following arguments; 1. Becauſe mules were never called by that name; 2. Becauſe the word מצא matza, which Moſes uſes, imports the finding what exiſts already, and not the invention of what never had been before; 3. Becauſe they were aſſes which Anah fed, and not horſes; 4. Becauſe in ſcripture there is no mention made of mules to the time of David. In the concluſion, it is the proper name of a people, the אימים Emim for example; which is perfectly made out from the Samaritan reading; whom he found ſuddenly, that is, fell on them by ſurprize, and diſcomfited them; and this is the moſt likely meaning of the Hebrew text in this place, it having the very ſame ſignification in ſeveral other places (40). However, the word is alſo thought to have been the name of ſome uſeful plant, or herb (41), which Anah firſt diſcovered.

(P) In ſcripture the names of theſe kings and dukes run in a ſeemingly-confuſed order: and ſome are unwilling to think that they ſucceeded in the manner we have, from biſhop Cumberland, placed them in (42). This difference in opinion proceeds from theſe words of the text prefixed to the liſt of the kings; *and theſe are the kings that reigned in the land of* Edom, *before there reigned any king over the land of* Iſrael (43). This is ſuppoſed to be an interpolation; and if we do not allow all the kings of the liſt to have been elder than Moſes, we muſt ſuppoſe the whole to

(40) Vide Cleric. Comm. in Gen. cap. xxxvi. ver. 24. (41) Vide Wagen Annot in Tit. Talm. Sot. (42) See Shuckford's Connect. of the ſacr. and prof. Hiſt. Book 7. p. 192, & ſeqq. (43) See Prideaux's Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Part 1. Book 5. p. 492, 493.

the children of Israel were come out into the wilderness; and, being dismayed at the approach of so formidable a body, as yet unprovided with a seat, dreaded for their own country, not knowing, that the Israelites were under a strict injunction by no means to molest them. Wherefore, perceiving the imperfection and weakness of the regulation they were under, they united under one head or king, and prepared to maintain their ground against any invasion.

To this nameless king, or perhaps his successor, came messengers from Moses, then drawing near the end of his days, to entreat a passage through his country for him and his people. And though it was remonstrated to him, that the Israelites were his brethren; and as he could not but know, how they and their fathers had wandered from place to place, without any fixed habitation; how they had been oppressed in Egypt; how God had now led them out from under their bondage, and that they had reached his borders, being in, and near, the town of Kadesh; it was to be hoped he would let them pass freely through his country, in their way to the land of Canaan; that if he was willing to befriend them in this matter, they would keep the highway, and not offer to turn to the right or the left, to hurt the fields, or the vineyards, or drain the wells of water, until they had quite crossed his territories. To this the jealous king of Edom answered, that he would by no means grant it, and advised them not to make the least attempt towards it; that if they did, they might expect to be interrupted by the whole strength of his kingdom. And when these embassadors, or perhaps those of a second embassy, urged him still farther upon this

to be interpolated too; and accordingly some take Moses to have been the first king of Israel, and to be meant here. It cannot be proved that any of the said kings were of the line of Esau: and this first monarchy set up by the Horites was plainly elective; whereas that monarchy erected by the children of Esau was, by the very little or nothing we know of it, at least seemingly, hereditary; for Hadad was a minor when David conquered Edom. But we are afraid of trespassing too much on our readers patience, by running into the many particulars of this debate, and shall only say, that we have embraced that opinion, which upon mature deliberation seems to us to be the best founded.

important buſineſs, and made a renewal of promiſes and aſſurances of the moſt peaceable behaviour, if they might have the paſſage they ſolicited, proteſting, that they would pay for every thing they might have occaſion for on the way, and that they would be as expeditious in their marches as their feet would permit; he grew downright exaſperated at their reiterated inſtances, and fearing, that the Iſraelites might make ſome deſperate attempt to force the paſſage he denied them, he took the field, and marched towards them, to intimidate them, and ſhew them that he was not to be prevailed on [z]. However, his enmity did not run to the pitch of diſtreſſing them in matters wherein he could relieve them without danger to himſelf, and, perhaps that they might not grow deſperate, he furniſhed them with what his country afforded for their ſuſtenance, or convenience, for their money [a].

AFTER this, there is ſcarce any hiſtory ſo obſcure and interrupted as this of Edom; and particularly, we find no words concerning them, from theſe days to thoſe of king David: however, we will ſupply this chaſm in part, by obſerving, that in the mean time the Edomites extended their dominion, and applied themſelves to trade and navigation, and ſeized on the empire of the ſea; we mean of the Arabian gulf at leaſt, and the trade thereof: they dealt in very rich commodities as it ſeems; pure gold, gold of Ophir, the topaz of Ethiopia, coral, pearls, and the like [b], and became a very conſiderable kingdom, as the moſt common opinion is.

BUT in the very meridian, as we think, of their glory, they were humbled by conqueſt, and the chiefs of them driven from their homes by the cruelties of a foreign invaſion; which how they drew it upon them we have ſcarce any room to gueſs (Q). But ſo it was, that they became involved in a war with king David, in which they

[z] Numb. xx. 14, 21. [a] Deut. ii. 28, 29. [b] Job. xxviii.

(Q) Indeed there is but very little room to gueſs at what might poſitively be the cauſe of this ruin executed upon the Edomites; but probably, David treating with them for ſome of the advantages of Elath and Eſiongeber, they refuſed to hearken to him, and thereby provoked him to wreſt thoſe important places, the only marts of the very rich commodities he wanted, out of their hands.

they were defeated in the valley of ſalt [c], with the loſs of eighteen thouſand men; and though this battle ſeems to have decided the fate of the kingdom, yet the Edomites were not ſuffered to live, but were maſſacred, where-ever they could be found, for ſix months together by Joab, who ſlew all the males that came into his hands; ſo that happy were they who could eſcape into ſtrange countries (R). So Edom was awed by the conqueror's gariſons, waſted, and depopulated, while its ancient inhabitants were diſperſed into ſeveral parts. Hadad their king, as yet a minor, and a party with him, took the way of Midian (S), thinking, perhaps, to croſs the Red-ſea, and there underſtanding, that they and their young king would be favourably received by Pharaoh, they carried him thither, and Hadad was accordingly received, and ſupported by Pharaoh with all the dignity becoming his royal rank; and, to compleat all the favours and kindneſſes which were unſparingly heaped on him, he had the queen's [Taphenes's] ſiſter given to him in marriage [d]. But at the ſame time that Hadad made his way towards Egypt, others took different routs; ſome, flying to the Philiſtines, fortified Azoth, or Azotus, for them (T), and

[c] 2 Sam. viii. 13. 1 Chron. xviii. 12. [d] 1 Kings xi. 15, 20.

(R) Sir Iſaac Newton makes this diſperſion to have been of very beneficial conſequence to the ſeveral nations they went to, ſuppoſing they carried their arts, ſciences, and induſtry with them where-ever they went (44); and herein he is in part ſupported by very ample authority, as we ſhall immediately obſerve.

(S) From hence we have, after Reland, ſuppoſed, that Midian was partly bounded on the north by Eden (45); as if they were obliged to fly through Midian to go to Egypt: but it is more likely that they ſtruck into Midian, as the ſhorteſt cut to get away from the enemy, with deſign to embark for Egypt, at Madian, or ſome other ſea-port of that country, as the ſafeſt way to go into Egypt.

(T) According to Sir Iſaac Newton's hypotheſis, Hadad and his followers were the more kindly received by the king of Egypt, as he foreſaw the advantage they would be of to him, by bringing with them their ſkill in letters, aſtronomy, navigation, and the like, in which the Egyptians were till then ignorant.

(44) Chron. of anc. kingd. amended, p. 209. (45) See before, p. 131.

proved a considerable accession of power, and of very singular benefit to that people (U): and others, that dealt in shipping, took the longest way they could to escape the rage of the conqueror, and went towards, or into, the Persian gulf [d]: in a word, they were dispersed into all parts, there being no safety for them in their native place.

HADAD,

[d] Sir Isaac Newton's Chronol. of anc. Kingd. amended, p. 104, 105.

(U) The aforesaid chronologer holds, among other things, that some of them flying to the Philistines and the sea-ports, improved the inhabitants there in the arts of navigation and commerce; and indeed it is more than once said, that the Phœnicians came from the Red-Sea. Herodotus (47) tells us so; and Stephanus (48) relates, that Azotus was built by the fugitives which fled from the Red-Sea. "The Phœnicians therefore "came from the Red-Sea, in the days of Io and her brother "Pheroneus, king of Argos; and by consequence at that time, "when David conquered the Edomites, and made them fly every "way from the Red-Sea ... And this flight gave occasion "to the Philistines to call many places Erythra, in memory of "their being Erythreans, or Edomites, and of their coming "from the Erythrean sea; for Erythra was the name of a city in "Ionia; of another in Libya; of another in Locris; of another "in Bæotia; of another in Cyprus; of another in Ætolia; of "another in Asia, near Chius; and Erythya Acra was a promontory in Lybia, and Erythræum a promontory in Crete, and "Erythros a place near Tybur, and Erithini a city or country in "Paphlagonia; and the name Erythea, or Erythræ, was given "to the island of Gades, peopled by Phœnicians..... Edom, Erythra, and Phœnicia, are names of the same signification, the "words denoting a red colour; which makes it probable, that "the Erythreans who fled from David settled in great numbers in "Phœnicia; that is, in all the sea-coasts of Syria, from Egypt "to Zidon; and by calling themselves Phœnicians in the language of Syria, instead of Erythreans, gave the name of "Phœnicia to all that sea-coast, and to that only" (49).

The same chronologer holds, that the Oes of Helladius, the Oannes of Berosus (50), and the Euhanes of Hyginus (51), are several names given to an Edomite commander, who now fled to the Persian gulf, and first introduced the useful arts into Chaldea; but this, we apprehend, is allowing a little too much.

(47). l. 1. c. 1. l. 7. c. 89. (48) In vocem Ἄζωτ, (49) See his Chronol. of anc. kingd. amended, p. 108, 109. (50) See before, Vol. I. p. 266. (51) Fab. 274.

HADAD, though he lived in great eaſe and ſplendor in the Egyptian court, yet being conſcious of his birth, unwilling to live in dependance, thirſting after his kingdom, and bitterly remembering the ſeverity of the conqueror, meditated revenge, but more eſpecially when it was told him, that David and the terrible Joab were both dead. At length the time came, when Solomon wallowed in all kinds of impurity, and thinking this a proper opportunity to take his revenge, he diſcloſed his mind to his brother-in-law Pharaoh, entreating that he would diſmiſs him. The wiſe king of Egypt, perceiving the great troubles and dangers which he muſt be expoſed to in executing his deſign, would have prevailed on him to lay aſide all thoughts of ſo tumultuous an undertaking; but Hadad, upon urging the matter, obtained a diſmiſſion, and proved a very troubleſome enemy to Solomon, and ſhewed the way to others, as is thought, to be the ſame; but he did not recover his kingdom again. He had a ſon by his Egyptian wife, and his name was Genubath: he had a princely education in the palace of Pharaoh; but Hadad failing in his view upon his own kingdom, he, it is likely, eſtabliſhed himſelf in Syria, where we find the royal family bore the name of Hadad.

IN the mean time, the kingdom or Edom continued under the houſe of David till the days of Jehoſhaphat, being governed by deputies or viceroys, appointed by the kings of Judah. And, though we have, in the hiſtory of Moab, made mention of a king of Edom, who aſſiſted Jehoram king of Iſrael and Jehoſhaphat king of Judah, in the reduction of Meſha king of Moab, we there ſpeak only in the freedom of ſcripture-phraſe; for that king, as he is called, attended upon Jehoſhaphat as a vaſſal, and not as a an auxiliary [e]. However, though the hiſtory of that war does peculiarly belong to the reigns of Jehoſhaphat and Jehoram, kings of Judah and Iſrael, who were the principals in it, yet we have here occaſion to repeat, that this chief of Edom's ſon is thought to have been ſacrificed by Meſha the king of Moab, upon the walls of the city where he was blocked up, though, on the other hand, it is alſo thought to have been the Moabite's own ſon [f].

WE have now ſeen the time wherein Eſau was to be a ſervant to his brother; and now we come to that wherein he was to ſhake off his yoke, and be ſubject to him no more. For finding a fair opportunity to recover their anci-

[e] See 1 Kings xxii. 47. [f] See before, p. 113.

ent liberty, the Edomites embraced it, and ſucceeded. They had already ſhewn how ill they were diſpoſed, even towards Jehoſhaphat, when a part of them joined the Moabites and Ammonites, in an attempt to ſurprize him, when he was unprepared for the aſſault; but fell into unaccountable confuſion, wherein the Edomites were all cut off by the Ammonites and Moabites, who afterwards butchered each other [g]. But in the days of Jehoram the ſon of Jehoſhaphat, the whole nation of Edom aroſe, and, aſſaſſinating or expelling their vice-roy, made themſelves a king after their own liking; and upon advice that Jehoram was comeing with a formidable power to reduce them, they marched towards him, and managed ſo as to hem him all round in the night-time; but this project was diſconcerted with a great ſlaughter, and they were forced to their retrenchments. This was but an indifferent beginning; but ſo it happened, that the Edomites could not be annexed again to the houſe of David *.

THUS was the long wiſh'd for revolution brought about, after one hundred and fifty years of oppreſſion; but who was their chief upon this occaſion, or what he did farther, or who ſucceeded him, we are wholly at a loſs for.

AFTER this they had no attempts made upon them by the kings of Judah for upwards of ſixty years; in which time they muſt have had time to recover themſelves very well, and retrieve their ancient ſplendor in a great meaſure. Notwithſtanding which, they ſuffered a ſignal overthrow from Amaziah king of Judah in the valley of ſalt, where ten thouſand of them fell in battle, and as many of them were alſo taken priſoners. After which their capital Selah, which we have ſuppoſed to have been the famous Petra, was taken from them by ſtorm, and ten thouſand captives were by Amaziah's orders thrown down from the ragged precipices which ſtood about that city, and were torn, and daſhed to pieces. Selah was now by the conqueror called Joktheel [h].

WHETHER after, or before this, we cannot diſcover, the Edomites had a war with their neighbours the Moabites, wherein, being unfortunate, their king fell into the hands of the enemy, who burnt him, whether dead or alive we cannot

[g] See before, p. 114. * 2 Chron. xxi. 8. [h] 2 Kings xiv. 7.

cannot ſay, till his bones were reduced to aſhes (X). Thus have we hitherto tacked together the incoherent parts of this hiſtory in the beſt manner we have been able. In the mean time, they became ſubject to the king of Babylon, in completion of what the prophets had threatened them [i]. And when utter deſtruction came upon the Jews, and that they were carried away captive, then did their fury blaze out, ſo far as to cut off ſuch of the Jews as attempted to eſcape the captivity, not forgetting the ſlaughter made of their fore-fathers by Joab in the days of king David; but for this were they threatened, that they ſhould be repayed in kind, that for the deſolation they had forwarded in Judah, their own land ſhould be deſolate when the reſt of the countries flouriſhed [k]. They were for laying Jeruſalem level with the ground, and accordingly, when the Chaldees or Babylonians were withdrawn, they made an end of the temple with fire [l]. Thus did they proſecute their revenge to the utmoſt, hoping, that the Jews were never more to be a nation, inſulting GOD, and ſlaughtering the few of his miſerable people, who had by his leave eſcaped the hands of the Babylonians.

WHEREFORE confuſion was brought upon them, and violent inteſtine commotions and perſecutions; inſomuch, that a great part of them left their own country, and ſettled in the empty land of Judæa, and particularly in the ſouth-weſtern parts [m]; and it may be, that at this time they made an end of the temple of Jeruſalem. Thoſe of them that ſtaid behind in Edom joined the children of Nabaioth, and were called Nabatæans ever afterwards; ſo that the antient kingdom of Edom now loſt its name, which was transferred to that part of the land of Judæa, which the refugees had pitched in, and which had never been any part of their old kingdom, but the lot of the tribes

[i] See Iſa. xxi, xxxiv. Jerem. ix, xxv, xxvii, xlix. Lam. iv. Ezek. xxv, xxxii, xxxv, xxxvi. Joel. iii. Amos i, ix. [k] See Ez. xxv, xxxv. Joel iii. Amos i. Obad i. [l] See Pſalm cxxxvii. 1 Eſd. iv. [m] Strabo, lib. 16. p. 760.

(X) It is doubted, whether this be not the ſame war wherein Meſha king of Moab ſacrificed his own ſon, or the ſon of the king or chief of Edom (50.) Our tranſlators of the bible take them to be one and the ſame event.

(50) See before, p. 113.

tribes of Simeon and Judah. And this is the Idumæa, and theſe the Idumæans mentioned by Pliny, Ptolemy, Strabo, and other antient writers. For becauſe of their wicked dealing with their oppreſſed brethren, their kingdom was to loſe all its glory, and become a deſart; *ſtrangers from the ſouth* [o] *were to poſſeſs it*; it was never to riſe, and from thenceforward to be called the border of wickedneſs [p], though it pleaſed God to ſpare a remnant of this people, by permitting them to ſeize on a part of their brethrens portion; by which means they came to be united into one family with them, as they were deſcended from the loins of one man.

We have now pointed out the exit of the ancient kingdom of Edom, and ſhall proceed to the broken interrupted affairs of thoſe Edomites who ſettled in Judæa; concerning which we only know, that a decree was iſſued out againſt them from Darius Hyſtaſpes, commanding, that they ſhould deliver up all they had belonging to the Jews [q]; but what effect this took we cannot well ſay. That upon the decline of the Perſian monarchy, and after the days of Alexander, they were under the power of the Seleucidæ, when the ancient averſion they had to the Jews being ſtirred up in them, they warred againſt them, under the conduct of Gorgias their governor for Antiochus Epiphanes: but they got nothing thereby but blows and great ruin; being conſtantly worſted by Judas Maccabæus, who at laſt took, and ſacked their chief city Hebron [r]; their ſtrong holds, wherewith they awed the Jews, were forced by that valorous commander, who cut off twenty thouſand of them in the aſſault, but a reſidue of nine thouſand of them fled to two ſtrong towers [s], where they were well prepared to ſuſtain a ſiege; whence, by a bribe of 70,000 drachmas, a good part of them were ſuffered to eſcape. But, when the treachery was diſcovered by the Jewiſh general, a ſtop was put to this outlet; theſe two ſtrong caſtles were alſo forced, and no leſs than twenty thouſand Idumæans again [t] put to the ſword. Thus was their zeal againſt their brethren rewarded as it deſerved, as ſhall be more exactly particularized in the Jewiſh hiſtory.

After theſe very troubleſome times, we know not how it fared with the Edomites in Idumæa, except that they

[o] Obad. ubi ſupr. [p] Malach i. [q] Eſdr. ubi ſup. ver. 50. [r] 1 Maccab. v. 65, 68. [s] ver. 4, 5. 2 Maccab. x. 18, 23. [t] Ibid. ver, 21, 23.

they ſeem to have been continually agitated by broils and wars, till they were conquered by John Hyrcanus; who reduced them to the ſore neceſſity of embracing the Jewiſh religion, or of quitting their country. They choſe the former, and, ſubmitting to be circumciſed, became incorporated with the Jews [u], and, conſidering their deſcent as well as their converſion, they were upon a double account reckoned as natural Jews; and accordingly, in the firſt century after Chriſt, the name of Idumæan was loſt and quite diſuſed (Y) [w]. And being ſo, we here break off, referring what further relates to this people to the Jewiſh hiſtory. We have ſeen then, that the Edomites, or Idumæans, were partly ſwallowed up before by the Nabatæans, or Arabians, and partly now by the Jews.

SECT. V.

The Hiſtory of Amalek.

AMALEK was the father of this people, and from him they were called Amalekites, and their country Amalekitis. He was the ſon of Eſau's firſt-born Eliphaz (A), by his concubine Timna. Notwithſtanding the ſpuriouſneſs of his birth, Their anceſtor.

[u] Joſeph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 17. [w] Prideaux's Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Book 5. p. 307, 308.

(Y) The name of Edomite is not ſo wholly loſt, but the Jews make uſe of it ſtill. "The Rabbins ſpeak of Edom and E-"domites long after this; but thereby they do not mean Idumæa, "or the ſons of Edom, but Rome, and the chriſtians of the "Roman empire. For fearing the diſpleaſure of the chriſtians, "among whom they live, for avoiding it whenever they ſpeak "any reproachful thing of Chriſtians, or of their religion, they "uſually blend it under feigned names; ſometimes calling us "Cuthæans, i. e. Samaritans, and ſometimes Epicureans, and "ſometimes Edomites; and this laſt is the civilleſt appellation "they give us (51).

(A) the Arabians deduce his genealogy in a different manner, and make him ſome generations older than Abraham, as follows:

(51) Prideaux's Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Part 2. Book 5. p. 708.

Noah

birth, he is reckoned among the dukes in the land of Edom [a], which is all we know for certain concerning him. How this family came to separate from the others of Esau's line, wants some light. Perhaps it were not absurd to suppose Amalek or his posterity to have been expelled by the Edomites, when they cleared the land of the Horites; and that on account of their illegitimate descent, as was practised towards Ishmael in the house of their great ancestor Abraham. Or on the other hand, Amalek or his descendants may have been slighted and distinguished with contempt by the other Edomites; which they stomaching, may have joined themselves to the Horites, resolving to share fortunes with them. Very unlikely it is, that this single family should have been able to erect it self into a formidable state, so early as to have attempted the Israelites almost as soon as they had set foot on this side of the Red Sea: they must certainly have been joined by others; and by whom so likely as by the remnant of the Horites, and by the inhabitants of the land they seized on, for some there were [b]. The Kenites descended from Jethro, we know, inhabited with them, but that was in after times [c]. That there was an inbred misunderstanding between

[a] Gen. xxxvi. 12. 1 Chron. i. 36. [b] See Gen. xiv. 6.
[c] See before, p. 138.

نوح *Noah.*
حام *Ham.*
ارم *Aram.*
حوث *Uz.*
عاد *Ad.*
كلاف *Amalek* (1)

They say also, that the Amalekites in ancient times possessed the country about Mecca, whence they were expelled by the Jorhamite kings (2). Some hold, that Ad was the son of Aws, or Uz, the son of Aram, the son of Shem, the son of Noah. Others, that Ad was the son of Amalek, the son of Ham (3); but the contrary is the received opinion. Some commentators on the Koran (4) tell us, that the old Adites were of prodigious stature, the

(1) Vide Reland. Palæst. Illust. c. 14. (2) Pocock Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 173. (3) D' Herbelot, p. 51, 110.
(4) Jalla Lo' Ddin & Zamakshari.

tween the Edomites and Amalekites, and that they held each other in averſion is confirmed, in that we cannot diſcover any manner of harmony between the nations, no confederacy, no correſpondence, or the leaſt token of mutual accord.

As we can but gueſs at the cauſe of this rent in the houſe of Eſau; ſo are we left to do little more concerning the ſpot they pitched on, or the tract wherein they afterwards erected their kingdom. Their firſt removal cannot be ſuppoſed to have been at any great diſtance from the land of Edom; and indeed, from the firſt of their expulſion or removal to their exciſion, they ſeem to have bordered upon that country: whence Joſephus divides the whole land of Edom into Amalekitis and Gobolitis [c]; but, as we have already obſerved, it is very unaccurately ſaid, if we refer to thoſe early days, when it is ſo evident there was no participation of counſels between the two kings, as will appear by their different conduct towards the children of Iſrael [d], when in the wilderneſs. In reference to this matter, and elſewhere, does the ſcripture divide them into quite diſtinct kingdoms [d]. The ſituation of the kingdom of Amalek, is, however, pretty clearly, if not ſelf-evidently, ſettled, by remarking, that it had intercourſe and commerce with Egypt [e] (B); that it had a way leading into

[c] Joſeph. Antiq. l. 2. c. 1.
[e] See Joſeph. Antiq. l. 6. c. 8.
[d] See 1 Chron. xviii. 11.

the largeſt being an hundred cubits, and the leaſt ſixty; which they pretend to prove by the authority of the Koran (5). In fine, it is alſo ſaid by the Arabian writers, that Amalek was the ſon of Azd, the ſon of Shem (6). Le Clerc (7) is willing to adopt this notion ſo far as to think, that the Amalekites were a great nation before the days of Abraham or Lot; becauſe he finds that Chedorlaomer made war on them under that name, which he ſuppoſes muſt be proleptically taken at firſt. But conſidering, that our Amalek was of the houſe of Eſau, with whom the Iſraelites were commanded to be at peace, he changes his mind, and imagines they had no relation to our Amalek, but ſprang from ſomewhere elſe.

(B) This ſeems to be clear from Joſephus (8), who makes Amalekitis to extend between Peluſium and the Red-Sea, and from the Arabian

(5) Kor. c. 7. & Numb. xxiv. 20.
(6) Ebn. Sholnah.
(7) In Geneſ. xiv. 7.
(8) Antiq. l. 6. c. 8.

to the country of the Philiſtines, and into the land of Canaan (C). Whence we conclude it to have been bounded by Canaan on the north; by Egypt, or its dependant territory, on the ſouth; by Edom on the eaſt; and by the deſarts towards the ſea on the weſt; or perhaps by the margin of the ſea itſelf. And this we deliver ſimply as our own opinion, wherein, however, we are not alone[f], and forbear to perplex the reader with a variety of opinions, which are not ſo happily ſupported as this. Here then, and hereabouts, was their abode, till they ceaſed to be a nation; their limits extending with their encreaſe of power, and ſhrinking in again as they dwindled away.

THE

[f] Vide Reland. Palæſt. illuſt.

Arabian hiſtorians, who make the Amalekites to have been even maſters of Egypt (9); for it were hard to ſuppoſe they have no manner of foundation for their ſtory, and that the whole is entirely falſe in all its articles. That they had communication with Egypt, may farther appear from the Egyptian they left behind them on their return from ſacking of Ziklag, who fell into the hands of David (10). Finally, it is expreſly ſaid in ſcripture, that they had of old inhabited the land——— even unto the land of Egypt.

(C) This is naturally ſuppoſed by their expedition againſt Ziklag (11) in the country of the Philiſtines, which they took and burnt, and from other inſtances of the ſame kind, which we ſhall not here enumerate; but this we the rather inſiſt on; becauſe ſo miſerable and broken a people as they were at that time, cannot well be ſuppoſed to have been able to break through any other country to get at Ziklag: and had they not the ſituation we have given them, they muſt have croſſed ſome part or other of the kingdom of Edom, at that time in its meridian, which it is not likely would have been allowed them; for there ſeems to have been no manner of underſtanding between the nations, as we have elſewhere ſaid: and it is plain, that they lay to the ſouth of the Philiſtines by the words of David, who being aſked by Achiſh where he had been, he anſwered, that he had been againſt the ſouth of Judah, and againſt the ſouth of the Jerahmeelites, and againſt the ſouth of the Kenites (12); but did not think fit to ſay he had been againſt the Amalekites, who lay in the ſouth. Add to this, that the Simeonites lay next to them (13).

(9) See before, p. 90, 91. (10) 1 Sam. xxx. (11) Idem ibid. (12) 1 Sam. xxvii. 10. (13) See 1 Chron. iv. 42.

THE cities of this country we are wholly at a loss for, except we follow Josephus, who places the famous city of Petra under the jurisdiction of the Amalekites [g] (D).

THEIR religious and civil customs we know nothing of positively. That they originally used circumcision cannot be disputed; and, for ought we know, they may have continued the same practice to the end; but whether they were doomed to utter destruction for any crying sins that prevailed among them, besides the horrid outrage they committed on the distressed Israelites [h], we do not read. Their customs.

THEIR religion was at first, doubtless, the same that was taught in the house of Abraham; but by what degrees they erred therefrom, and how far they went astray, we have no knowledge of. Josephus [i] mentions their idols, but the scripture terms them the idols of mount Seir [k]; so that they seem to have more properly belonged to the Edomites than to the Amalekites. Their religion.

THEIR arts, their sciences, and trade we can only guess at from their situation; for it is probable they had the knowledge and commerce of those times, pretty much in common with their neighbours the Edomites, and Egyptians, and those of the sea-coasts of Judea. And this is the less disputable, as their king is placed in so high a sphere of majesty, and themselves stiled the first of the nations, as we shall see anon. Much the same may be said of their manners, genius, and policy. Their arts, &c.

CONCERNING their government thus much appears, that it was monarchical; and that the first, or at least one of the first, of their kings, was called Agag [l]; as was also their last [m]; from whence it has been imagined, that all their intermediate kings bore the same appellation. Their government.

THE

[g] Vide Joseph. Antiq. l. 3. c. 2. [h] Exod. xvii. [i] Antiq. l. 9. c. 10. [k] See before, p. 158. [l] Numb. xxiv. 7. [m] 1 Sam. xv. 8.

(D) We must here note, what Josephus says, that those who inhabited Gobolitis and Petra were called Amalekites (14); but seeing the same author divides the whole kingdom of Edom into Gobolitis and Amalekitis (15), how comes it, that they dwelt not in this last division? it is an ænigma we know not how to unriddle.

(14) Joseph. Ant. l. 3. c. 2. (15) See before p. 153. in the Note, (L)

Their hiſtory.

The Amalekites ſtepped early, if not at the very firſt, into the government of this country; and very remarkable it is, that they grew up to ſuch a ſudden height of power and ſplendor, that their king is ſpoken of as far above all others; for Balaam, foretelling the future majeſty of the Jewiſh ſtate, expreſſes himſelf, that their king *ſhall be higher than Agag*, and ſtiles them, *the firſt of the nations* [n] (E); which ſeems to countenance the extraordinary things the Arabian hiſtorians have concerning the Amalekites; as that they conquered Egypt, and poſſeſſed the throne of that kingdom for ſeveral generations [o] (F).

But not to deviate from the authority we muſt rely on, it appears, that this kingdom was haughty and inſolent in its

[n] Numb. ubi ſupr. & ver. 20. [o] See before, p. 90, 91.

(E) It was ſudden, according to the hypotheſis we have adopted (16): for thereby the kingdom of Amalek is not likely to have been much, if any thing at all, older than that of Edom, which we have ſhewn to have commenced at the Exodus; and therefore, when Balaam expreſſed himſelf in ſo high a ſtrain concerning Agag and his monarchy, it could not have been of much above forty years ſtanding. The expreſſion of Amalek's being the firſt of the nations, our verſion turns otherwiſe in the margin, the firſt of the nations that warred againſt Iſrael. Much the ſame turn does Onkelos give it; but if we compare what is ſaid of Agag himſelf but thirteen verſes before, we ſhall not be at any great loſs for the right, or, at leaſt, natural explication of the paſſage before us; which doubtleſs means, that they were the greateſt and moſt noble nation of that time; and this is the moſt generally approved opinion. In Le Clerc's verſion they are ſtiled the firſt fruits of the nations; by which in his commentary he underſtands them to have been the moſt antient and potent nation; and to have been before any of thoſe which proceeded from the loins of Abraham and Lot.

(F) What the Arabic hiſtory ſays of theſe Amalekites, bears an affinity with what the Egyptian records report of the Phœnician ſhepherds; for they were at length expelled by the natives (17), and are ſuppoſed, as is ſaid by us of the Canaanites, to have fled into Afric (18); and that the Amalekites were ſometimes comprehended under the general denomination of Phœnicians, may be obſerved hereafter.

(16) See before, p. 158. (17) Ex libro Mirat. Cainat dicto. (18) Vide Reland. Palæſt. Illuſtr. p. 82.

its very cradle; and no ſooner heard, that the Iſraelites had croſſed the Red-Sea, than they reſolved to cut them off. The ſcripture mentions none but Amalek [q] upon this occaſion; which, whether it is ſpoken of the king alone, or collectively of the whole nation, is not agreed. Joſephus relates, that they had no leſs than five kings, who laid their heads together, and joined forces to carry on this turbulent deſign [r] (G). To paſs this over, ſo it was, that the Amalekites fell on the rear of the Iſraelites, as they were on full march from Rephidim to mount Horeb. Some havock they made; but it returned ſeverely upon themſelves, as ſoon as Joſhua could get the fighting men into order; by whom being in their turn aſſaulted, a long and bloody battle enſued: but in the end the Amalekites were put to a precipitate flight, with the heavy doom on their head, that for this outrage *their* name *ſhould be put out from under heaven* [s]

In the mean time, however, it pleaſed God to make uſe of them in conjunction with ſome of the Canaanites, as his inſtruments for the puniſhment of the diffidence and diſobedience of the Iſraelites, when they thought to have waſhed away their ſinful perverſeneſs by a fool-hardy attempt, in contradiction to the expreſs decree of God, that not one of them from twenty years and upwards ſhould have ſight of the land of Promiſe [t]. The ſlaughter the Amalekites help to make of the Iſraelites upon this occaſion, will be told in the hiſtory of Canaan.

After this they ſeem to have miſſed no opportunity of vexing the choſen nation, till they were ripe for the exciſion denounced againſt them. They confederated with Eglon, king of Moab, and the Ammonites [u]; and afterwards with the Midianites under Zeba and Zalmunna, to root out the Iſraelites, and poſſeſs themſelves of the land, as they had vainly projected; but what ſucceſs they had in the attempt,

[q] Exod. xvii. [r] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 3. c. 2. [s] Exod. ubi ſupr. [t] Numb. xiv. [u] See before, p. 109.

(G) What Joſephus here ſays need not be ſuppoſed to imply, that the Amalekites were divided into many kingdoms. It is poſſible and very probable, that ſome of the petty kings of Canaan joined the king of Amalekitis now, as he did ſome of the Canaanites afterwards, to prevent the Iſraelites from entering into their borders. This junction may have been paſſed over by Moſes, who thought it enough, that he mentioned the principal and ring-leader of the aſſault.

and how they in the end fell by their own ſwords and thoſe of their friends and allies, we have already related at large [w].

AFTER this there is a very wide gap in the hiſtory of this people, which reaches even to the days of Saul. At this time their king was a very graceful perſon, and of noble preſence and addreſs, which ſtood him in good ſtead; for on account of theſe his perſonal accompliſhments, was his life ſpared (ſay they) in the general maſſacre of his ſubjects [x]. But with all this ſpecious outſide, he is upbraided as an inſolent and mercileſs tyrant. Under this prince the nation was grown ripe for the exciſion they had been threatened with about four hundred years afore. And, as a forerunner of it, the Kenites, their inmates, were warned to leave their country, and ſeek ſome other ſeat, for fear they ſhould be involved in the impending calamity [y]. As ſoon as the Kenites had obeyed the ſummons, the Amalekites were invaded by Saul, at the head of two hundred and ten thouſand men (H). And by theſe numbers, being ſorely oppreſſed, and quite diſabled from making any head, they were all cut off, except Agag, and ſome who were ſo happy, for the preſent, as to fly their country, or hide themſelves in ſuch retreats where they were not diſcovered: not even the mother, or the infant at her breaſt, was ſpared; and the whole country was made deſolate. Agag and the beſt of the cattle only were ſuffered to live. However, Agag did not long enjoy this favour; for it was no ſooner related to Samuel that he was alive, than he was ſent for by the prophet, with whom all his inſinuating addreſs, and hopes that the *bitterneſs of death was paſſed*, availed him nothing: he was hewn to pieces by Samuel, or at leaſt by his order, in Gilgal, before the Lord [z].

THE poor remnant of the Amalekites, who eſcaped the ſword of Saul, poſſeſſed themſelves of their deſolate country again,

[w] See before, p. 141.
[y] See before, p. 139.
[x] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 6. c. 8.
[z] 1 Sam. xv. Joſeph. l. 6. c. 9.

(H) Joſephus makes this army to have conſiſted of no more than 70,000 men, and tells us, that the country was ſo poſſeſſed by them, that the Amalekites could hardly eſcape, if they attempted to fly any where (19); but this is ſaid at random, as we think.

(19) Joſeph. Antiq. l. 6. c. 8.

again, and lived, for ought we know, in peace, till such time as David was driven to ask protection of Achish king of the Philistines, dreading the murderous jealousy of Saul, and had Ziklag allotted to him. At this time the Amalekites are mentioned as associated with the Geshurites and Gezerites (I). The Amalekites, thus picking up again and gathering strength, were slaughtered once more by their new and near neighbour David, who thought it perhaps a duty incumbent on him to compleat the work, which Saul had left unfinished. So once more were the Amalekites, man and woman, butchered and dispersed, their country in good part ruined, and all the cattle that came in the enemy's way driven off [a].

The Amalekites meditated revenge for this cruel injury, as they doubtless called it, and, mustering their strength, went up to Ziklag the abode of David, who happened then to be absent with his small party, so that the town was left defenceless; wherefore they easily made themselves masters of the place, and burnt it with fire; but touched not the lives of any of the inhabitants, which, considering what they had suffered so lately from David, may seem to have been a great piece of humanity in them; but this is not allowed them (K). Among their captives were David's two wives, Ahinoam the Jezreelite, and Abigail who had been wife to Nabal the Carmelite; and having thus succeeded to their wish, they thought to secure what they had got by an expeditious return homewards, and determined not to stop by

[a] 1 Sam. xxvii.

(I) Who these Geshurites and Gezerites were is uncertain. They are taken for reliques of the Canaanites (20); but by the text it might be imagined they were originally of this country; for those nations were of old the inhabitants of the land, as thou goest to Shur, even unto the land of Egypt (21).

(K) It is said they were a poor covetous people, who intended to sell them for slaves, and make money of them (22); or wanted servants for their own use, and therefore shewed this mercy: but if we may be allowed a conjecture of our own, they kept their prisoners alive to supply the loss of those who had lately perished by the hand of David; and this does not seem to be a very unnatural supposition.

(20) Vide Cleric. & Patrick, upon 1 Sam. xxvii. (21) 1 Sam. xxvii. 18. (22) See Patrick on 1 Sam. xxx. 2. & Cleric.

the way, till they ſhould reach ſuch a place, which was perhaps a pleaſant ſpot, affording water and a refreſhing ſhade, and pretty well out of the reach of the enemy. Hurrying on with this precipitation, they left behind them one of their number, an Egyptian by birth, who, by ſome means or other, was ſo weak that he could not keep pace with them. David, in the mean time, had notice of the revenge the Amalekites had taken on him, and purſued them very eagerly, and in his way took this Egyptian, who informed him of the place where they intended to halt, to rejoice and reſt themſelves. The Amalekites arrived at the appointed place, and gave a looſe to their triumph, with great mirth and jollity; and it ſeems they recreated themſelves ſeveral days together. As they were in this careleſs poſture they were deſcried by David, from the neighbouring hills towards the cloſe of day: and after they had ſpent the whole night in debauchery, and were repaired to reſt, which was towards the break of day, they were ſet upon by David and his men, and a ſlanghter was begun among them, which continued till the ſetting ſun; ſo that not a ſoul of them eſcaped the edge of the ſword, except four hundred young men, who rode upon dromedaries, and who, leaving all their companions and booty behind them, were burthened with nothing but the doleful news of ſo woeful a miſchance, after ſuch uncommon ſucceſs in their attempt upon Ziklag [b].

THUS by degrees were the Amalekites reduced; and at laſt the fatal blow was given to them, in the days of Hezekiah, by the Simeonites *, who utterly deſtroyed and diſperſed them, and kept their country in poſſeſſion: and this is the imperfect account we have of the exit of the Amalekites, as Balaam had propheſied long before, *Amalek was the firſt of the nations; but his latter end* ſhall be *that he periſh for ever* [c].

BUT it happened afterwards, that a man of Amalekitiſh blood had taken ample revenge on the Jews, had not GOD interpoſed, as it were, by a miracle; for Haman is called an Agagite, or Amalekite; and it is well known, how near he was to the fruition of his bloody will againſt the Jews; but this fact, being tranſacted in another country and period, muſt be related elſewhere. That, however, may be called the laſt act of the Amalekites; and here therefore this ſection concludes.

[b] Sam. xxx. * See 1 Chron. iv. 40——43. [c] Numb. xxiv. 20.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

The Hiſtory of Canaan.

WE have already [a] given the hiſtory of the anceſtors of this nation, and of their origin, and therefore ſhall not repeat it here.

CANAAN the ſon of Ham, the ſon of Noah, had eleven ſons, Sidon or Zidon, Heth, Jebuſi, Emori or Amori, Gergaſi or Gergaſhi, Hivi or Hevi, Archi or Arki, Sini, Arvadi, Zemari, and Hamathi. Theſe were the fathers of the following tribes or nations; the Sidonians or Zidonians, the Hettites or Hittites, the Jebuſites, the Emorites or Amorites, the Gergaſites or Gergaſhites, the Hivites or Hevites, the Arkites or Archites, the Sinites, the Arvadites, the Zemarites, and the Hamathites [b]. Five of theſe are known to have dwelt in the land of Canaan, the Hettites or Hittites, the Jebuſites, the Emorites or Amorites, the Gergaſites or Gergaſhites, and the Hivites or Hevites. To theſe are added two others, the Perizzites and Canaanites; and theſe make up the ſeven primary nations of the Canaanites: but how the Perizzites came to be a diſtinct body; or whence the Canaanites are peculiarly ſo called, is a difficulty, can, at beſt, be only gueſſed at. Theſe ſeven nations laboured in particular under the evil influences of the curſe denounced by Noah againſt their ungodly anceſtor Ham, being doomed in the end to expulſion, and exciſion, and ſubjection. Whether the ſix other nations we have mentioned are to be reckoned among the inhabitants of the land of Canaan, by us commonly ſo called, is ſeemingly affirmed by ſome, and denied by others, who think they were exempt from the ruin which was to light on the other ſeven; being countenanced by the ſilence which may be obſerved concerning them in the wars, the other Canaanites had with Joſhua and his ſucceſſors. For therein is no mention made of the Sidonians, the Arkites, the Sinites, the Arvadites, the Zemarites, or the Hamathites; which is much, ſeeing they were primary nations or families. We therefore are of opinion, that they were not included, elſe ſo many petty ſtates or kingdoms could never have been particularized, and theſe paſſed over. Being thus, we muſt

[a] See before, Vol. I. ch. 2. ſect. 2. par. 25. [b] Gen. x. 15.

ſeek for theſe ſix original tribes elſewhere. It cannot well be otherwiſe, than that the ſeven nations, as they are called, were ſubdivided into many little kingdoms; for little, very little, they muſt have been, ſince we muſt look for them all within the ſcanty limits conquered by Joſhua. Within that ſmall compaſs we have no fewer than the following number of Canaanitiſh kings, ſaid to be ſubdued by him; the king of Jericho, the king of Ai, the king of Jeruſalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachiſh, the king of Eglon, the king of Gezer, the king of Debir, the king of Geder, the king of Hormah, the king of Arad, the king of Libnah, the king of Adullam, the king of Mackkedah, the king of Beth-el, the king of Jappuah, the king of Hepher, the king of Aphek, the king of Laſharon or Sharon, the king of Madon, the king of Hazor, the king of Shimron-meron, the king of Ackſhaph, the king of Taanach, the king of Megiddo, the king of Kedeſh, the king of Jokneam of Carmel, the king of Dor, the king of the nations of Gilgal, and the king of Tirzah, thirty-one in all (A); who were either all, or moſt of them, comprehended under the primary denominations of the ſeven nations, the Hittites, the Jebuſites, the Amorites, the Gergaſites, Hivites, Perizzites, or Canaanites (B), properly or peculiarly ſo called. Nor were theſe all the branches of the Canaanites, who were poſſeſſed of the land of promiſe. But how to aſſign a place to each particular we know not; wherefore we ſhall only divide the country in general between the ſeven tribes or nations, as well as we can, which is all the geography we ſhall give of this country here.

THE

[c] Joſhua xii. 9, 24.

(A) But we muſt not for this ſuppoſe there were no more than thirty-one in the whole country that bore the royal title. Theſe are only all that were conquered by Joſhua. The ſcripture hiſtory acknowledges, that the Canaanites were never wholly ſubdued by him; and we may infer, that many had the title of king, who never had much hurt from Joſhua.

(B) Theſe ſeven are a contraction, we muſt ſuppoſe, of the ten nations that were promiſed to Abraham, the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Rephaim, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Gergaſhites, and the Jebuſites (1). We may touch on this matter anon.

(1) Geneſ. xv. 19, 21.

THE limits of the country of theſe Canaanites in general, as ſeems, are thus marked out by Moſes [a], From Sidon to Gaza, from thence over to Sodom, and thence to Laſha, thereby, as is thought [b], ſtretching out the four lines which comprehended the whole country. Whether all the deſcendants of Canaan were included within this compaſs, is not poſitively known, but it is likely to have been the orignal ſeat of them all; but whether thoſe we muſt hereafter look for in Syria and elſewhere were terrified thither by the ſucceſſes of Joſhua, or whether growing too numerous for ſo ſmall a territory, they naturally tranſplanted themſelves into other parts, may be diſputed by ſome; though we embrace the latter opinion, being therein, in ſome meaſure, countenanced by Moſes, who tells us, that *the families of the Canaanites were ſpread abroad* [c], juſt before he gives us their firſt extent. Thus much we will add on this head, It is clearly evident from ſcripture and the Jewiſh writers, that no part of the country on the other ſide of Jordan, not even that inhabited by the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manaſſeh, was reckoned into the land of Canaan [d]: But to it may be annexed what once made the moſt beautiful part of this land, though ſince a deteſtable lake; we mean the vale of Siddim, ſince called Pentapolis from its five cities, Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboijm, and Bela. The ſoil of this vale was much of the ſame nature with that about the city of Babylon, being productive of Bitumen and ſuch combuſtible ſubſtances. *It was watered every where before the Lord deſtroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou comeſt unto Zoar* [e]. Such was this vale, which needs no further deſcription to give us a due and perfect idea of it. Their country

Now the ſeven nations above-mentioned, the Hittites, the Jebuſites, the Amorites, the Gergaſites, the Hivites, the Perizzites, and Canaanites [f], divided their country among them after this manner: The Hittites dwelt about Hebron; for of the children of Heth Abraham bought the cave of Mach-pelah [g]. The Gergaſites had the Jebuſites and Canaanites for their neighbours [h], as is thought [i]; but divided.

[a] Gen. x. 19. [b] See Wells's Geog. of the Old Teſt. vol. I. chap. 7. [c] Gen. x. 18. [d] Vide Relan. Palæſt. Illuſtr. Tom. 1. c. 1. [e] Gen. xiv. 10. [f] Deut. vii. 1. Joſh. iii. 10. Acts xiii. 19. [g] Gen. xxiii. [h] Joſh. xxiv. 11. [i] Vide Reland. Palæſt. Illuſtr. lib. 1. c. 27.

it does not plainly appear. The Amorites were anciently in the neighbourhood of Hazezon-tamar [k], and in the valley of Eſchol [l]. The Amorites were alſo on the other ſide of Jordan and the dead Sea, by the conqueſt they made of the Moabites and Ammonites [m]; but that conqueſt, as we have already obſerved, was no part of Canaan. The Canaanites, peculiarly ſo called, were divided into two diſtinct bodies, and inhabited two diſtinct diviſions, the ſea ſide to the weſt, and the river ſide to the eaſt [n]. The Perizzites ſeem to have been near Beth-el; for Abraham pitched his tent in the beginning, between Beth-el and Ai, and the Canaanites and Perizzites are ſaid to have been then in the land [o]: moreover, we find, that they dwelt in the mountains, together with the Hittite and the Jebuſite [p]; though they are elſewhere forgot when theſe are mentioned [q]. It appears alſo, that the Perizzites were not far from Shechem, they being mentioned, together with the Canaanites, to have been near that city [r]. They ſeem alſo to have extended beyond the portion of Ephraim and the half tribe of Manaſſeh, as far as Beth-ſhean and the valley of Jezreel, and to the ſouthward, where they ſeem to have been with the Rephaim [s], into the tribe of Judah [t] (C). The Hivites are ſaid to have dwelt under Hermon [u], and in Gibeon [w], and in mount Lebanon [x]. The Jebuſites inhabited the mountains, and held the city of Jebus, afterwards Jeruſalem (D).

The

[k] Gen. xiv. 7. [l] ver. 13. Deut. xix. 24. [m] See before, p. 103. [n] See Numb. xiii. 29. & Joſh. xi. 3. [o] Gen. xiii. 3, 7. [p] Joſh. xi. 3. [q] See Numb. xiii. 29. [r] Gen. xxxiv. 30. [s] Joſh. xvii. 15, 16. [t] Judg. i. 4, 5. [u] Joſh. xi. 3. [w] ver. 19. [x] Compare Joſh. ix. 7. with Judg. iii. 3. See alſo 2 Sam. xxiv. 7.

(C) The Perizzite appears to have been a wanderer; whence poſſibly Joſephus divides the land of Canaan into no more than ſix provinces (2).

(D) Some (3) divide them into but two ſorts by the lump, the Canaanites and Perizzites, merchants and ſhepherds, as the two words nearly import; for Perizzite originally ſignifies a villager. The ſame are unwilling to ſuppoſe that thoſe appellations belong to any two particular tribes; or that either of them deſcended from

(2) Antiq. l. 5. c. 1. (3) Cumberland's Origin. Gent. Antiq. p. 132. See alſo Bedford's Script. Chronol. p. 202.

THE cities of this country, beſides thoſe of the Pentapolis when it flouriſhed, that can be fixed with any tolerable degree of certainty, were Hebron, Jebus, Jericho, Bethel-Shechem, and Beth-ſhean, concerning which, as they ſtood under the Canaanites, we have nothing particular to add.

Now to ſpeak of the cuſtoms, manners, arts, ſciences, and language of theſe ſeveral nations, we may ſuppoſe, that in ſome points they differed widely from each other, according as their ſituation led them into different courſes of life (E). We need not ſay, that the Canaanites on the Their cuſtoms, &c.

from any ſingle ſon of Canaan; but that they were mixed multitudes: but as they are conſtantly named as diſtinct tribes, and in order with the reſt, we know not how to decide upon this matter. The names indeed of theſe tribes and of this people in general are a little vague and uncertain: ſo the whole body of the ſeven nations is ſuppoſed to be ſignified ſometimes by the Amorites, juſt as all the people of the ſeven united provinces are now properly called Hollanders, who are more potent than any of the reſt (4).

(E) It is hard to ſay any thing particular of the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, and the Rephaim, or to point at the exact places where they dwelt. The Kenites we have largely inſiſted on already; but however, though the name be the ſame, we know not how to think theſe the ſame people. Theſe are mentioned as a tribe of the Canaanites, who were to be delivered up to the executive juſtice of the Iſraelites; whereas thoſe we formerly touched on are repreſented as a people who lived in a great degree of friendſhip with them. The Chaldee interpreter calls them Schalmites; whereby they are underſtood to have been pacific, and at no enmity with Iſrael. This indeed ſounds them the ſame with the Kenites of Jethro's family. Whether or no the appellation of Kenite may have belonged to two diſtinct families we know not, but it appears pretty plain by ſcripture, that there was a difference in their manner of life: for on the one hand we are told, that it was unlawful for them to drink wine, to plant, to ſow, or to dwell in houſes, and that they conformed to this injunction, and led their life accordingly (5). Where we find this we underſtand alſo, that for their obedience to their laws they were to eſcape the hand of Nebuchadnezzar: whereas the Kenites of Jethro's line and kindred are ſaid to have pitched their neſt upon a rock, which ſeems to imply, that they built them a city for a ſafe habitation; and what is more, they were carried off

(4) See Patrick upon Gen. xlviii. 22. (5) Jerem. xxxv.

the ſea-ſide were merchants, in which capacity we ſhall conſider them at large, when we come to ſpeak of them as Phœnicians; for by that name, it is commonly agreed, they were afterwards known to the Greeks: accordingly the Seventy, inſtead of "the kings of the Canaanites, "which were by the ſea," have rendered it, "the kings "of the Phœnicians, on the ſea-coaſt." And by the ſame, the whole land of Canaan is called the country of the Phœnicians [y], though thoſe only were properly ſo called who inhabited the ſea-coaſt: and theſe we ſhall dwell upon more particularly under the head of ancient Phœnicians. The other Canaanites, who had an inland ſituation, were employed in paſturage partly, and partly in tillage, and in the exerciſe of arms, in which they will be ſeen to have been well

[y] Joſ. cap. 5. com. 1, 12.

off with the ten tribes of Iſrael by the Aſſyrian (6); but we have dwelt ſufficiently on theſe. The Kennizzites there is little or nothing ſaid of, nor do we know where they dwelt. The Kadmonites, from the import of their name, are allowed to have dwelt in the eaſt, and the Jeruſalem Targum (7) expreſly calls them, the children of the eaſt. The Rephaim are moſtly placed in Baſhan, where Og the laſt of their race reigned (8). They were, as their name declares, men of a gigantic ſtature. A writer (9) of great learning and repute has a remarkable thought concerning the Rephaim; he fancies, they were the Gephyræi who followed Cadmus into Greece. He obſerves, that in the Chaldee they are called גבראי Gebari, or ſtout men; and hence he has room for his conjecture. The race of the Rephaim indeed was quite extinguiſhed upon the death of Og; but the name may have been aſſumed by others. From the little here collected we may obſerve, why theſe four are omitted in ſpeaking of the land of Canaan in the days of Moſes, though they ſeem all to have poſſeſſed the region deſigned for Abraham and his ſeed. The Rephaim, we ſee, were in Baſhan, which, as we have obſerved, was no part of the land of Canaan; the Kadmonites alſo were on the eaſt of Jordan; the Kenites were, as ſeems upon the whole, a tribe of the Midianites, and therefore theſe three could not be reckoned among the tribes of Canaan, they being foreigners to that country; though it happened, that they alſo did, in part, fall to the Iſraelites, as was promiſed. To conclude, it is not plain, that any of theſe four nations were of the ſons of Canaan.

(6) See before, p. 139. (7) Gen. xv. (8) Deut. iii. 11. (9) Reland Paleſt. Illuſtr. p. 141.

well verſed. Thoſe of them who dwelt in the walled cities and fixed abodes cultivated the land, as we may ſuppoſe; and thoſe who wandered about, as particularly the Perizzites ſeem to have done, by what we have juſt before ſaid of them, grazed cattle. So that it is eaſy to diſcern among them the ſeveral diſtinct claſſes of merchants, and conſequently ſeamen, and artificers, ſoldiers, ſhepherds, and huſbandmen, if not ſtudents. As much as they were divided in intereſt and ways of life, we ſhall perceive by their hiſtory, that they were ready to join in the common cauſe; that they were very well appointed for war, whether offenſive or defenſive; that their towns were well fortified, and themſelves well furniſhed with weapons to battle it in the field; that they particularly had warlike chariots, ſo dreadful among the ancients, and which they are thought to have borrowed from the Egyptians (F); that they were daring, and obſtinate, and almoſt invincible; and, in the example of the Gibeonites beneath, we ſhall ſee they wanted not craft and policy. The language they ſpoke was well underſtood by Abraham, as ſhould ſeem; for by what appears, he converſed very readily with them, upon all occaſions; but for their manner of writing, whether they had any originally of their own, which conſidering all things cannot well be doubted, or whether they had it in common with the other nations then ſubſiſting in that part of the world, who all ſpoke the ſame tongue, or very nearly the ſame, or whether they borrowed it at firſt from the Iſraelites, may be conſidered, when we come to ſpeak farther of the Hebrew language [z].

THEY

[z] See Shuckford's Connect. of the ſacr. and proph. Hiſt. Vol. I. Book 2. p. 110. See before, Vol. I. ch. 2. ſect. 5. par. 13.

(F) This is Cumberland's thought, who ſuppoſes a part of them to have abode two hundred years in Egypt; and that the Canaanites and Perizzites, when named together, muſt be underſtood of thoſe mingled tribes of all the Canaanites, who had been engaged in fierce wars with the Egyptians; and further, that theſe two bodies are particularly marked down for deſtruction, as they were the moſt warlike and ſkilful in martial affairs, training up their children to the ſame diſcipline, and the moſt likely to give the Iſraelites trouble (10).

(10) See Cumberland Origin. Gent. Antiqu. p. 132, 133.

Their religion.

THEY retained the pure religion quite down to the days of Abraham, who acknowledged Melchisedec to be Priest of the most high GOD; and Melchisedec was indisputably a Canaanite, or, at least, dwelt there at that time, in high esteem and veneration (G). They never offered to molest Abraham; on the contrary, they were ready to oblige him in every thing, a noble example of which we have in the behaviour and good intentions of Ephron towards him, in the affair of the cave of Machpelah. To say no more upon this subject, we must hence allow, that there was not a general corruption of religion among the Canaanites at this day, but it must be granted, that the very Hittites, so seemingly commendable in the days of Abraham, degenerated apace, since they were become the aversion of Isaac and Rebekah, who could not endure the thoughts of their son Jacob's marrying among the daughters of Heth, as their son Esau had done, to their great grief [a] So that about this time we must date the rise of (H) those abominations, which subjected them to the fierce wrath of GOD, and made them unworthy of the land of their possession. In the days of Moses they were become incorrigible idolaters, for he commands the Israelites to *destroy their altars, and break down their images*, statues or pillars, *and cut down their groves* (I), *and burn their graven images with fire.* And, lest they should pervert the

[a] See before, p. 146.

(G) Sir Isaac Newton (11) concludes, that they persevered in the true religion till the death of Melchisedec; but that afterwards they fell away therefrom, and began to embrace idolatry, now spreading, as he thinks, from Chaldæa. They are said to have been given to the superstition of the ancient Persians (12).

(H) It is the opinion, however, of bishop Cumberland (13), that the Canaanites were idolaters before the congress of Melchisedec and Abraham, which we know not how to allow.

(I) The original word is Asharim, which we render groves; but it is interpreted to mean wooden images of Astarte. One of

(11) Chronol. of anc. Kingdoms amended, p. 188. (12) See Shuckford's Connect of sacr. and proph. Hist. Vol. I. Book 5. p. 335. (13) Origin. Gent. Antiquiss. p. 427.

the Iſraelites, it was as ſtrictly enjoined them not to intermarry with them; but *to ſmite them, and utterly deſtroy them, nor ſhew mercy upon them* [b]. By this we may form an idea of their fearful errors. They are accuſed of the cruel cuſtom of ſacrificing men, and are ſaid to have paſſed their ſeed through fire to Moloch [c]. The cuſtom of ſacrificing men they are charged with, as they were the anceſtors of the Phœnicians, and therefore we ſhall not repeat what we have already [d] ſaid on that ſubject, nor anticipate what we may have to add in our Phœnician ſection. Their morals were as corrupt as their doctrine; adultery, beſtiality of all ſorts, prophanation, inceſt, and all manner of uncleanneſs, are the ſins laid to their charge, and which brought on the calamities they were doomed to [e]: and this may ſerve as a ſupplement to the character of this people, after their fall from the right way.

CONCERNING their government thus much may be ſaid, That they were comprehended under a great number of ſtates, and under ſubjection to limited chiefs, or kings as they are called; and tranſacted all their buſineſs in popular aſſemblies: ſo Abraham bowed not down to the king of the children of Heth, but to themſelves; ſo Ephron ſeems to have acted with Abraham with the participation of his whole tribe: ſo Hamor king of Shechem would not conclude upon what anſwer he ſhould make to what the ſons of Jacob propoſed to him, till he had conſulted his citizens upon what he ſhould, or ſhould not do, in the Their government.

[b] Deut. vii, 1—5. [c] Levit. xviii. 21. See before, p. 118. [d] See before, Vol. I. ch. 2. ſect. 3. note. (X) [e] Levit. xviii.

of the reaſons given to corroborate this opinion is, that Gideon is ſaid to have thrown down the altar of Baal, and to have cut down the grove that was by it; whereas by the Hebrew text, it was upon it, as it is alſo by the Greek of the LXX: wherefore, ſay they, the Aſherah upon the altar could not have been a grove, but muſt have been an image, and none more likely than that of Aſtarte (14). Sir Iſaac Newton remarks upon the whole paſſage, that the Canaanites had no temples. Moſes commanded Iſrael to deſtroy the altars, images, high-places, and groves of the Canaanites, but made no mention of their temples, as he would have done, had there been any in thoſe days (15).

(14) Selden de Diis Syris Syntagm. 2. (15) Chronol. of anc. Kingd. amended, p. 221.

the case; and throughout all their transactions the same tenor of conduct in their princes will be observed by every attentive reader: nor is it likely, that so many petty kingdoms should have been standing when Joshua invaded them, had exorbitant ambition and lust of rule been known among them; but as nature, perhaps, taught them, That every man as an individual, and every state as a collective body, is free and independant, so they may thereby have been restrained from invading each other's rights, or else one or a few must have swallowed up the many; and though this opinion may be combated by the ambitious cruelty of Adonizebek, that one example will have no other effect upon this argument, than a single exception has to a general rule; that the main body of them thought and acted upon different principles appears pretty plain. This is as much as we need, or can well, say concerning their government, laws, and policy.

Their history.

We now come to their history, the beginnings of which are too dark and unsettled for us to dwell on them, and too heavily laden with the hypotheses of the great men, who have turned their thoughts towards their antiquities. Wherefore, taking scripture and the natural lights reflected therefrom for our principal guides, we shall touch as lightly as may be upon what the learned have advanced, as it were, from their own stock. When we consider the situation and distance of this country, we cannot but think it was at first peopled by Canaan and his descendants upon the first dispersion after the flood (K). What concerns they originally had with Egypt, are rather guessed at, than confirmed to us, in respect of the time when they were transacted; but, finding that there was a settled aversion among the Egyptians in the days of Jacob against such as fed cattle, it is thought, the Phœnician shepherds or Canaanites may have warred upon, and oppressed the Egyptians before Abraham removed into Canaan; tho' this

(K) There is an old tradition which says otherwise; for it tells us, that this country did originally belong to the children of Shem, by virtue of a division made among the sons of Noah; but that the children of Canaan dispossessed them (16): whence it is argued, that God did but strict justice in restoring the line of Shem to their rightful possession.

(16) Epiph. Hæres. 46. n. 84.

this is liable to ſome objections (L): Therefore we muſt here acknowledge, as we did formerly, our great ignorance in this matter, and diſſatisfaction with what the learned have advanced upon it. All therefore we can pretend to in this matter is, to mark out, as we go along, the times, in which the learned have been induced to fix what Manetho tells us of the Phœnician ſtrangers in Egypt. In conformity to this, it is pretended [f], that ſome of them, upon the increaſe of their families, being ſtraitened for want of room, moved ſouthwards, as Moſes intimates, as others did northwards, ſuch as the Hamathite and Arvadite; and that the former penetrated far into Egypt, or at leaſt poſſeſſed themſelves of the Arabian ſide of that country, which they will have to have been Goſhen. Here, ſay they, did they ſettle even under Mizraim himſelf, erected a ſeparate kingdom, and differing from the pure Egyptians in religious matters, and in way of life, fierce contentions aroſe between them, which ended in a total expulſion of them, in the manner we formerly related in the hiſtory of Egypt; and this, ſay they, was effectuated in the days of Abraham.

We have reckoned the vale of Siddim, where Sodom and Gomorrah ſtood, into the ancient country of Canaan; and it happens to be the ſcene of the firſt action we find for certain of this people. The inhabitants of this vale were invaded by Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and reduced to a tribute (M), which they paid for twelve years ſucceſſively; but in the thirteenth they rebelled, which drew on them a ſecond war, which we ſhall come to anon.

In

[f] See Cumberland on Sanchoniatho, p. 351, 352, ſeqq. & Bedford's Scripture Chronol. p. 201, 202, 250, 251, 252, 253. 337.

(L) For we think it is pretty obvious, that the Egyptians muſt have looked on Abraham as a Phœnician or Canaanitiſh paſtor, when he was among them; but we do not perceive, that they had him any how in averſion, quite the contrary is certain (17).

(M) By an old tradition we have already mentioned, this war upon the inhabitants of the vale of Siddim was a very juſt one; for if it be true, that the land of Canaan, of which this was undoubtedly

(17) See Gen. xii.

In the mean time, the other parts of the country received Abraham with great hoſpitality and veneration, two or three years after this invaſion; but ſoon after his arrival, the whole land was oppreſſed by famine, and the Canaanite is now expreſly ſaid to have been in the land (N). The dearth drove Abraham into Egypt: whence we learn, that the whole country at this time was in great want [h]. The famine was of no long continuance, and Abraham returned into this country again, and found that the Perizzite was alſo in the land; whence, it is thought, they are ſpoken of as new comers, and that they had lately been expelled from Egypt, or, dreading an expulſion, had voluntarily forſaken that kingdom; and the rather, becauſe Abraham and Lot ſeem now to have been ſtraitened for want of room, which cauſed their ſeparation, as if the country was now become more populous than they at firſt found it (O). And now was the whole land promiſed to Abraham. [i].

The five kings of the vale of Siddim, Bera king of Sodom, Birsha king of Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah, Shemeber king of Zeboijm; and the king of Bela, or Zoar, rebelled in the thirteenth year after they had been ſubdued by Chedorlaomer, and made tributary to him, as we have already obſerved. Wherefore Chedorlaomer

[h] Gen. xii. Joſeph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 9. [i] Gen. xiii.

doubtedly a part, originally belonged to the children of Shem, from whom it was forcibly taken by the children of Ham (18), no wonder, that the kings of the eaſt, who were of that deſcent, laid claim to this country in general, and to this moſt lovely ſpot in particular; for Elam deſcended from Shem (19).

(N) According to what you read in the preceding note, this means no more, than that the Canaanites had invaded the country before Abraham came thither. But we muſt remember, that this is building a ſuperſtructure upon a very weak foundation, a tradition: much the ſame may be ſaid upon the paſſage afterwards, that the Perizzites were alſo in the land.

(O) But upon this we may ſtart one queſtion, which in this caſe cannot be readily anſwered; How came ſuch a weak prince as Hamor king of Shechem to have ſo much ground to ſpare, as he afterwards talks of, when he hoped to make an union with Jacob (20)?

(18) See before p. 190. Note (K). (19) Gen. x. 22.
(20) See Gen. xxxiv. 21.

laomer with his allies marched hither again in the fourteenth year, taking ſeveral other nations or tribes in his way; or rather he fetched a circuit to come at them, reducing, among others, the Horites, the Amalekites, and the Amorites of Hazzon-tamar. At laſt he fell on the five kings of Siddim, who were reſolved to diſpute their rights with him; but they fell under the preſſure of the enemy once more; and all the inhabitants were either ſlain in battle, or carried away captive, or obliged to fly to the mountains and their cities. Sodom, and Gomorrah, and the reſt were pillaged with the utmoſt rigor and ſcrutiny. Among the priſoners was Lot, which rouſed up Abraham to undertake his reſcue; which he did effectually [k].

At this time Melchiſedec (P) was king of Salem, and prieſt

[k] Gen. xiv.

(P) The Jews will have him to have been Shem, out of a vain reluctance, that their father ſhould have had any ſuperior among the Canaanites; and they are not without their advocates for this opinion among the Chriſtian writers, and ſome of them very eminent: we will give the words of a very learned prelate of our own church upon this point. . . . "I am glad, that I can "cite Grotius to abet my opinion [That Melchiſedec was the "Shem of Moſes, and the juſt judge of Philo Byblius] thus far, "that he ſaith in his notes on Hebr. vii. 1. Melchiſedec is the "man meant by Sydic in Philo Byblius. And that Shem had "this title of Melchiſedec, or the juſt king, as Pompey was or-"dinarily called Magnus, and Octavius called Auguſtus, is the "judgment of the eldeſt and learnedeſt Jews, and of many mo-"dern learned men in Jewiſh antiquity; to whoſe judgement "herein I ſubſcribe with great ſatisfaction. And whereas others "think him ſome ſmall king of Canaan, I concur thus far with "them, that I believe he neither had, nor ſought, any large do-"minions for himſelf (21). . . . This then is a favourite opinion we ſee, and no doubt the great man, whoſe words theſe are, had perfectly ſatisfied himſelf, that the thing muſt have been ſo. But as eminent a prelate (22) of our own differs ſo far from the former, whoſe words we have given above, that he wonders how any Chriſtian can entertain ſuch a notion, ſo evidently deſtroyed by the apoſtle to the Hebrews (23), where it is expreſly ſaid, that Melchiſedec was not γενεαλογούμενος ἐξ αὐτῶν, his deſcent or pedigree was not counted from them [the Jews], which is not true

(21) Cumberland on Sanchoniatho, p. 174. (22) See Patrick upon Gen. xiv. 18. (23) vii. 6.

prieſt alſo of the moſt high GOD (Q): and as Abraham was returning from the war, he preſented him with bread and

of Shem. "Nor could Shem be ſaid to be without father or "mother, whoſe genealogy is evident from Adam. Nor was "Shem's prieſthood, if he had any, of a different order from "Levi's, who was in his loins, as well as in the loins of Abra-"ham. And therefore it cannot be ſaid, that Levi paid him "tithes in the loins of Abraham; but it would be as true, that "he received tithes in the loins of Shem. For, according to "this interpretation, he was in the loins both of him that received "tithes, and of him that paid them; and ſo the whole argu-"mentation of the apoſtle falls to the ground. But ſetting aſide "theſe and other Chriſtian reaſons, there is no cauſe that we "can diſcern, why Moſes ſhould call Shem (whom he ſo often "mentions) by any other name than his own: nor is it likely, "that Shem reigned in the land of Canaan, which now was in the "poſſeſſion of his brother's ſon. Nor could Abram be ſaid to "ſojourn there as in a ſtrange country, if his noble anceſtor Shem "had been king there (24)." Theſe arguments muſt be allowed to be very ſtrong, and it is pretty clear, that the notion which obtains among the Jewiſh writers is of no very antient date. Joſephus expreſly calls Melchiſedec a potentate of the Canaanites (25). The Arabians deduce him from Peleg (26). To paſs over ſome notions of the church, and of ſome hereticks, concerning him, which are pretty wide from our preſent purpoſe; he was both a king and a prieſt; which offices were anciently joined in one perſon, of which ſeveral inſtances are obſerved in ancient writers, both Greek and Roman.

(Q) Salem is by Joſephus (27) called Solyma; who alſo ſays, that Melchiſedec was the firſt founder of it; that he erected a temple in it, and officiated as a prieſt, calling it Jeruſalem; whereas its former name was Solyma. But what he ſays in this caſe has no weight with the moſt accurate and learned of the Chriſtian writers, who, for the moſt part, have a different notion. There is a Salem mentioned in the New Teſtament (28); which is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame where Melchiſedec reigned (29). The Arabians will have it, that Jeruſalem was built by twelve neighbouring kings, who, touched with a deep veneration for Melchiſedec, built it in honour of him, or for his convenience; which when they had done, he called it Jeruſalem (30).

(24) Idem ibid. (25) De Bell. Judaic. l. 7. c. 18. (26) Hotting. Smeg. Orient. p. 256, 260, 306. (27) Idem ubi ſupr. (28) John iii. 23. (29) See Patrick ubi ſupr. (30) Eutych. Annal. p. 67.

and wine (R); that is, gave him an entertainment of meats and drinks to refreſh him, and received from him tythes of all (S); having bleſſed him in the name of the moſt high GOD, poſſeſſor, or creator, of heaven and earth. The king of Sodom was at this remarkable interview, and ſeems to have acted a very generous and modeſt part, claiming nothing of all that Abraham had re-taken from the enemy, except the perſons of his ſubjects, leaving the reſt to his diſpoſal and diſcretion: but he met with as generous a return from Abraham, who, ſo far as in him lay, made him ample reſtitution of all that belonged to him, whether perſons or goods; but Aner, Eſhcol, and Mamre, his Canaanitiſh confederates, who were all three Amorites, were to do as they pleaſed; and how far they followed Abraham's example, is not ſaid [l].

Now for fifteen years there is a dead ſilence as to the affairs of this people; but about this time a ſevere judgement was executed on the inhabitants of the vale of Siddim. Living in great eaſe and affluence, they were grown to ſuch a height of impiety, that there was no room for mercy on them; which if it could have been obtained, by the interceſſion of Abraham, they had been ſpared from the wrath of GOD now, as, by his arms before, they were ſnatched out of the hands of their enemies. The ſin they ſuffered for was beſtiality [m], which, from the chief city of that vale, Sodom, has ſince born the name of ſodomy.

[l] Gen. xiv. [m] Gen. xix.

(R) As he is generally acknowledged to have been a type of Chriſt, ſo ſome have diſcovered in this bread and wine a near relation to the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper: but this is a pious miſtake: the words of Moſes mean what Joſephus (31) explains; it was no more than a refreſhment of meats and drinks, which he offered to Abraham, according to the hoſpitality of thoſe times; eating of bread, in the ſcripture phraſe, is feaſting.

(S) It is remarked (32), that the words of the text itſelf are ſo ambiguous, that there would have been no knowing whether it was Abraham that gave, or Melchiſedec, had not the apoſtle (33) explained it: whence Eupolemus thought Melchiſedec had beſtowed gifts upon Abraham. Of what kind the tithes were that Melchiſedec received from Abram, is not known; but we may enlarge on this in the life of Abraham.

(31) Antiq. l. 1. c. 10. (32) See Patrick ubi ſupr. ver. 19.
(33) Hebrews ubi ſupr. ver. 2.

The particulars of this cataſtrophe we have already given [n] in ſpeaking of Lot; and ſhall now only ſay, that the four cities of this fertile and pleaſant ſpot, Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboijm, were deſtroyed by a rain of brimſtone and fire, or thunder and lightning, from the Lord out of heaven, and the whole vale was conſumed [o]; and thenceforward became the dead or ſalt-ſea, or lake Aſphaltites (T). Thus periſhed a branch of the Canaanites with their whole territory; all ſaving the city of Bela, henceforward called Zoar [p].

The Hittites after this treated with Abraham, who deſired to purchaſe the cave of Machpelah for a burial-place; and their behaviour towards that incomparable patriarch deſerves well a place here. In a public aſſembly, they offered him the choiceſt of the ſepulchres to depoſite his dead in, and that in the moſt reſpectful terms. But, when he ſignified his deſire to have a ſeparate place for his family, and had caſt his eye upon the cave of Machpelah, belonging to one of their tribe, called Ephron the ſon of Zohar, with whom he deſired them to intercede in his behalf: Ephron himſelf, who is ſuppoſed to have preſided in this aſſembly, generouſly offered to make him a preſent of not only the cave he wanted to purchaſe, but of the ground or field alſo where it ſtood, and preſſed him much to accept of it; but by the noble ſpirit of Abraham he was diſappointed ſo far, as to be obliged to ſell the field and the cave to him for four hundred ſhekels, which he looked upon as a trifle between Abraham and him; ſo great was his deſire of retaining the favour and friendſhip of Abraham [q].

Nothing

[n] See before p. 96. [o] Gen. ubi ſupr. Deut. xxix. 23. [p] See before, p. 96. [q] Gen. xxiii.

(T) How this terrible ſubverſion was effected, is thus accounted for. The vale being full of ſlime-pits (34), or places whence Naphtha and Bitumen were extracted, is ſuppoſed to have been univerſally impregnated with igneous matter, and the lightning darting upon it, or flaſhing along the ſurface of it, kindled the combuſtible parts (35), which had the fearful effect of turning this once inchanting paradiſe into a loathſome lake. But we ſhall ſpeak of this lake hereafter in the geography of this country, as it was under the Jews.

(34) Gen. xvi. 10.

(35) Vide Cleric. Diſſertat. de Sodomæ Subverſione, § 4.

NOTHING occurs after this, that we can take notice of here, for about the ſpace of one hundred and twenty-eight years. At this time reigned Hamor in Shechem, a poor kingdom and weak; though Hamor himſelf ſeems to have been worthy of a better dominion, and a better chance than befel him. He ſold a piece of ground to Jacob *. At Shechem it happened, that Dinah the daughter of Jacob coming to ſee, and converſe with the daughters of the land, ſhe was obſerved by Shechem the ſon of Hamor, who was violently ſmitten with a liking to her, and forced, and deflowered her; but having a real paſſion for her, and being ſenſibly affected with the wrong he had done her, he would have pacified, and perſwaded her to conſent to marry him. And ſpeaking alſo to his father Hamor, he entreated him to uſe his endeavours, that he might have Dinah for his wife. Accordingly, Hamor went to Jacob, to communicate the ardent inclinations his ſon had for Dinah, and to aſk his conſent. But the injury and affront was ſtifly inſiſted on by Jacob's ſons, who were preſent, as was alſo Shechem himſelf. This laſt finding, that the others were highly exaſperated at the violence he had committed on their ſiſter, proffered all the ſatisfaction their hearts could wiſh, if they would but forgive him, and let him have her. Shechem thought he had gained his point upon the anſwer he received from them; which was, That if he, and all of his tribe or city, would conſent to be circumciſed, he ſhould have his will. Shechem willingly ſubmitted to this painful propoſal, and ſo did his father Hamor for his ſake; for he had an eſpecial love for him above all his other children. Wherefore returning to the city, they aſſembled the people in the gate, and beſpoke them to this effect; That ſeeing that Jacob and his family dwelt with them in great harmony, and that there was full room enough for them all, it would be very prudent to unite with them by reciprocal marriages; that indeed there was a pretty hard condition inſiſted on, which was, that they ſhould all be circumciſed; but that the pain thereof would be amply compenſated by ſuch an acceſſion of wealth, as muſt flow in upon them by being one people with Jacob. The men of the city, partly out of affection to Hamor and Shechem we may ſuppoſe, and partly upon the laſt conſideration, declared they were ready to be cir-

* Gen. xxxiii.

circumciſed, and circumciſed they were; but while they laboured under the ſores and inconvenience of this compliance (U), upon the third day they were all ſuddenly cut off, by two of Jacob's ſons at the head of their ſervants; every one of them periſhed by the edge of the ſword, and their wives, and children, and cattle, and houſhold-goods, and all belonging to them fell a prey to the ſons of Jacob, Simeon and Levi, who had perpetrated ſo horrid a violence upon a parcel of helpleſs, and, to all appearance, innocent people †.

HITHERTO we have been obliged to give the hiſtory of this people by incoherent pieces, and ſo we muſt continue to do: there is no connection, no ſucceſſive train of events to be expected here. When Moſes drew towards the ſkirts of the promiſed land, for the firſt time, the Canaanites, in the ſouth-eaſtern parts of the country, were joined by the Amalekites [r], who, we may ſuppoſe, were eager to take their revenge upon the Iſraelites [s]. Theſe, underſtanding that ſpies had been in the land from Moſes, drew towards the frontiers; and the Iſraelites attempting to enter their territory againſt the expreſs decree of GOD, were by them repulſed with a great ſlaughter quite to Hormah [t].

WHETHER before or after this, is not preciſely known, Sihon king of the Amorites invaded the children of Moab and Ammon, and diſpoſſeſſed them of their country on the other ſide of Jordan and the dead Sea [u]: this conqueſt is celebrated by the moſt ancient poem [w] that is extant among prophane writers.

ARAD

† Gen. xxxiv. [r] Deut.iii. 5. [s] See before, p. 177. [t] Deut. ubi ſupr. p. 103, 121. [u] See before, ibid. [w] Numb. xxi. 27.

(U) (36) "And began to be a little feveriſh: For the greateſt "pain and anguiſh the Jews obſerved was upon the third day "after circumciſion, which very much indiſpoſed them (37). "And indeed Hippocrates ſays the ſame of all wounds and ul-"cers, that they are then moſt inflamed by a conflux of ſharp "humours to them."

(36) Patrick upon Gen. xxxiv. 25. (37) Elies. Pirke, c. 29. & Vorſti, Annota. p. 95.

ARAD (W) was a king in the ſouth-eaſt of Ca- Arad.
naan, when Moſes had a ſecond time reached the ſkirts of the promiſed land; and being informed of their coming by the *Way of ſpies* (X), he went out and attacked them, and took ſeveral of them priſoners; but fortune changed countenance on him, and he was vanquiſhed by them, and his country doomed to utter deſtruction [x].

SIHON the Amorite ſoon after this, reſiding in the an- Sihon.
cient country of the Moabites and Ammonites, was entreated by meſſengers from Moſes for a free paſſage through his country, in his way to Canaan: but this requeſt he arrogantly rejected; and, inſtead of complying, marched out againſt him; but it was a very unfortunate expedition. He was defeated at Jaazer with a total overthrow, which was enſued by the entire loſs of all he had, to Moſes and his people.

OG king of Baſhan is reckoned a king of the Amo- Og.
rites [y], and was of the race of the giants, or Rephaim, and the very laſt of them. His iron bed-ſtead of nine cubits in length we have already mentioned [z]. He was a dreadful enemy [a]. His whole kingdom took its name from the hill of Baſhan, which is compared to God's hill [b], and has ſince been called Batanæa. In it were no leſs than ſixty walled towns, beſides villages [c]. This country afforded an excellent breed of cattle [d] and ſtately oaks [e]. In ſhort, it was a plentiful and populous terri-

[x] Ibid. ver. 1, 2. [y] Deut iii. 8. ver. 11. [z] See before, p. 117. [a] Vide Joſeph. Antiq. l. 4. c. 5. [b] Pſal. lxviii. 15. [c] Deut. iii. 4, 5. Joſh. xiii. 30. Joſeph. Antiq. ubi ſupr. [d] Ibid. xxxii. 14. Pſal. xxii. 12. [e] Ezek. xxv. 6.

(W) It is doubted, whether this be the name of the king himſelf or of his city. There was a city of this name, and one of Canaan's ſons was ſo called, according to the LXX and the Vulgar, who ſo tranſlate the Hebrew of Arvad; who therefore may have given his name to this country, and the city may have been called after him (38).

(X) This is ſuppoſed to be a road or a way, ſo called from the ſpies who entered the country formerly, eight-and-thirty years before. Some underſtand it, that the king heard ſpies were coming into his country. The Hebrew word here rendered ſpies, is האתרים haatharim; which the LXX have retained as the name of the place, and call it Ἀθαρειμ.

(38) Vide Patrick & Cleric. in Num. xxi. 1.

tory. Og's residence was at Ashtaroth [f] (Y) and at Edrei, at, or near, which place he was vanquished, as he was espousing the cause of Sihon, and attempting to stop the progress of Moses and his people. He fell in battle, he, and all that belonged to him; and his whole kingdom, and all therein, was transferred to the Israelites under Moses [g].

THE news of what Moses had done on the other side of Jordan, to Sihon and Og kings of the Amorites, was matter of astonishment we may suppose to the Canaanites of every denomination; but when they also heard, how the waters of the river had been divided to give the Israelites a passage over to them, their hearts melted, and their spirits failed them. Jericho was the first place that felt the fury of the approaching excision, being dismantled by the shouts of the Israelites, the sound of seven rams-horns, and the circumvection of the ark of the covenant; and in it no soul was spared but the harlot Rahab and her family, who had been instrumental in saving the spies that had been sent by Joshua into this city, which was now turned to a heap of ashes and rubbish, being burnt with fire; and the man cursed that should ever attempt to rebuild it [h].

The king of Ai. THE men of the city of Ai and their king then roused up, and were permitted by GOD to repulse a body of three thousand of the Israelites, killing thirty odd of their number, by way of punishment on the whole congregation, for the iniquitous practices of one person at the sacking of Jericho. The king of Ai very rightly apprehended the war was not decided by so slight a favour of fortune on his side; and therefore sent to the men of Bethel, who were his subjects and owed him homage, to repair to him, that they might strengthen his arms against the enemy. It was not long ere he had advice, that Joshua was moving

[f] Josh. xii. 4. [g] Numb. xxi. 33, 35. [h] Josh vi.

(Y) This city being elsewhere called Ashtaroth-Karnaim (39), or the two-horned, has given room to suppose it derived its name from the goddess Astarte. But, as is observed, it might as well be supposed, that the city was in the shape of a half-moon (40).

(39) Gen. xiv. 5. (40) See Patrick on the above passage of Genesis.

moving towards him. In general, he apprehended Joſhua's intent was to beſiege him; but he knew nothing of a ſtratagem that was formed, and of ambuſcades that were laid to ruin him, and deſtroy his city. He ſaw Joſhua appear before his walls with no very formidable force, and at once reſolved to fight him: which he no ſooner offered to do, then the Iſraelites faced about and fled; which when he ſaw, he ordered every body to come out of the city, and help to purſue the enemy, that feigned only to run from him. By this means his city was left deſtitute of all defence, every body being at the heels of the Iſraelites; which, when it was known to a party, who lay in ambuſh, they roſe up, ſeized upon the city, and ſet the out-ſkirts of it on fire. The king of Ai, turning his head backwards, ſaw the ſmoke of his city aſcending up to heaven; and in the midſt of his conſternation he ſaw alſo the enemy ſtop ſhort, ſhout, and face about upon him. His return to the city was intercepted by thoſe who had ſet it on fire, and were now advancing to aſſiſt in cutting him off. The men of Ai perceiveing therefore that their city muſt periſh without reſource, and that they were to be attacked as it were on all ſides, their hearts ſunk within them, and they all fell by the edge of the ſword, except their king, who was taken alive, and led to Joſhua. And after this ſlaughter of their army, their city was viſited by the Iſraelites, and there the ſcene of blood was acted over again upon the women, and thoſe who were found in and about it; ſo that in all, there fell this day 12,000 ſouls, who were all that belonged to this deſtined place, which was now turned into a deſolate heap, as it ever afterwards continued. The captive king was hung upon a tree till even-tide, when his body was taken down, toſſed into what had been the gate-way of the city, where he had uſed to ſit in judgment perhaps, and buried under an heap of ſtones, which were thrown on him: ſo ended the kingdom of Ai [i].

Upon this the whole country was riſing up in arms to fight Joſhua; but Gibeon a city of the Hivites [k], far ſtronger and more conſiderable than Ai, and renowned for the courage of its citizens [l], heard what had been done to the kingdoms of Jericho and Ai, and trembled; and the inhabitants deſpairing to be able to withſtand the torrent, which

[i] Joſh. vii, viii.
[l] Joſh. x. 2.
[k] Joſh. ix. compare ver. 3. with ver. 7.

which was now broke into their country, by ſtrength, they reſolved to try what art could do. And conſulting what could be done in ſo dangerous a conjuncture, they came to the reſolution of ſending to Joſhua ſome ambaſſadors, who ſhould be dreſſed in old tattered garments, with clouted ſhoes, with dry mouldy bread, and wine-ſkins or bottles, old, and rent, and bound up: and all this they contrived, that their ambaſſadors might ſeem to come from ſome very far country. with this ſordid equipage did they ſet out for Joſhua's camp in Gilgal; where being arrived, they told him, they were come from afar off to ſeek his friendſhip; and being queſtioned as to their ſincerity, they anſwered equivocally, and being ſtill further preſſed upon the point, they replied with great ſubmiſſion, That they were actually of a very far diſtant country; and that the fame of the LORD GOD, and what he had done for Iſrael in Egypt; and ſince then, by the deſtruction of Sihon and Og, thoſe mighty kings, had been the inducements which had brought them ſo far from home, being ſent by the unanimous vote of all their countrymen, that they might make their homage, and deſire to be accepted into a league with Iſrael; and as a proof that in all they had ſaid they had confined themſelves to ſtrict truth, they produced their dry and mouldy bread, which they averred they had taken hot out of their houſes the day they ſet out: our bottles of wine, ſaid they, were new, and ſee how they are rent; our garments and ſhoes were the ſame, but they are worn out by reaſon of our very long journey. In all this they acted their parts with the utmoſt cunning and prevarication, and, being too eaſily believed, gained their point, by perſuading Joſhua and the Iſraelites to make a league with them. Thus did they over-reach their enemies, and thereby ſave their lives. At the end of three days their whole artifice was diſcovered; but then they valued it not, having brought the Iſraelites under a ſolemn engagement to protect them as friends: but in the concluſion they fared not ſo well as they, perhaps, expected, being condemned to be hewers of wood and drawers of water; that is to be ſlaves, or very little better [m].

Adonizedek. WHEN Adonizedek king of Jeruſalem heard, how Jericho and Ai had been uterly deſtroyed, and, what was worſe to the common cauſe, that the Gibeonites had ſubmitted to Joſhua, he was divided between diſdain and fear.

[m] Joſh. ix.

fear. But reſolving to make an example of the Gibeonites, thereby to deter others from following ſo pernicious and ſo inglorious an example, he called in Horam king of Hebron, Piram king of Jarmuth, Japhia king of Lachiſh, and Debir king of Eglon, to join him to fight againſt Gibeon; and accordingly they all went againſt it, and beſieged it. The inhabitants in this diſtreſs diſpatched notice to Joſhua of what was befallen them, and begged his ſpeedy ſuccour to reſcue them from their enraged countrymen. The effect of this was, that the five kings, as they were beſieging the city, were furiouſly aſſaulted by Joſhua; ſo that they were obliged to riſe from before it, and make off in great confuſion. As they were flying away, and had almoſt reached Beth-horon, there came down a dreadful tempeſt of hail-ſtones, of ſuch enormous ſize, that they knocked them on the head, and did more execution among them than the ſword of Joſhua. Thus perſecuted by the heavens above, and preſſed by the Iſraelites in the rear, they fled, as chance directed them, not knowing whither they were going. By ſo general a diſperſion it is poſſible, that many of them might have come off with life, had not the ſun, at the command of Joſhua, ſtopped his career, that the Iſraelites might ſee to overtake and deſtroy the ſcattered multitude. And now the five kings, ſeeing nothing but deſtruction and deſolation before their eyes, made the beſt of their way to a cave near the city of Makkedah, the only glimpſe of hope they had left. Happily, as they thought, they reached this aſylum, but were ſome how or other diſcovered to be there; and information thereof being carried to Joſhua, they ſoon ſaw the mouth of their cave ſtopped up with great ſtones: and under this diſmal confinement did they remain, till the action of this miraculous day was concluded, when, being viſited and dragged out, they were thrown before the congregation of Iſrael, the chiefs of whom trod on their necks: which done, they were all five put to death, and their dead bodies were hung, each on a tree; and there they hung till the ſetting ſun, when they were taken down and toſſed into the mouth of the cave, which was again filled up with great ſtones, as a monument of their fall and unhappy end. This was the fate of the five confederate kings, while ſome of their ſubjects were ſo fortunate as to get into certain fenced cities, and ſo eſcape for the preſent *.

JABIN

* Joſh. x

Jabin. JABIN king of Hazor, when he heard this, and that moreover Makkedah, Libnah, Lachiſh, Eglon, Hebron, and Debir had been ſubverted, and all their inhabitants put to the ſword, and that not a ſoul had been left alive in one of them: and again, that Horam king of Gezer and his whole force had periſhed in attempting to relieve Lachiſh: Such a crowd of calamities together made him reſolve to raiſe all the tribes of the Canaanites, to withſtand the deſtruction, which ſo imminently threatened them all. He ſent therefore to Jobab king of Madon, to the king of Shimron, to the king of Achſhaph, to the kings on the north of the mountains, to thoſe in the plains ſouth of Cinneroth, and in the valley, and on the borders of Dor on the weſt, and to the Canaanites, peculiarly ſo called, on the eaſt and weſt, and to the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Jebuſite in the mountains, and to the Hivite under Hermon, in the land of Mizpeh. Theſe all confederated together againſt Iſrael; they were as the ſand on the ſea-ſhore for multitude, and were very ſtrong in horſe and chariots, a dreadful enemy for Joſhua and his people to deal with, who were utterly unprovided of both. Being thus united, they encamped near the waters of Merom, ſince called the lake Samachonitis. Here, as they lay conſulting together, they were aſſaulted by ſurprize, driven out of their camp, and broken into as many diſtinct bodies, perhaps, as they were tribes, each tending homewards. But the main body of them ſeem to have fled with their faces towards the great Zidon, weſtward, and Mizrepoth-maim; while another multitude ſcoured towards the valley of Mizpeh eaſtwards. But they were every where ſo furiouſly and effectually purſued, that moſt of them fell by the way. Jabin himſelf had the luck to eſcape for the preſent, but he periſhed with his city ſoon afterwards; for Hazor was ſoon after taken, her inhabitants all cut off, there was not one of them left, and herſelf burnt with fire. This city was reckoned as the chief of all the cities belonging to the kings of this confederacy, and therefore was treated with the greater rigor; but the reſt of the cities of theſe princes, which alſo fell into the hand of Joſhua, were ſuffered to ſtand, though none of the inhabitants were ſpared in any of them [n].

No loſſes, though ever ſo grievous, could for a conſiderable while break the ſpirits of the Canaanites; they ſtood their

[n] Joſh. xi.

their ground, and roſe up ſo thick and ſo faſt one after another, that they kept Joſhua employed ſix years [o]: And in the end, great numbers are ſuppoſed to have left their country, and, travelling towards Afric, to have ſettled themſelves there at laſt, erecting a monument in memory of the calamities which had driven them from their native place, and inveighing againſt Joſhua by a very injurious appellation, as will be obſerved hereafter in the hiſtory of that continent. In their way thither they are ſuppoſed to have ſeized on the lower Egypt, where they erected a monarchy, which ſubſiſted under ſeveral of their own kings; but being at laſt overpowered, were forced, ſome of them, farther weſtward into Afric: and thus are they made out to have been the Phœnician paſtors, who lorded it ſo long, and ſo rigorouſly, over Egypt [p].

AFTER the Canaanites had been ſucceſſively defeated, and at length diſperſed and reduced, the Anakins [q] (Z), who alſo inhabited ſome of the mountains of the land, a fierce and barbarous race, and of an origin diſtinct from the Canaanites, as is thought, were invaded and cut off; and thus was the whole country, as it were, poſſeſſed by the Iſraelites.

BUT ſtill the Canaanites of ſeveral denominations were ſtrong and potent, and held no mean ſhare of the country; and for nineteen or twenty years, the remainder of Joſhua's days, they were very little moleſted; being ſuffered to breathe, while the important buſineſs of dividing their country by the conqueror could be regulated and adjuſted.

THIS diviſion being marked out, the Canaanites were

[o] Uſſer. Annal. [p] See vol. I. ch. 3. ſect. 5. Note (B).
[q] Joſh. ubi ſupr.

(Z) Theſe are held to have been what we call giants, and are derived from one Arba, who ſeized on the city of Hebron, from whom it was called Kirjath-Arba, the city of Arba. From Arba deſcended Anak (41), who, it ſeems had three ſons, whom we ſhall mention hereafter. From Anak the Anakims derive their name; but whether they were a numerous family, or really more bulky than their neighbours, is far from being aſcertained: their name has various derivations aſſigned it, which are many, and doubtful, and unſatisfactory; nor can we hope for any certainty in matters ſo ancient, and at the ſame time ſo imperfectly touched on, as this family is in ſcripture.

(41) Joſh. xiv. 15. xv. 13, 14.

on all ſides invaded again by the tribes of Iſrael, who wanted each to drive them out of their reſpective lots. The Canaanites and Perizzites in Bezek were accordingly invaded by the tribes of Simeon and Judah, and there fell of them ten thouſand men. Being thus routed in the field, they retreated to the city of Bezek, where Adonibezek, the king of that place as his name imports, reſided. This king is infamous, with all men, for his ſingular cruelty and inſolence; for, by his own confeſſion, having taken ſeventy kings captive, he cut off the thumbs and great toes of each, and made them expect their meat under his table, like ſo many dogs. The city itſelf was now aſſaulted and carried; and all thoſe within the walls were put to the ſword, which may be called the ſecond ſlaughter of this diſpute. Adonibezek *himſelf* was in the city at this time, though he, it ſeems, eſcaped: but he was overtaken in his flight, and his thumbs and great toes were cut off; a juſt requital, as he *himſelf* acknowledged, for his former cruelty; but his life was undeſervedly ſpared, he being carried alive to Jeruſalem, where he died; for that city had been taken and burnt before; but whether by Joſhua formerly, or the tribe of Judah now [r], is not very clear *(A)*.

IMMEDIATELY

[r] Judg. i. 3——8.

(A) Jeruſalem is mentioned as taken by Joſhua; but, as may be obſerved, the Canaanites laid hands again on ſeveral places which Joſhua had torn from them; and the ſame may have happened at Jeruſalem: for though it is by moſt commentators imagined, that the Iſraelites held the town, and the Jebuſites the fortreſs of Zion ever afterwards; Joſephus (42) plainly enough tells us, they had both the fort and the city when David gave them their fatal blow; and, conſidering the temper and inſolence of the Jebuſites, it is not likely, that, while they poſſeſſed the citadel, they would ſuffer the Iſraelites to live quietly in the town. Upon the whole, though the place may have been reduced by Joſhua, and re-poſſeſſed by the Jebuſites again, and reduced a ſecond time by the tribe of Judah now, yet it is likely, there were always diſputes between the Jebuſites and the Iſraelites, and that theſe were driven out by thoſe a ſecond time; and that in the days of David, the Jebuſites had both the city and fortreſs in their own hands, as Joſephus aſſures us above. Joſephus (43) ſeems to be right here, when he tells us the tribe of Judah did now attack Jeruſalem, but did not ſucceed in their attempt.

(42) Joſeph. l. 6. c. 7. (43) Antiq. l. 5. c. 2.

IMMEDIATELY after this the Canaanites were invaded in ſeveral other parts, and particularly in Hebron and Debir, two cities which had formerly been deſtroyed by Joſhua, but were now in the hands of the Canaanites again, an inſtance, among many others of the ſame kind, of the reſolution of this people, and their reluctance to quit their poſſeſſions. And in general the Canaanites in the highlands or mountains were reduced; but thoſe in the low-country were able to keep their ground, becauſe they had chariots of iron. Hebron was by this war put into the hands of Caleb, who thence expelled the three ſons of Anak [s] (B).

THE Jebuſites were alſo aſſaulted by the Benjamites, but they could not be diſlodged. Thoſe about Beth-el had the houſe of Joſeph to deal with, and fell by fraud, their city being betrayed by one of the inhabitants, unwarily ſeized on by the hands of the enemy. But thoſe of Bethſhean, Taanach, Dor, Ibleam, and Megiddo, made head againſt the attempts of the children of Manaſſeh, and preſerved their ſeveral juriſdictions entire. The Canaanites alſo that dwelt in Gezer could not be expelled by the Ephraimites; and thoſe of Kitron and Nahalol ſtood their ground againſt the poſterity of Zebulun, though they ſubmitted to a tribute. The inhabitants of Accho, Zidon, Ahlab, Achzib

[s] ver. 9—20.

(B) The names of the ſons of Anak are Ahiman, Sheſhai, and Talmai (44); concerning whom we ſhall only remark what Bochart has fancied, as to the imports of their names. To begin with their father Anak, his name he makes to ſquare with the latin name Torquatus; the eldeſt, or firſt of the brothers name Ahiman, or who is my brother; that is, who is my equal. By the name of Sheſhai the ſecond, he ſuppoſes him to have been ſix cubits high, as Goliath is ſaid to have been. Talmai, the name of the third, he derives from Talam a furrow *; as if he ſeemed in length equal to the furrow of a field. This is an ingenious thought, ſome may ſay, and ſome may think it a little preſumptuous. Joſephus (45), as his cuſtom is too frequently, gives us a fearful account of theſe inhabitants of Hebron, "Among the "ſlain, ſays he, were found ſome gigantic forms, who not only "exceeded the ordinary ſize of men, but differed alſo from them "in aſpect and voice.... Some of their bones are expoſed as a pro-"digy to this day.

(44) Numb. xiii, 22. * Canaan, lib. 1. c. 1. (45) Ubi ſupr.

Achzib, Helbah, Aphik, and Rehob, instead of being driven out by the tribe of Asher, seem to have imposed what conditions they thought proper on them, and barely to have suffered them to hold any part of their lot. Those who held Beth-shemesh and Beth-anath, were an over-match for Napthali; but in the end they were made tributaries. The Amorites pressed hard upon the children of Dan, and confined them to their mountains, denying them all the benefits of the low country; nor would they suffer them to have the mountains to themselves neither; but would keep mount Heres in Aijalon and in Shaalbim in their own hands: but though they dealt thus with the Danites, according to their own pleasure, they were reduced at last to a tribute by the joint forces of the house of Joseph and of Dan, and their coast or border ascertained, *from the going up to Akrabbim from the rock, and upwards* (C).

THUS upon the division of their country, and the attempts made by the several tribes to drive them out, the whole land was in a ferment of war, which ended with no great success on either side; and the adverse parties seem to have been pretty equally matched. So that although it is certain that multitudes of this people were slain in the wars of Joshua, and that, as is very rationally supposed, many of them fled the land in quest of more sure and quiet abodes twenty years before; yet such was their number remaining, or valour, or superior skill in war, that, after all their calamities, take them which way you will, they seem to have been but little inferior to the Israelites. Nor after this do we miss one tribe of them, except the Gergasites (D).

THE

[t] ver. 21—36.

(C) For want of knowing the exact situation of the places here mentioned, we are at a loss to understand, whether the Amorites were left masters of a small, or a large, territory. Obscurities of the same kind there are many; but our reader, we hope, will upon this occasion and all of a like nature, past or to come excuse our want of presumption; or that we do not pretend to shew him the exact situations of places, which, from the best light we have, can hardly be guessed at, and must for ever, it is likely, remain a dispute among such as have time to waste, or little else to do, or think of.

(D) We are positively told, they fled into Afric (46), where they fixed their seat; whence their being omitted is very rationally accounted

(46) Gemar. Hierosolymit. ad tit. Shebitih, cap. 6.

THE Canaanites, the Sidonians, and the Hivites of mount Lebanon, from Baal-hermon to Hamoth, were left to prove Iſrael, to exerciſe them with temptation to idolatry and ſin (E), and the more immediately devoted nations, the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebuſites dwelt, as it were in common, with the children of Iſrael in their promiſed land. Being thus blended together, they in time wrought ſo upon the unſtable minds of the Iſraelites as to perſwade them to intermarry with them, and ſerve their gods [u], thereby captivating their minds, as they afterwards did their bodies.

FOR in a very few years, nine or ten, or thereabout, Jabin II. Jabin, whom we may reckon the ſecond of the name, ſeeing he reſided at the very ſame place with the former, was permitted by GOD to deal with the Iſraelites, as the inſtrument of his wrath. This prince, it is likely,

[u] Judg. ii. 21—23. iii. 1—7.

accounted for; and though it were difficult to think, that none belonging to the other tribes accompanied them, or trod afterwards in their footſteps; yet may we hence conclude, that the Gergaſites were the chief of the fugitives from this country, which we ſhall reſume when we come to Afric.

(E) Here we ſee a remarkable diſtinction made between the Canaanites of Joſhua's conqueſt, and thoſe who were not ſo; as if theſe, who were only their borderers, were more proper, or more likely, to tempt the Iſraelites than thoſe who were actually inmates with them. Whence, whether we are to conclude, that the idolatry of the former was more enchanting than that of the latter, or their luxury more enticing; or whether at all there was any real difference between them, we leave the reader to fancy. Both religious and political reaſons have been aſſigned for this mercy towards the Canaanites; of the former is, That the Iſraelites might not grow ſluggiſh for want of ſome to waken and ſtir up their courage, and to keep up martial diſcipline among them, and that they might always be in a more immediate ſtate of dependance on God, or look conſtantly up to him for ſuccour (47). Of the latter, That no part of the country, which was too extenſive to be thoroughly inhabited by the Iſraelites, might lie deſolate, ſo as to be left for a harbour to wild beaſts, who might by their encreaſe prove a more dreadful and pernicious enemy than the Canaanites (48).

(47) See Patrick upon Judg. iii. 2. (48) See Exod. xxiii. 29. and Deut. vi. 22.

likely, rebuilt Hazor (F), which had been deſtroyed with ſuch rigor by Joſhua, re-eſtabliſhed the royal ſeat there, was maſter of nine hundred chariots of iron (G), which, and the reſt of his hoſt, were under the command of Siſera,

(F) We think with thoſe who ſuppoſe this Jabin to have deſcended from the other, who fell by the hands of Joſhua; and that he now ſeized on the ſpot where Hazor formerly ſtood, and rebuilt that city; which ſeeing he was ſo powerful a prince, is no unlikely matter, though ſome make a ſcruple of it. Whether Jabin was an appellation common to all the kings of Hazor, we have not to ſay from poſitive authority, though it ſeems to have been a common cuſtom in theſe parts for kings to ſucceed each other under the ſame appellation, as Pharaoh in Egypt, Agag in Amalekitis, &c. He is in the text called king of Canaan; which, whether it refers to the Canaanites, peculiarly ſo called, or to the whole body of the Canaanites in general, we take not on us to ſay.

(G) The number of theſe chariots, which are all along taken for the ſcythed ſort, is much wondered at by the learned. Whether he had ſuch a multitude of them before he warred upon Iſrael; or whether, by reducing them, he at once enlarged his empire, and augmented his forces, is not ſaid; though it is probable he had not ſo many before. But what ſhall we ſay to Joſephus, who acquaints us, That Jabin did actually reſide at Azor [Hazor] ſituate near the lake Samachonitis, and that he had an army of 300,000 foot, 10,000 horſe, and 3000 chariots (49). If Bochart wonders, as he does, at the 900 chariots the ſcripture gives him, obſerving, that Mithridates had but one hundred in his army, and Darius but two hundred (50); what muſt he have thought of Joſephus's three thouſand? Indeed, not only in the number of the chariots, but in that alſo of the horſe and foot, he is too large to be eaſily credited; nor perhaps is it always ſafe to lend an attentive ear to that hiſtorian. And it is to be noted, that notwithſtanding he on this ſide ſo vaſtly exceeds what the ſcripture ſeems to intend, he agrees therewith in the number of the Iſraelites, who roſe up to recover their rights, reckoning them at only ten thouſand (51). What authority he had for this very extraordinary exceſs in the numbers of the Canaanites againſt the Iſraelites, we know not: but his view may have been to do honour in this example, as in others, to his country-men and fore-fathers, with the Romans, who gloried chiefly in their military exploits, and in what their fathers had done before them that way.

(49) Antiq. lib. 2. cap. 6. (50) Hierozoic. Part. 1. lib. 2. c. 9. (51) Joſephus ubi ſupr.

Siſera, who dwelt in Haſhoreth of the Gentiles (H). Jabin therefore reduced the Iſraelites to a ſtate of ſlavery, and mightily did he oppreſs them for twenty years. But whether he held them in general under ſubjection, or the northern tribes only, is a matter of uncertainty. But whether his dominion over them was total or partial, it expired at the end of twenty years, as we have ſaid. News was brought to Siſera, that the Iſraelites had been ſtirred up to rebellion, and that they were actually in arms, conſulting together, how they might ſhake off his maſter's yoke. Whereupon he prepared the nine hundred chariots of iron, and iſſued a proclamation, requiring the men of war to aſſemble together, to march out againſt the Iſraelites, who were but ten thouſand ſtrong, with Deborah and Barak at their head. They came to a battle, and Siſera was beaten, and irretrievably routed, and a general ſlaughter was made of his army, quite to the gates of Haſhoreth of the Gentiles: and being himſelf in great danger of the purſuers, he quitted his chariot, and truſted to his feet (I), directing his ſteps to the tent of Heber the Kenite, who was at amity with Jabin. He found Jael, Heber's wife, in the tent door, who,

(H) If Hazor was not rebuilt, then Haſhoreth of the Gentiles bids fair to have been the royal ſeat. It is called of the Gentiles, as is ſuppoſed, from a confluence of all ſorts, who came now to put themſelves under the protection of Jabin's growing empire.

(I) The particulars of the battle are not recorded in the ſacred text; but thence it very plainly appears, that there was ſomething miraculous and extraordinary in this defeat of Jabin's hoſt, thunders, lightnings, and frightful ſounds rumbling in their ears, ſo that the heavens had the principal ſhare in this overthrow. And Joſephus, that we may not wonder at the ruin of ſo mighty a power by ſo contemptible a handful of the Iſraelites, tells us very circumſtantially, That the armies were no ſooner engaged, than there aroſe a furious wind, which drove ſuch a tempeſt of hail and rain into the faces of the Canaanites, as ſtifled and blinded them, and benumbed their fingers to that degree, that they were in all reſpects diſabled from action; ſo that they were eaſily broken, and diſperſed, and trampled to death by the horſe, and torn to pieces by their own chariots, which, together with the execution made on them by the Iſraelites, quite diſſipated this mighty multitude, and reduced them to nothing (52).

(52) Joſephus ubi ſupr.

perceiving the hurry and diſorder he was in, entreated him to ſtep in, and fear nothing; which he did, and ſhe covered him with a rug, or ſome ſuch thing, ſo as not to be ſeen, or to prevent his taking any harm, while he repoſed himſelf after the fatigue of the battle and flight. He had not lain long ere he complained of being very thirſty, and begged a draught of water; inſtead whereof his kind hoſteſs preſented him with a bowl of new milk, of which when he had drank his fill, ſhe covered him up again. Then he called out, and bad her, if any one came to enquire if ſhe had any man within, to anſwer no, and to ſtand at the tent-door for that purpoſe. Now, being greatly fatigued, he fell into a deep ſleep, and Jael, taking one of the tent-nails and a hammer, trod ſoftly up to him, and drove the nail into his temples, and ſo killed him. By this time Barak had reached the tent in queſt of Siſera; and Jael with a triumphant air went out to him, and invited him to the ſight of the man he ſought, whom he here ſaw dead, with the nail ſmitten into his temples. So fell Siſera; and thus was Jabin's glory eclipſed, and his dominions forced from him by the children of Iſrael, by whom he was perſecuted to deſtruction [w] (K).

Now what the Canaanites did, or what was done againſt them after this, for a long ſeries of years, we cannot ſay. Thus much appears, They had been able to maintain their ground in ſeveral parts, and particularly in Jeruſalem, till the time that David was king of Iſrael. When the Jebuſites, who held that city, or at leaſt the fortreſs of Zion, ſaw David actually advanced up to them to beſiege them, they poſted their lame and their blind (L) to defend them, ſaying they were enough to keep

[w] Judg iv.

(K) Joſephus gives us the particulars of his downfal. Jabin met Barak as he was in full march againſt Hazor, and was encountered by him and ſlain; and Hazor, the ſeat of his empire, was laid level with the ground: and thus fell the empire of the Jabins in Hazor a ſecond time (53), according to this hiſtorian.

(L) Who, or what, theſe lame and blind were, is made a doubt; it is diſputed, whether we muſt with Joſephus (54) underſtand

(53) Idem ibid. (54) Ibid. lib. 7. c. 2.

keep off ſo mean an invader, relying wholly on the ſtrength of their walls and ſituation. But they were diſappointed,

derſtand them to have been perſons actually labouring under the infirmities of lameneſs and blindneſs, or whether ſomething elſe is here to be underſtood, as others think. Bochart (55) deems this ſo plain a caſe, that he wonders how ſome great men had puzzled their brains with finding out a ſolution of it; and holds it paſt diſpute, that this was a flouriſh of thraſoniſm in the Jebuſites, who planted their lame and their blind, that is, their moſt infirm and unfit people, to defend them: while our own Dr. Gregory (56), who has a whole diſſertation about it, underſtands them to have been the gods of this people, who, as the pſalmiſt expreſſes it, had eyes, and ſaw not, and feet, and walked not (57): and this opinion is ſupported by theſe very plauſible arguments; 1. How could David diſtinguiſh the halt, or the lame, or the blind from able men, when poſted upon lofty walls, ſince thoſe infirmities are not diſcernible but near at hand? 2. How can it be ſuppoſed there was ſuch a number of theſe unfortunate perſons in ſo ſmall a city as might ſerve ſuch a purpoſe? And why ſhould David ſay, as he does, that his ſoul hated them: when it would have been but natural in him to have commiſerated their unhappy condition? From theſe arguments it is concluded, that it was not the lame and the blind of the city, whom the Jebuſites relied on, but their idols, which in the Pſalms are deſcribed in the ſarcaſtical words we have inſerted above, and which they planted upon their walls, by their power or influence to keep off the enemy; which they hoped would have been ſo efficacious a means of preſerving them, that they truſted David would be unable to prevail againſt their ſupernatural operations. And here a parallel caſe is drawn in reference to the Palladium, the city of Troy being ſuppoſed to be impregnable while that remained with them: and ſome ſuch, or the ſame, notion may have obtained among the Jebuſites now, touching their god or gods (58). To this we ſhall add one chimerical notion of a Jewiſh Rabbi upon this event. He pretends, that when Abraham bought the cave of Mach-pelah of the children of Heth, he formally covenanted with them, that when his poſterity ſhould come to be poſſeſſors of the land (which they had a foreſight of) they ſhould not touch the city of Jebus; and that now they engraved this covenant his forefather Abraham had made with them upon their walls, pretending, that David could not attempt them, but by the breach of the covenant his forefather Abraham had made with them (59).

(55) Phaleg. l. 4. c. 36. upon this paſſage. (56) In Patrick's commentary (57) Pſal. cxv. (58) Vide Cleric. in 2 Sam. v. 6. (59) Eliezer Pirke, cap. 36.

being carried by ſtorm (M). But the circumſtances of this event, and how it fared with the gariſon and inhabitants, are not told [x].

THIS was doubtleſs a very ſevere blow upon the Canaanites in general, and muſt have perplexed them much: and they muſt again have been deeply humbled when they were invaded in Gezer by Pharaoh; upon what provocation given by them, or whether any, is utterly unknown (N); and their city burnt, and themſelves put to the ſword. This city was afterwards rebuilt or repaired by Solomon, he receiving it in right of his wife, Pharaoh's daughter [y].

THUS oppreſſed by the Iſraelites on the one hand, and by the mighty power of Egypt on the other; and the glory of Solomon ariſing towards its meridian, the remnant of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebuſites were reduced to the grievous ſtate of bondage and ſlavery; whence it gathered, that they were now brought to ſo low an ebb as to be unable to anſwer the demands of a tribute; wherefore being admitted into a covenant, as is very rationally ſuppoſed, with king Solomon, he would not cut them off, but employed them in the heavy labour of carrying on his vaſt and ſumptuous works. And this ſervility was entailed on their poſterity [z]; for, although it is apparently

[x] 2 Sam. v. 6—9. [y] 1 Kings ix. 46. [z] See ver. 20, 21. See alſo Ezra xi. 55, 58. and Nehem. xi. 3.

(M) We have already obſerved, that, according to Joſephus (60), the Jebuſites were in poſſeſſion both of the city of Jeruſalem and the fortreſs of Zion; to which he adds, that the lower town was eaſily carried by an aſſault, with David at the head of it, but that the caſtle or fortrefs held out, till Joab ſucceeded in the important ſervice of aſſaulting that.

(N) A late commentator is of opinion, that Pharaoh attacked the Canaanites at this place, out of complaiſance to Solomon, who had married his daughter; for, apprehending the Jews to be very little acquainted with the arts of conducting a ſiege, he ſuppoſes they were not able to maſter this city of Gezer (61), which, how it came to be ſo much ſtronger than Jeruſalem, and the fortreſs of Zion, and many other places by them ſubdued, we cannot ſay. This Pharaoh is by a learned chronologer, who takes this to have been the firſt expedition the Egyptians made out of their own country, called Rameſſes Miamun (62).

(60) Ubi ſupr. (61) Vide Cleric. in 1 Reg. ix. 16. (62) Marſh. Can. Chron. ad Sæc. 13, 14.

rently certain, that they upon their firſt reduction became proſelytes to the Jewiſh religion, yet it is thought, they were diſtinguiſhed from the Jews; and reckoned of a more ignoble blood, and as born to drudgery. This is ſuppoſed to have been their fate, and thus are they thought to have been blended with the Jews; though it is far from being poſitively known (O). And now it remains only for us to obſerve, That among the tribes of the Canaanites, enumerated above to have been laden with the yoke of Solomon, the Canaanites, peculiarly ſo called as we have hitherto ſpoken, are omitted: theſe therefore, we may conclude, bore none of the burthen, but remained whole and independent in their poſſeſſions on the ſea-coaſt, and ſprung afterwards to a great height of fame; continually improving themſelves in navigation, commerce, and the uſeful arts; and becoming comprehended under the famous appellation of Phœnicians.

(O) We will give you the moſt obvious texts of ſcripture which relate to this matter; it is firſt ſaid, And all the people that were left of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebuſites which were not of the children of Iſrael, their children that were left after them in the land, whom the children of Iſrael alſo were not able to deſtroy, upon thoſe did Solomon levy a tribute of bond-ſervice unto this day (63). And at the return from captivity, there is mention made of the children of Solomon's ſervants..... And all the Nethinims and the children of Solomon's ſervants were three hundred and ninety two (64): And elſewhere are the Nethinims and the children of Solomon's ſervants mentioned together (65); and in theſe laſt texts our tranſlators refer us back to the firſt, as if they were the children of the Canaanites on whom Solomon impoſed a tribute of bond-ſervice. But there is a difficulty to account for the ſmallneſs of the number, ſo that commentators are willing to deduce theſe, mentioned upon the return from Babylon, from ſome other origin. Perhaps we ſhall find ſome traces of them in Joſephus, who, with ſome variation from ſcripture, having acquainted us, That Solomon reduced a ſtubborn remnant of the Canaanites, inhabiting between mount Libanus and Hamath, made them his tributaries, they paying their tribute in ſervile works and labour; to which purpoſe they were to furniſh Solomon with a certain number of ſlaves, agreed on, who were to till the ground, and go through other ſorts of drudgery; and over theſe, ſays he, were ſix hundred Officers appointed to ſet them

(63) 1 Kings ix. 20, 21. (64) Ezr. ii. 55, 58. (65) Nehem. xi. 3.

SECT. VII.

The History of the Philistines.

Their Origin.

WE have already observed, that this people descended from the Casluhim partly, and partly from the Caphtorim [a], both from the loins of Mizraim, the son of Ham, the son of Noah. This is their origin; whence it appears, that Egypt was their first seat: nor have we ought to add concerning the origin of this people, except we acquaint you more particularly, than we have already [b], with the improbable notions, as we think them, of some of the learned concerning the Casluhim and Caphtorim (A). But we have, as much as possible, forborn to perplex our reader with what can afford no solid fruit, and only feed us with the slender fare of little better than groundless guesses, advanced with a presumption, which we admire how it should have possessed the minds of men, otherwise modest and scrupulous enough. Therefore we shall say no more of the Casluhim and Caphtorim, whence the Philistines derive their origin, than that they certainly were of Egypt, as we have said; and that consequently the Philistines came from

[a] See before, ch. 2. sect. 6. par. 30. [b] See before, ubi supr.

them their tasks, and keep them to their work (66). Afterwards, enumerating those who returned from Babylon, he reckons up six hundred and fifty, who passed for Israelites, but could not make out their extraction: others of uncertain genealogy there were five hundred twenty-five; and of servants that attended upon the whole multitude, seven thousand three hundred thirty-seven (67). These three numbers, making eight thousand five hundred and twelve, may, it is likely, have been Canaanites; but still the number is too small, except we suppose, that the far greatest par of the better sort were blended with the Jews so intricately, that there was no distinguishing between the pretensions of each, and moreover that multitudes of them remained behind in the place of their captivity.

(A) As that the Casluhim were the antient Colchi described by Herodotus, and the Caphtorim, the Cappadocians in Asia minor, which, though we have rejected already (68), we may have occasion to resume hereafter.

(66) Joseph. Antiq. lib, 8. c. 2. (67) Idem ibid. lib. 11. c. 4. (68) See before, ch. 2. sect. 6. par. 30.

from that country. From Egypt they migrated into, and ſeized upon, the land, which was afterwards called by their name; concerning which we ſhall ſay no more here than is barely neceſſary.

THE land or country of the Philiſtines, known to the ancient Greeks and Romans under the name of Palæſtine, grew in time to ſuch a height of note, as to communicate its name to the whole region, of which it was only a part; ſo that all the land of Promiſe became comprehended under this name, which is moſt commonly uſed, even in our days, in the ſame extent, it having prevailed always among the Chriſtians of the Greek and Roman churches, from whom we have received it. This celebrated name is very apparently derived from Philiſtine, which the Greeks altered into Palæſtine, though ſome pretend to derive it from the Greek itſelf (B), but therein they are certainly miſtaken. Diſmiſſing this obſcurity, we ſhall proceed to mark out the boundaries of this country; which, from what we have ſaid above, may be aptly ſtiled the proper Palæſtine. It was a ſlip of land ſtretching along the ſea-ſide; bounded on the eaſt by the tribes of Judah and Simeon; on the ſouth by Amalekitis, and partly, but very little perhaps, by Edom; on the weſt by the Mediterranean, or Midland-ſea; and towards the north it interfered with the tribe of Dan. It way a country much longer than broad, but neither way conſiderable for its dimenſions, being ſcarce forty Engliſh miles in length; but what it wanted in extent it made up in fertility of ſoil. Towards the ſea it is a plain country, but three or four miles up it begins to ſwell into hills and mountains; whence it is moſt beautifully diverſified with hill and dale, mountain and valley, productive of the moſt luxuriant gifts of nature, and rich in proſpects, which way ſoever the eye be turned. Rivers in this country there are none to ſpeak of; but that defect is ſupplied by exuberant ſprings, and brooks, and rills, down the ſides of mountains. The temper of the climate, nature of the ſeaſons, and natural hiſtory of this delicious ſpot we dwell not on here, referring our reader to the geography of the land of Promiſe, of which it was a part, and a very noble one.

Their Country.

BUT

(B) Deriving it from Peluſium, the famous Egyptian city of that name; from whence this people are ſuppoſed to have come; which name they deduce, from a Greek word ſignifying dirt: but of this more hereafter.

But we cannot ſo paſs over the cities of this country, which we will here enumerate and deſcribe as well as we can, beginning from the ſouthermoſt. Gaza, the moſt renowned of them all, ſtood upon the ſkirts of the deſart which led to Egypt, and was built within two or three miles of the ſea, as from the moſt authentic accounts is gathered. What it was in its firſt days cannot be known; but in time it became conſiderable for ſtrength, beauty, and extent. In the Hebrew it is called Azza, and Aza was it called by the Syrians [c]; which has been altered into Gaza, which, ſay they, ſignifies a treaſury in the ancient Perſian; and this name it had becauſe Cambyſes in his war with Egypt made uſe of it as a magazine [d]. But this is rejected as a meer notion: nor indeed is it a concluſion, ſuppoſing it to be true, that Cambyſes did make ſuch a uſe of this city, nothing, as we have ſaid, being to be poſitively determined from a ſimilitude of names and appellatives in different languages.

In later times it was alſo called Ione, and Minoa [e]; and the ſea which waſhed along the ſhore from Gaza to Egypt was called, ſay they, the Ionian ſea, Gaza being called after Io [f]. This city is placed at one of the four corners of the land of Promiſe by Moſes [g], and was in the lot of the tribe of Judah, according to the diviſion Joſhua made of the whole land [h]. But though it was attempted, and carried, yet the Philiſtines poſſeſſed it again, and kept it [i]. Whether or not it had originally the ſame ſituation which it appears now to have had, cannot be known; but it is probable, that it from the beginning ſtood upon, or near, the ſame ſpot. It ſtood upon an eminence about three miles from the ſea, as we have ſaid, and was of very difficult acceſs for the depth of the ſands which ſurrounded it [k]. But by another author we underſtand it to have been ſcarce a mile diſtant from the ſhore [l], a difference we ſhall not take on us to reconcile. If a well-eſteemed traveller of our own nation be not miſtaken in the place, it is now upon a hill, ſurrounded by delicious vales, and thoſe again encloſed with a chain of hills [m]; but he mentions not a word of deep ſands about it, which if ſo difficult, as is ſaid above

[c] Stephan. ad vocem Γάζα. [d] Pompon. Mel. lib. 1. c. 11. [e] Stephan. ubi ſupr. [f] Idem ad vocem Ιονιον. [g] See before, p. 183. [h] Joſh. xv. 45. [i] Judg. 1. 18. iii. 3. [k] Arrian. l. 2. p. 150. [l] Strabo. l. 16. p. 759. [m] Sandys Trav. Book 3. p. 116.

above, he could not have paſſed over. But though he differs from the ancient hiſtorian [n], who gives us the ſituation of this city in reſpect of the ſoil about it; yet he ſeems to agree with the geographer [o] from whom we have its laſt-mentioned diſtance from the ſea, computing it at ſeven furlongs, which fall ſhort of a mile [p]: but his expreſſion on this point is obſcure, and we cannot build on it. For the more convenient communication with the ſea, it had a ſea-port, Majuma [q], a place of no great account, as ſeems, till Conſtantine took notice of it, and called it Conſtantia, in honour of his ſon Conſtantius. The ancient name of this ſea-port is not aſcertained; but Julian, out of hatred to the memory of Conſtantine, altered its name Conſtantia into the Port of Gaza, or the maritime part of the ſaid city [r]: and from hence we find, perhaps, Gaza in the plural number, Gazæ. Majuma is alſo called the maritime Gaza. There is no ſign that it ever was a commodious place for the entertainment of ſhipping; but a ſhift was made with it, where no place more convenient was to be had; and doubtleſs the ſhipping, which belonged to, or frequented, it, were of a nature proper for ſo indifferent a ſtation; though perhaps, on the other hand, the port may have been altered from what it was by the incroachment of the ſea, but we read nothing of this; parallel caſes, indeed, happen almoſt every day. Anthedon ſeems alſo to have been another ſea-port belonging to Gaza, ſituate to the ſouthward of Majuma; but of what antiquity, or how far, or whether at all, it depended on Gaza, cannot be ſaid: it was not quite three miles diſtant from it. We ſhall have occaſion to mention it as a place of ſome note hereafter. We will not particularize the hiſtory of Gaza, and ſhall only ſay, that it ſeveral times groaned under the miſeries of war; that it was ſometimes in a flouriſhing ſtate, with mighty walls and coſtly edifices (C); ſome-

[n] Arrian. ubi ſupr. [o] Strabo ubi ſupr. [p] Sandys ubi ſupr. [q] Sozomen Hiſtor. l. 5. c. 3. Marc. Diac. in vit. S. Porphyr. c. 8. [r] Sozomen ubi ſupr. Marc. Diac. ubi ſupr. [s] Hieron. in Dan. xi.

(C) It is now a miſerable place; "Yet there are ſome reliques "left, and ſome impreſſions that teſtify a better condition. For "divers ſimple roofs are ſupported with goodly pillars of Parian "marble, ſome plain, ſome curiouſly carved. A number broken "in pieces do ſerve for threſholds, jambs of doors, and ſides of "win-

ſometimes in a low depreſſed condition. After ſeveral viciſſitudes it lay neglected ſo far, that in the New Teſtament it is called a deſart [t]; ſuch a deſart as it is now we may ſuppoſe, weak in inhabitants, and defenceleſs [u]; for ſo fertile a ſpot can never be called by that miſerable appellation [w], according to the common acceptation of the word with us. In this city they chiefly worſhipped a deity called Marnas [x]. Its name is remembred with Tyre and Sidon [y], when its ſiſter cities are either forgot, or omitted, as not worthy of a place among the conſiderable places of this ſea coaſt.

THE ſecond place we ſhall give to Aſcalon, Aſkelon, Aſhkelon, or Aſkalon, a great and noble ſea-port of this country, by ancient accounts ſixteen, by modern twelve, miles to the north of Gaza; and known to us ſtill under the ſame name it bears in ſcripture, and in the writings of the ancient Greeks and Romans, by whom it was had in a religious veneration. Nor do we find any conſiderable variation from this name, except that the Greeks ſometimes lengthened it into Aſcalonion. This city, as well as Gaza, is reckoned into the lot or tribe of Judah, and was taken by them, but not held. The ſituations of Gaza and this city cannot be diſputed, ſince they may be ſaid to ſtand at this day, and have been often viſited; therefore we ſhall multiply no words upon ſo needleſs a diſpute. By Joſephus [z] we underſtand this city to have ſtood upon a ſpacious plain, and, in his days, extremely well fortified. Though we have placed this city on the brink of the ſea, and made it a ſea-port of itſelf, yet there is a Ma-

[t] Acts viii. 26. [u] See Sandys ubi ſupr. [w] Vide eund. & Anton. Gall. apud Reland. Palæſt. Illuſt. p. 788. [x] Stephan. ubi ſupr. Hieron. Epiſt. 11. ad. Læt. [y] Lucan lib. 3. [z] De Bell. Judaic. l. 3. c. 1.

" windows, almoſt unto every beggarly cottage. On the north-
" eaſt corner, and ſummity of the hill, are the ruins of huge
" arches ſunk low in the earth, and other foundations of a ſtate-
" ly building. From whence the laſt Sanziack conveyed marble
" pillars of an incredible bigneſs, enforced to ſaw them aſunder
" ere they could be removed; which he employed in adorning a
" certain moſque below in the valley." The Jews are ſilly enough to think this the building Samſon pulled down upon the Philiſtines (2). We muſt note by the by, that our traveller ſeems to confound Majuma and Gaza with each other.

(2) Sandys's Travels, l. 3. p. 116.

Majuma [a] given to this, as well as to Gaza, which, whence it was neceſſary, cannot be preciſely ſaid; it may, perhaps, have been a diſtinct part of the city next to the ſea-ſide; or, perhaps, Aſcalon was not quite ſo cloſe thereto, but it might require the convenience of a more immediate port town to intervene; or the harbour of Aſcalon may have been rendered unfit for the reception of ſhipping, as we have before obſerved in the ſpeaking of Gaza, whence a neceſſity aroſe of ſeeking ſome other place near, and of erecting a town there. But, to have done with theſe conjectures, let us proceed to things we are more ſure of. Aſcalon was famous among the ancients on many accounts. It was the birth-place of Semiramis the Aſſyrian empreſs, which puts us in mind of the lake that is ſaid to have ſtood near this city, wherein the goddeſs Derceto, her mother, plunging herſelf for ſhame of her raſh amour, was tranſformed into a fiſh [b]. This city is noted for the place which originally produced the kind of onion, called the ſhalot [c], which is ſuppoſed thence to have borrowed its name (D). It is famed alſo for its wines [d], and very remarkable for its great flights of pigeons [e], which, whence they encreaſed to ſuch extraordinary numbers, will be told hereafter: nor muſt we forget the cypreſſes [f], which were here admired, or the extraordinary wells attributed to Abraham and Iſaac [g]. The changes this city underwent will be ſhewn in the courſe of this work. It is now dwindled to almoſt nothing.

We now ſtrike up into the country to Aſhdod, or Azotus, which lay about twelve miles north-eaſterly of Aſcalon. This was a city of extraordinary fame among the ancients. It had an inland ſituation, and is ſaid to have been built by one who fled from the Red-Sea, who called it after his wife, whoſe name was Aza, or Capra [h]. But

[a] Joan. Hieroſoly. In Act. Concil. Conſtantinop. Tom. V. [b] Diodor. Sic. l. 1. par. 1. p. 65. [c] Stephan. ad vocem Ἀσκάλων. [d] Alex. Trall. l. 8. c. 3. & Albert. Aques Hiſtor. Hieroſ. l. 9. c. 15 and 51. [e] Philo. apud Euſeb. de præpar. evang. l. 8. [f] Dioſcorid. de re med. l. 1. c. 124. Plin. lib. 12. [g] Origen. cont. Cels. l. 3. Euſeb. ad vocem Φρέαρ. [h] Stephan. ad vocem Ἄζωτος.

(D) This ſeems at firſt ſight to be a very oblique derivation; but the Latin of this plant is Aſcalonia, whence the French have their Echalote, which we have curtailed into Shalot.

But this ſeems, at leaſt, to be a miſtake; we hear of none that fled from the Red-Sea but the Edomites; and that they, under ſome chief, may have repaired and fortified this place is probable enough; but that they impoſed this name [Azotus] on it, we cannot allow, it being very evidently a corruption of the Hebrew name Aſhdod, which was in uſe long before the Edomites were driven out of their country. But to continue what we find concerning this city, it ſtood in a champain country, which produced great plenty of corn [i]. It held out againſt the longeſt ſiege recorded in hiſtory, if it be true, that Pſammetichus laboured twenty-nine years in the reduction of it. Here ſtood the temple of Dagon, and here was he peculiarly worſhipped.

ALMOST eaſt from hence lay the city of Gath, of principal fame, as being the royal ſeat in the middle times of this people; but it dwindled away very early, ſo that we have few or no materials towards a deſcription of it. It is famed for the remnant of the giants, or Anakims, who there fixed their abode.

NEARLY north-weſt of this city, about nine miles diſtant, was Ekron, corruptedly Accaron, concerning which we can only ſay, that it was the northermoſt of the five cities; that it was conſequently a frontier town; that the famous idol Baal-zebub was there worſhipped; that it faded away to a great degree of obſcurity, and that, although the name, and even conſiderable veſtiges of what it had once been, ſubſiſted for many ages, it happens, that no mention is made of it in prophane authors.

THESE were by way of eminence called the five cities of the Philiſtines, and the whole country was ſometimes from them called Pentapolis; and here their five lords reſided. Other cities they had, as Gerar, venerable as it was the ancient ſeat of their firſt kings; but its exact ſituation being by no means determined, we for that reaſon paſs it over with the bare mention of its name, and for the ſame reaſon we ſhall be quite ſilent as to what concerns their other places of leſs note.

Their government, cuſtoms, &c.

THEIR moſt ancient form of government was adminiſtered by kings, who were all honoured with the appellation of Abimelech; ſuch were the kings of this people, father and ſon, who had to do with Abraham and Iſaac: but as we have obſerved concerning the Canaanites, and

as

[i] Joſeph. Antiq. l. 12.

as will be plainly ſeen in the following hiſtory, theſe firſt kings were under great limitations. The ſcepter departed from this race very ſoon; for in the days of Moſes their monarchy was revolved into an ariſtocracy of five lords, who ſeem to have been in part independent of each other, though they were alſo apparently obliged to act in concert for the common cauſe. After this they had a king over them, which, how they ſubmitted to, or whether it was their choice or not, we cannot ſay. This ſecond race of kings are called, ſo far as we know, by the appellation of Achiſh, though they were alſo called Abimelech. Three of theſe, we think, we have ſome account of, but their power ſeems to have been circumſcribed within very narrow bounds; they were ſubject to the controul of their imperious nobles, and particularly of the lords, the five, we think, who ſeem to have ſubſiſted under theſe kings; ſo that theſe princes, it is likely, were ſet up, to act meerly as umpires, and to appear at the head of affairs, cyphers of ſtate, without any extent of power. This kind of mixed government can be to none ſo aptly applied as to that of Poland in our days. We find little or no mention of this ſecond race of kings. They held their reſidence at Gath, during their beſt times, from whence the royal ſeat was removed to Aſcalon, and from thence to Gaza. In a word, we may ſay, that the Philiſtines had very violent notions of liberty. They did not circumciſe, and, in their earlieſt times at leaſt, held adultery in the greateſt abomination.

Their character, language, arts, inventions, &c.

AFTER what we have ſaid we need not remark, that they were a very warlike people; but to it we muſt add, that they were ingenious and induſtrious. Their character muſt be conſidered at different times; for we may ſay, they were not always the ſame people. In the days of Abraham and Iſaac they were, moſt aſſuredly, a righteous and hoſpitable nation; and ſo in great meaſure they may have been under all their firſt race of kings: upon whoſe decay, a revolution in government, religion, and morals may have enſued, all together. From henceforward they became like other idolatrous nations, the ſame enormities crept in, and prevailed among them. They are conſtantly mentioned in ſcripture as ſtrangers, and though poſſeſſed of a moſt valuable part of the land of Promiſe, yet God would never ſuffer them to be driven out, they being Egyptians by deſcent, and not original natives, whoſe land only was promiſed to Abraham and his ſeed. Their arrogance

and

and ambition were great, and their inveterate enmity (E) againſt the Iſraelites was ſuch, that one would be almoſt tempted to think, they were created on purpoſe to be a thorn in the ſide of that choſen people; for though the hand of GOD was ſelf-evidently againſt them ſeveral times, and particularly when they detained the ark, yet they hardened their hearts, and cloſed their eyes againſt conviction, flattering themſelves, that they might one day compaſs their ends againſt the Iſraelites. They ſeem to have entertained a very fond veneration for their deities, in which they perſiſted, though they, with their own eyes, ſaw the ſhame and ignominy which befel them, when in the preſence of the captive ark; and were even ſtupid enough to imagine notwithſtanding, that their gods might prevail againſt him, who had ſo greatly ſhamed them. They were much addicted to trade, which they, conſidering their ſituation, may have exerciſed from the beginning; but, by the acceſſion of the fugitive Edomites in David's time [k], they roſe to ſo great a reputation as merchants, that the Greeks, it ſeems, reckoned them the moſt conſiderable people that way, and from them called all the country bordering on them Paleſtine [l]. Their language was not ſo different from that

[k] See before, p. 165 et ſeq. [l] See Cumberland Origin. Gent. Antiquiſſ. p. 37.

(E) And from a paſſage in Chronicles (3) it is gueſſed to have been of very ancient date; where it is ſaid, that the *men of Gath ſlew the children of Ephraim, who would have taken their cattle from them.* This incident is no where elſe to be found, and there are various thoughts concerning the ſenſe we muſt take this paſſage in. As to the time it was tranſacted, moſt allow it to have been while the children of Iſrael were ſojourners in Egypt. It plainly appears by the next verſe, that Ephraim himſelf was living at the time. The Targum ſuppoſes his children miſcomputed the time they were to ſerve in Egypt, and began too early to attempt upon their promiſed land. Dr. Lightfoot (4) makes the men of Gath to have been the aggreſſors, and ſuppoſes the Ephraimites only ſtood up to defend themſelves and cattle. But taking the words in the firſt ſenſe, which ſeems moſt obvious, they may ſerve to account for the reaſon why Moſes would not conduct the Iſraelites by the way of the Philiſtines. If this be the caſe, it muſt have been ſome horrid injury, or very uncommonly reſented.

(3) 1 vii. 21. (4) Annotat. in Gen. ſub fine.

that ſpoken by the Hebrews, as to cauſe any apparent difficulty for them to converſe together, as will be perceived by their intercourſe with Abraham and Iſaac; ſo that in all this region the ſeveral nations ſpoke one and the ſame tongue, perhaps, indeed, with ſome variation of dialect. They had doubtleſs the arts and ſciences in common with their moſt learned and ingenious contemporaries; and, perhaps, ſome of them in greater perfection than any where elſe. They had giants among them, who, whether they were originally of the breed of the Anakims, who retired hither when they were expelled Hebron [m], or whether they ſprang from accidental births is not a very clear matter. We muſt not forget, that the bow and arrow is attributed to their invention (F), and that they were particularly ſkilful in the uſe of the ſame.

THEIR religion was different at different times: under their firſt race of kings, they were of one religion with the Hebrews: Abimelech, in the ſin he had like to have committed with Sarah through Abraham's timidity, was favoured with a divine admonition from GOD; and by his ſpeech and behaviour at that time it ſeems, as if he had been uſed to converſe with GOD. In after-times they erred into endleſs ſuperſtitions, and a very multifarious idolatry, each of the principal or five cities ſeeming to have had an idol of its own. Marna, Marnas, or Marnaſh [n], was worſhipped at Gaza, and is ſaid to have migrated into Crete (G), and to have become the Cretan Jupiter. Dagon

Their religion.

[m] See before, p. 205, 207. [n] Hieronym. in Eſai.

(F) It is ſuppoſed (5), that before they removed from Peluſium, where they are thought to have firſt inhabited, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, they had occaſion to annoy the enemies, who then infeſted them, at a diſtance; whereupon the bow and arrow came into their head, wherewith they armed their ſtouteſt men, whom they called Cherethites (6), a name which includes this whole nation, as will be obſerved hereafter.

(G) The migration of this god may be naturally enough accounted for, if true it be that the Philiſtines planted the iſland of Crete; and it muſt be alſo, that the inhabitants there were a colony from Gaza in particular, the peculiar place of his worſhip.

(5) See Bedford's Script. Chronol. p. 245. (6) Bochart. Can. l. 1. c. 15.

gon was worſhipped at Azotus; he ſeems to have been the moſt grand, the moſt ancient, and moſt favourite god they had: to which may be added, that he, perhaps, ſubſiſted the longeſt of any [o], that did not ſtraggle out of the country, as we are not ſure he did. To him they attributed the invention of bread-corn, or of Agriculture, as his name imports [p]. We cannot enter into the common notion of his being repreſented as a monſter, half man, half fiſh; or conſequently into another, almoſt as common, that he is the ſame with the Syrian goddeſs Derceto, who, we are told, was repreſented under ſome ſuch mixed form. Our opinion is, that his idol was in ſhape wholly like a man; for we read of his head, and his hands, and his feet [q] (H). He ſtood in a temple at Azotus, and had prieſts of

[o] See 1 Macch. x. [p] See Vol. I. p. 392. in the Notes. [q] See Fuller's Piſgah-ſight, Book 2. c. 10. § 32.

The Philiſtines are in ſeveral places of ſcripture (7) called Cerethites: particularly, they are ſo called by the Egyptian (8), whom David laid hands on, when he was in purſuit of the Amalekites, who had burnt Ziklag; whence we may infer this to have been their Egyptian name, or the name they were known by in Egypt. Where they are elſewhere called Cerethites, as in our verſion, the LXX write them Cretes, or Cretans; and this is the beſt part of that foundation whereon the learned have built their notion of deriving the Cretans from the Philiſtines; and from hence they proceed farther, and derive the Curetes alſo from them, which we may conſider hereafrer.

(H) That he had feet, we underſtand from a Greek reading of the LXX in Fuller (9), where mention is made of Dagon's mutilation, which runs thus, ἀμφότερα τὰ ἴχνη τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ἀφηρημένα. Here we are told that the ſoles of his feet were off; that is, his feet. In the edition before us, which is after the Vatican copy, we read τὰ ἴχνη τῶν χειρῶν, or the ſoles of his hands, which ſeems abſurd. We have never obſerved, that the Greek word Ἴχνος is put for the palm of the hand. And we the rather reject this reading, becauſe a very ſenſeleſs tautology follows it; for it is ſaid, that the wriſts of his hands were gone alſo. Whence it muſt appear, that hands, in the firſt place, are corruptly placed for feet, and that Dagon had hands, and head, and face, and feet. Sure no one, allowing this, will give him a fiſh's tail: that would make him Horace's monſter

(7) 1 Sam. xxx. 14, 16. Ezek. xxv. 16. Zephan. ii. 5. (8) 1 Sam. ubi ſupr. (9) Piſgah-ſight, Book 2. c. 10. §. 32. in the Margin.

of his own, who paid a very conſtant attendance on him, as one would think [r]. Next to Dagon was Baalzebub, the god of Ekron. In the text of the New Teſtament he is Belzebub, and the prince of Devils. His name is rendered, Lord of flies; which on the one hand is held to be a mock-appellation beſtowed on him by the Jews; but on the other it is more rationally ſuppoſed, that he was ſo ſtiled by his votaries, as Hercules Apomyos, and others among the heathens, from driving away flies; and he, it is not unlikely, may have been the parent of the other pagan deities, who are famed for the ſame pretended power. This is certainly the truth of the matter; for Ahazia [s] in his ſickneſs had never ſent to conſult him under that name, if it had carried any opprobry or reproach along with it. How, or under what form, he was repreſented is uncertain: Some place him on a throne, and attire him like a king; others paint him as a fly [t]: a very wide difference. To have done with this obſcurity, it appears, that he became an oracle in higheſt repute for omniſcience and veracity; that he had prieſts of his own; and that he, in the middle times at leaſt, was much ſought after by thoſe who were anxious about futurity, or ſolicitous concerning other hidden matters. Decerto we take certainly to have been the godddeſs of Aſcalon [u]; but, as we are herein only ſupported by prophane authority, without the leaſt countenance from ſcripture, we ſhall not inſiſt on it. Gath is ſeemingly the only city of all the five unprovided with a deity; wherefore, as the ſcripture declares, that Aſhtaroth [w], or Aſtarte, was

[r] See 1 Sam. v. 3. 4. [s] 2 Kings i. 2. [t] Procopius Gazeus.
[u] Vide Diod. Sic. l. 2. p. 65. [w] 1 Sam. xxxi. 10.

monſter indeed. And here we cannot but note the fondneſs of the generality of the learned, rather to derive his name from דג Dag, a fiſh, than from דגן Dagan, bread-corn (10): it ſeems no difficult matter to chuſe which we are to ſtick by. From this laſt etymology it may be rationally enough ſuppoſed, that they borrowed their idolatry from Egypt (11); and that Dagon is a copy of their Iſis, to whom much the ſame invention is attributed. Not that they brought it away with them from Egypt; from thence, their hiſtory plainly aſſures us, they brought a pure ſyſtem of religion; and we do not remember, that Moſes mentions the Egyptians as idolaters once throughout all his writings.

(10) See Vol. I. p. 392. in the Notes. (11) See Shuckford's Connect. of the ſacr. and proph. Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 344.

worshipped by this people, we are ready to place her at Gath, and the rather, as this of all their cities may have had most communication with Sidon; but concerning her we must be silent here, seeing we shall have a more proper opportunity to touch on her hereafter. To speak in general concerning their religious rites and ceremonies, which is all we can do; it appears, as if they erected very large and spacious temples, or else very wide halls for the celebration of their solemn seasons and festivals [x], for such they surely had; that their religious offices were attended with much pomp, and a great concourse from all parts; and that they presented their gods with the chief of their spoil, and carried them about to war with them. We do not find in scripture, that they sacrificed their children, and yet the Curetes (I) are derived from them.

Their history.

It is now time for us to think of the history of this extraordinary nation. They came directly out of Egypt (K); but

[x] Judg. xvi. 27.

(I) The Curetes did sacrifice their children to Saturn (12); and from the similitude this name bears to Cerethites, or Philistines, it has been advanced, that they are the same (13); but as we have no warrant for saying the Philistines practised so barbarous and unnatural a custom, we may venture to pronounce, that they learned it not from them, but borrowed it elsewhere.

(K) This we take to have been really the case, and so do many of great authority; but there is also another opinion concerning this matter. For it is thought there is a great affinity in name between the Casluhim and Colchi; whence it has been taught, that they migrated first into the country of Colchis, now Mingrelia; and from thence returning towards Egypt, in their way, seized on the country of the Avims, and there fixed their abode. Bochart (14) takes this to be plainly proved by what is said of the agreement between the Colchi and the Egyptians in Herodotus and others; therein forgetting, that the Philistines did not circumcise, which Herodotus assures us the Colchi did. Again, nothing can be positively asserted in this matter, by what the same author relates, who speaks of them as dwelling in Colchis in his time, where they had abode so long, that it was doubtful when they settled there first; so that from him there is no solid argument to be deduced, that the Colchi he speaks of were the Casluhim of Moses. In like manner the Caphtorim, from whence also the Philistines

(12) Ister apud Porphyr. l. 2. §. 56. (13) Bochart, Castle, &c, (14) Phaleg. l. 4. c. 31.

but upon what motive is not poſitively known, no more than the time of their removal: and finding that the Avims [y] were a people ſeated in a pleaſant and fruitful land, and that they were ſtrong enough to expel them, they made their attempt, and ſucceeded. We are not much inclined to think them a very numerous multitude when they firſt ſettled in this their conqueſt; for their king, even in the days of Iſaac, grew jealous of that patriarch's power, which is no great ſign that his own was very exorbitant; though poſſibly they may have been ſettled there many years before, and muſt conſequently have been very much increaſed to what they were at firſt. But, ſuppoſing this kingdom or ſtate to have been but weak in its beginnings, as moſt others have been, we proceed, continuing with the next notice we have of their affairs.

[y] Deut. ii. 23.

Philiſtines are derived, are placed in Cappadocia, a country of Aſia minor, adjoining to the country of Colchis. Here, ſay they (15), we find the city called Side, and the country Sidene, mentioned by Strabo: and, becauſe Side in Greek and Caphtor in Hebrew ſignify a pomegranate, therefore, in all likelihood, the ſame country was by the Hebrews called Caphtor, and by the Greeks Sidene. But, to ſhew that nothing can be fixed from ſuch a manner of arguing, it may not be amiſs to add, that the Caphtorim are on the other hand ſuppoſed to have dwelt in Afric, on the bay of the great Syrtis, which is ſuppoſed to have been called כפ־תור chaph-thor the circular ſhore as it forms a ſemicircle; and that the pomegranate was ſo called by the Hebrews, becauſe it firſt came from that part of Afric, conſonant to what Pliny writes concerning the origin of that fruit (16). We have already declared our ſentiment as to the Caſluhim and Caphtorim, and muſt therefore refer the reader to the place where he may find it (17). It would be in vain for us to touch on the hiſtory of the Philiſtines before they removed out of Egypt, or from the laſt place of their abode, before they came into the land of the Avims; but we will, however, briefly inſert what ſome have been tempted to ſay upon that very obſcure ſubject. According to biſhop Cumberland (18), they cohabited with the Phœnices, or Canaanites, in Goſhen, that is, that ſide of Egypt next to Arabia; but, finding their country invaded by their kindred, the other ſons of Mizraim, they left it to avoid the miſeries of the impending war between the paſtors and the pure Egyptians; that is, and removed into the land where Abraham found them.

(15) Bochart. ubi ſupr. (16) Vide Cleric in Gen. x. 14.
(17) See before, ch. 2. ſect. 6. par. 32. (18) on Sanchon. p. 372.

Abimelech I.

ABIMELECH (L), their king in Abraham's days, was an holy and juſt perſon, and one who had intercourſe with GOD. He reſided at Gerar, of which place he is called king, and had like to have been drawn into a very fatal ſnare by the too great caution of Abraham; who, coming into this kingdom to be out of the ſtench of the vale of Siddim, then reeking under the calamitous judgment of heaven, pretended, that Sarah was not his wife, but his ſiſter. Abimelech ſaw her, and was ſmitten with love of her; and underſtanding ſhe was a ſingle woman, reſolved to take her to his bed, and he took her accordingly to him with that intent: but, ere he accompliſhed his deſires, he was warned by GOD to return the woman to her concealed huſband, and that immediately upon pain of death. Abimelech hereupon excuſed himſelf to the divine viſion upon the innocence of his intentions; and ſeeming to have freſh in mind the terrible overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, *Lord*, ſays he, *wilt thou alſo ſlay a righteous nation?* As if he would take vengeance on his people for a crime he was going ignorantly to commit. But he had the comfortable anſwer from the viſion or dream, That GOD knew well, and approved his integrity, and had prevented him in his intentions; and, to conclude, that Abraham ſhould, at his requeſt, pray for him, and all would be well again. Being thus admoniſhed, he firſt acquainted his ſervants with what had happened, and all were inſtantly ſeized with a general dread for the conſequences which might enſue: Then, calling Abraham to him, he aſked what he had done to him, that he ſhould miſlead him into ſo dangerous an error; or what offence he had ever committed againſt him, that he ſhould tempt him to ſuch a ſin,

(L) One Philiſtinus, whom Joſephus (19) makes a ſon of Mizraim, is ſometimes reckoned their firſt king (20), from whom that Jewiſh writer derives the name of Paleſtine. Whatever truth there may be in this, it is alſo likely, that either they borrowed their name from Peluſium, or Peluſium from them; for here, or hereabouts, did they firſt ſettle, as is by moſt allowed (21); and it will not be much out of the way if we ſuppoſe they founded that city, and dwelt there till force or inclination made them remove.

(19) Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. (20) Vide Hiſt. Jul. in Regn. Palæſt. (21) See before, ch. 2. ſect. 6. par. 32.

a ſin, as might have proved the ruin, not of himſelf only, but of his whole kingdom alſo. Indeed, ſays he, you have not uſed me well; what have you obſerved in the morals or behaviour of me and my people, that you ſhould imagine, we would offer any violence to you out of deſire for your wife? The anſwer he received from Abraham to all this was, a frank confeſſion of the truth, he acknowledging, without diſguiſe, that he feared they had not been endued with right notions of GOD and his laws, and that he ſhould certainly be deprived of his life, that they might enjoy Sarah. Moreover, that in ſaying ſhe was his ſiſter, he had not ſpoken wrong, ſhe being really ſo; and, to ſalve the matter in ſome meaſure to the king's good liking, he acquainted him, That in ſtrange places it had always been his cuſtom to make her paſs for his ſiſter, only for fear of the worſt. Abimelech was ſatisfied with what he heard; and in conſequence thereof, and in obedience to the divine admonition, not only returned Sarah to Abraham, but in ſo doing made him a very noble preſent in ſheep and oxen, and in ſervants, both men and women; declaring to him withal, that he was welcome to live in what part of his dominions he beſt liked. To Sarah, he ſaid, *Behold, I have given thy brother a thouſand* pieces *of ſilver: behold, he* is *to thee a covering of the eyes, unto all that* are *with thee, and with all* other: *thus ſhe was reproved.* In this manner did Abimelech acquit himſelf of the divine admonition, and, upon the prayers of Abraham, he and his whole houſe were reſtored to their natural faculties, of which they had been deprived for Sarah's ſake, the LORD having ſtruck them all with barrenneſs and impotency (M). Ever after this, Abimelech lived in perfect harmony with Abraham, and that the ſame might

(M) "Or with ſuch ſwellings in the ſecret parts, that the "men could neither enjoy their wives, or the women, who were "with child, be delivered (22)." They muſt have been very ſenſible of ſuch an alteration as this; but it is on the other hand ſuppoſed to have heen ſomething imperceptible, both by the men and women, and a matter not to be diſcovered but by length of time; and thence it is concluded, that Abraham and Sarah were

(22) Patrick upon Gen. xx. 18.

be tranſmitted down to their poſterity, Abimelech, with the participation of Phicol the chief captain of his hoſt, propoſed an oath to Abraham, whereby he ſhould bind his poſterity to live in love with his, and deal by them juſt as he had dealt by him. This was readily embraced by Abraham; but firſt he deſired a diſpute might be ſet right, concerning a well which Abimelech's ſervants had forcibly taken from him. Abimelech declared he never heard a word of this outrage till that moment, and that nothing of the kind ſhould have been then to be complained of, had Abraham informed him of it. And that this matter might be terminated in ſuch a manner as to admit of no farther diſpute, he accepted of ſeven ewe lambs, in teſtimony, that as Abraham had been at the charge of digging the well, it belonged of right to him, and to him alone. Theſe ſeven ewe lambs, which were ſet apart for this end out of a very great herd of other cattle, ſheep, and oxen, he accepted, together with the reſt, from whence they were picked, and the deſired covenant was made; then Abimelech roſe up, and Phicol the chief captain of his hoſt, and they returned from whence they came [z] (N).

ABIMELECH

[z] Gen. xx. xxi.

were a conſiderable time at Abimelech's court (23). Nothing can be poſitively determined in this caſe from the words of the text. We find this whole ſtory quite altered by Joſephus (24), who ſays, Abimelech was taken with ſo violent a fit of ſickneſs, that his life was deſpaired of; that in the midſt of it he had a dream, which admoniſhed him concerning Sarah; that finding himſelf upon the mending-hand, he called together his friends, and diſcloſed to them his dream, and the violence of his paſſion; and that thereupon he made up the matter with Abraham, and ſo on.

(N) In the text it is, They returned into the land of the Philiſtines (25); as if they had come out of it to make a league with Abraham, who was ſtill a ſojourner in Paleſtine: it can therefore mean no more, than that Abimelech returned to the place of his own abode, as if a diſtinction was now made of that part of the country occupied by Abraham, which, by the covenant made, was now conſidered as his own, and no longer under the juriſdiction of the Philiſtines.

(23) Vide Cleric. in Gen. xx. 17. (24) Antiq. l. 1. c. 13.
(25) Gen. xxi. 32.

ABIMELECH the ſon of Abimelech, and therefore called the ſecond (O) of that name or appellation, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of the Philiſtines, and reigned alſo at Gerar, and had almoſt the ſame tranſactions with Iſaac, as his father had with Abraham. He ſeems to have been actuated by the very ſame principles with his father, and, by what appears, he well deſerves to be ſtiled a juſt and pious prince. In his days came Iſaac to Gerar, ſore preſſed by famine, and conducting Rebekah with him, whom, in imitation of his father, he gave out as his ſiſter or couſin. Whether Abimelech and his ſubjects had remembrance of that fallacy before, and what had like thereupon to have enſued to the grievous detriment of the whole nation; or whether the morals of this country were ſtill ſo pure, and chaſtity and hoſpitality in ſuch due and high eſteem, that they abhorred the thoughts of an impure or troubleſome attempt, we take not on us to ſay; but ſo it was, that Rebekah was unmoleſted by ſuitors of any ſort: and Iſaac was perfectly at his eaſe upon her account. However, it is pretty evident, that Abimelech himſelf, at leaſt, had a ſhrewd ſuſpicion that they were man and wife; for, looking one day out of his window, as it is expreſſed, he ſaw Iſaac careſſing Rebekah in ſuch a manner, as convinced him they were much nearer related than they pretended to be. Wherefore he called Iſaac to him, and aſked him how he could be ſo deceitful, pretending that ſhe, who was really his wife, was no more than his ſiſter? To which Iſaac pleaded his father Abraham's excuſe. Abimelech replied, It was by no means kindly

Abimelech II.

(O) Some (26), between theſe two Abimelechs, place Ephron the Hittite, who was ſo kind to Abraham (27), which, perhaps, is the beſt, if not the only, ground of ſuch a ſurmiſe. It is ſuppoſed he may have been ſurnamed the Hittite, either from having conquered that tribe, or from having entered into a league with them (28); but nothing of this kind is to be depended upon or believed. This ſecond Abimelech is the natural ſucceſſor of the former, as appears by his name or appellation, and by the ſeries of time: his father was contemporary with Abraham, as he was with Iſaac; but ſo plain a caſe can admit of no diſpute with any, but ſuch as are fond of nothing elſe.

(26) Theophil. Antioch. (27) See before, p. 196.
(28) Vide Hiſt. Jul. in Regn. Palæſt. p. 76.

kindly done of him, for that ignorantly ſome or other of the people might have lain with her, and thereby have involved the whole nation in a moſt dangerous ſin (P). Which to prevent, he made proclamation of the matter, and forbad any to ſeek Rebekah to lie with her, or attempt to hurt her huſband, upon pain of death. Nothing can well be added to give us a more favourable idea of this upright king than his behaviour in this caſe; doubtleſs he was no ſtranger to what had happened in a like caſe to his father; and having the fearful judgements of GOD before his eyes, he had faith therein, and dreaded to incur the wrath of GOD. And very remarkable it is, that though, conſidering the dreadfulneſs of his apprehenſions, it might have been expected, that he would have driven out Iſaac from his dominions, as one who, either maliciouſly or ignorantly, had expoſed his whole nation to irretrievable ruin; yet, inſtead of that, he ſuffers him to abide in the land, till he began to look on him more as a dangerous rival, than a harmleſs inmate. Then indeed, when the Philiſtines beheld the prodigious increaſe of Iſaac's ſtore, they envied him, and ſtudied to make him uneaſy: and at laſt Abimelech

(P) Notwithſtanding this Abimelech makes ſo amiable a figure in the writings of Moſes, Joſephus (29) repreſents him as a very ill and corrupt perſon; and to mend the matter tells his ſtory in a very broken manner. Paſſing over what relates to Rebekah, and Iſaac's denial of her for his wife, he ſays, that Abimelech did behave with much outward reſpect to Iſaac upon his firſt arrival in his country; but in time, finding him to be more in the favour of God than himſelf, he broke with him, and burned with envy of him, and gave him all the ill-natured trouble he could upon all occaſions. But in the end, perceiving the man's encreaſe, and well knowing the corruption of his own heart, he began to be afraid of the conſequences his inhoſpitable breach might bring on him and his, and thought it beſt to propoſe to him the covenant which was made between him and Abraham; for he all along takes this Abimelech for the ſame that converſed with Abraham, thereby to blacken him the more, as a man of no faith or ſimplicity of intention; and beſides, thereby makes him abundantly too old, except he ſuppoſes Abimelech to have been but a child, or a meer lad, when Abraham firſt removed into the land of the Philiſtines.

(29) Antiq. l. 1. c. 18.

lech himſelf ſent to Iſaac, deſiring he would ſeek ſome other abode, pretending, he could not be at reſt while he had ſo powerful and near a neighbour. This requeſt, though ſeemingly conceived in very modeſt and friendly terms, took not effect, Iſaac, as ſeems, only removing from one part of the country to another; for violence in thoſe days was neither uſed or dreaded, except in very extraordinary caſes, or maintained by the falſe and inhuman gloſſes and arguments, which have ſince been too frequently advanced to prove the neceſſity or wiſdom of it. Hot bickerings and contentions after this aroſe between the Philiſtines of Gerar and Iſaac's ſervants, who opening the wells which Abraham had dug, and which the Philiſtines after his death had ſtopped up, and wanting ſtill more water, ſought for new ſprings, and dug new wells, which the Philiſtine herdſmen claimed as their right; whence the wells thus diſputed, which were two, were one of them by Iſaac called eſek, or contention, and the other ſitnah, or hatred. By theſe vexatious and obſtinate claims, they put Iſaac upon ſhifting his place a ſecond time. Abimelech at laſt, remembering, we may ſuppoſe, the covenant between his father and Abraham, and plainly perceiving, that Iſaac was favoured with God's ſpecial favour and bleſſing, thought it is his duty, or his intereſt, to renew the aforeſaid covenant; and taking with him Ahuzzath, an intimate friend, and Phicol (Q) the chief captain of his hoſt, went to Iſaac, who at firſt wondered to ſee them, after what had paſt, and plainly told them as much. To which they anſwered, That they plainly ſaw God was with him, and that he was riſing to a high pitch of power and proſperity; and therefore deſired to enter into bonds of friendſhip with him by a new covenant, or by a revival of the old; deſiring no other terms, than that the Philiſtines and their poſterity might be uſed and conſidered by Iſaac and his poſterity, as he and his family had been conſidered and uſed by Abimelech and his people. They were all three then entertained by Iſaac, and the league they deſired was mutually ſworn to next morning, and they departed in peace [a]. THE

[a] Gen. xxvi.

(Q) The chief captain of his father's hoſt, as may be remembered, was alſo called Phicol (30); but, as it is impoſſible, or very highly improbable at leaſt, that this was the ſame man, we

(30) See before, p. 232.

THE hiſtory of the Philiſtines, hitherto pretty clear and circumſtantial, is all at once involved in an impenetrable miſt, through which we can only perceive, that the men of Gath fell on the children of Ephraim, and ſlew them for attempting to drive off their cattle [b]. When this happened, or the particulars of it, or the conſequences that enſued, we know not [c].

FOR a very long ſeries of years we hear nothing of this people, and are only left to gueſs, That they in the mean time diſſolved their ancient form of government, and contracted an averſion to the Iſraelites; for, when they are next mentioned, they are repreſented under diſtinct juriſdictions, and at ſtrife with the children of Iſrael.

THEY eſcaped, as ſeems, the fury of Joſhua; but ſoon after his death Gaza, Aſkelon, and Ekron (R) were taken from them by the united tribes of Simeon and Judah [d]; but they poſſeſſed the ſaid cities again in a very ſhort time [e]: but whether they recovered them by force of arms, or whether they were reſtored to them by the conquerors, is not ſaid.

ABOUT one hundred and twenty years after the reduction of the three cities above-mentioned, the Philiſtines held the Iſraelites under their yoke, till they were delivered by Shamgar, who ſlew ſix hundred of this people with an ox-goad (S) [f]. Nor muſt we forget, that the Phi-

[b] Chron. vii. 21. [c] See before in the Notes, p. 224.
[d] Judg. i. 18. [e] Judg. iii. 3. [f] ver. 31.

we conclude Phicol to have been a title of honour or dignity; and that as the king was conſtantly called Ahimelech, his chief miniſter or general was conſtantly called Phicol.

(R) Here Joſephus (31) tells us of only Aſkelon and Aſhdod, or Azotus, as ſubdued, and, by an unpardonable inaccuracy, reckons them to the Canaanites. But for Gaza and Ekron, or Accaron, ſays he, they were in the flat country, very ſtrong in chariots, and well able to make good their defence, whereby they ſaved themſelves from the calamities of their neighbours.

(S) It is worth obſerving, that Joſephus (32), who is ſo fond of extraordinary events, and ſo apt to make more of them, than, it is likely, he found them, quite paſſes over this. We will not dwell on the niceties which are offered to explain or illuſtrate this action. A parallel caſe is found in Homer, where Lycurgus puts to

(31) Antiq. l. 5. c. 2. (32) Antiq. l. 5. c. 5.

Philiſtines ſuffered in common with the Iſraelites [g], by the furious incurſions and ravages of Zebah and Zalmunna kings of Midian [h].

A SECOND time they oppreſſed the Iſraelites in conjunction with the Ammonites in the days of Jephthah [i].

A THIRD time they reduced the Iſraelites by the permiſſion of GOD, and kept them very ſtrictly under forty years. In the mean time, was Samſon born to check their pride, and give them great trouble (T). He, when grown up, was ſmitten with love of a damſel of this country, who dwelt at Timnath. At the celebration of the nuptials thirty young men of the Philiſtines were appointed to attend on Samſon, as we now ſpeak (U); who, among other diſcourſe, propoſed a riddle to theſe thirty youths concerning a lion he had killed, in whoſe carcaſs, a twelvemonth after he had killed him, he found honey. It was propoſed to theſe young men by Samſon, that if they got the better of his riddle, he would give them thirty ſuits of apparel, one to each; but that if they could not anſwer him at the end of the ſeven days of the marriage-feſtival, they ſhould each of them give him the ſame. They accepted the offer, and deſired to hear the riddle, and in vain perplexed themſelves therewith for three days together, and

[g] See Judg. vi. 4. [h] See before, p. 142. [i] See before, p. 122.

to ſlight the Bacchæ with an ox-goad. By the Vulgate it is interpreted a plow-ſhare, induced thereto by the LXX. But thoſe (33) ſeem to think very rationally, who imagine, That Shamgar put himſelf at the head of a tumultuary riſe of country people, who were armed in their ruſtic way with the implements of tillage, and that Shamgar happened to have an ox-goad in his hand, when theſe ſix hundred of the Philiſtines fell; not that he killed them all himſelf with that weapon.

(T) Joſephus (34) reckons, that the Philiſtines were ſtripped of their dominion over Iſrael by Samſon, but he is plainly miſtaken.

(U) This we take to have been the cuſtom of the country in caſes of a like nature, and a uſual compliment now paid to Samſon, who was come to marry among them; but nothing leſs appears by Joſephus (35), who writes, that theſe young men were ſet as a guard upon him to prevent his doing any miſchief in his cups.

(33) Vide Cleric. in Judic. iii. 31. (34) Antiq l. 5. c. 10. (35) Ubi ſupr.

and then, deſpairing to overcome the difficulty, they went to their country woman, Samſon's bride, to deſire her to get the myſtery out of her huſband, or elſe they would burn her and all her kindred, as perſons who had on ſet purpoſe introduced a ſtranger to trick them out of their ſubſtance. This made a deep impreſſion on the young woman, who, by continual entreaties, prevailed at laſt on her huſband to diſcloſe the ambiguity to her, which ſhe communicated to the thirty young men; in conſequence of which they won the prize. This brought a misfortune upon Aſkelon; for Samſon, to make good his engagements, went down thither, and ſlew thirty men, whoſe garments he gave to the thirty expoſitors of his riddle [k].

THIS marriage was a very obſcure beginning of great miſery upon the Philiſtines; for Samſon's father-in-law, apprehending his daughter was not well poſſeſſed of her huſband's heart, gave her away to another, and denied Samſon, who had been abſent a twelve-month, all acceſs to his wife; but, to pacify his reſentment, would have given him another daughter, who, as he ſaid, was younger and handſomer. This did by no means mollify Samſon, and in revenge ſent out three hundred foxes with firebrands at their tails into the corn-fields; and all the ſtanding corn was thereby conſumed with fire, as were alſo the other fruits of the earth, and the vines, and the olives. The Philiſtines were amazed at ſo terrible a diſaſter, and underſtanding the motives which had induced Samſon to uſe them ſo cruelly, they looked on his father-in-law as the incendiary in a primary ſenſe; and therefore they went, and burnt him together with his daughter, who alſo may be called the cauſe of all this miſchief (W). But this exe-

[k] Judg. xiv.

(W) This ſeems to have been inflicted on them by way of retaliation; for as through their indiſcretion they drew on their country ſo ſad a revenge by fire, the reſt might think it but juſt and natural, that they ſhould periſh thereby to expiate their crime. But on the other hand, we find, that puniſhing or revenging by fire was a notorious practice in thoſe days with this people; for the thirty young men, as may be remembered, when they began to deſpair that they ſhould ever unfold Samſon's riddle, threatened the bride to burn her and her father's houſe with fire, if ſhe did not befriend them, and help them out. It is ſuppoſed they were taken ſurprize, and burnt in their houſe; and it is obſerved, that

execution they did not with impunity, they were ſmitten hip and thigh by Samſon. They determined then to take their revenge on him; and underſtanding he had retreated to the rock Etam, they went thither to take him; but he was delivered bound to them by the men of Judah, who dreaded their diſpleaſure. The Philiſtines ſhouted aloud at the ſight of Samſon bound; but their joy was ſoon turned into mourning, for Samſon, breaking his cords, found the jaw-bone of an aſs at hand, and killed a thouſand of them therewith[1].

ALL this the Philiſtines never forgot, and wiſhed for nothing ſo much as an opportunity to be revenged on Samſon. The Gazites, about twenty years after the laſt ſlaughter, thought they had him ſecure in their city. They had information, that he was with an harlot of theirs; and they watched him, and made faſt their gates, being ſure they ſhould kill him the next morning. But their precaution was to no purpoſe, and they were diſappointed; for Samſon riſing at midnight, took the city gates, and poſts, and bar, and all, and carried them away towards Hebron, leaving an open place behind him.

THE lords of the Philiſtines then heard, that Samſon was enſnared by another harlot of their nation, in the valley of Sorek, whoſe name was Delilah. The five lords came to this woman, and promiſed her, each of them, eleven hundred pieces of ſilver, if ſhe would betray Samſon to them, by enticing him to tell her where his ſtrength lay, and how he might be reduced to the ordinary ſtrength of another man. So large a bribe corrupted Delilah's heart, and ſhe uſed her beſt endeavours to earn the very many pieces of ſilver ſhe had in proſpect; and, thinking ſhe was miſtreſs of the ſecret, ſhe ſent for the Philiſtines to execute their pleaſure on him; but ſhe was deceived, and they were diſappointed. A ſecond time ſhe was deceived in like manner, and a third time; but the fourth time ſhe was ſincerely informed, that his ſtrength lay in his hair, which ſhe cut off, and delivered Samſon a helpleſs prey to the lords of the Philiſtines, who gave her the promiſed reward of her treachery, and put out Samſon's eyes,

[1] Judg. xvi.

that the bride and her father's houſe ſuffered the ſame calamity ſhe ſought to avoid by betraying her huſband (36).

(36) See Patrick upon Judg. xv. 6.

eyes, and bound him with fetters of braſs, and carried him to Gaza, and there made him grind in the priſon-houſe.

THEY then met in a ſolemn manner to celebrate a feſtival to their god Dagon, and to offer him thanks, and praiſes, and ſacrifices. They met together to the number of many thouſands, and were all in one place; which, whether it was a temple, or a theatre, or a palace, is quite unknown; but it was of ſuch extent that no leſs than three thouſand perſons were on the top of it (X). In the height of their jollity they ſent for the blind Samſon from the priſon-houſe to make ſport with him (Y), forgetting his hair was by this time pretty well grown again (Z), and his ſtrength, conſequently, returned to him. They

(X) We find the generality of the learned moſt inclined to think this vaſt building a theatre, ſuch as formerly the Romans contrived, and which were almoſt incredibly capacious: this may have been the truth of the matter, and we ſhould moſt readily have embraced the ſame opinion, did we not perceive, that this building was roofed, and that ſo firmly as to bear the weight of three thouſand perſons upon its top. A difficulty ſtarts up here; how could this roof be contrived, ſo that ſuch a multitude might partake of the diverſion Samſon was making below? It is anſwered, that thoſe on the roof were the vulgar ſort, who had conveniencies of looking down into a great hall, where the lords, and chiefs, and better ſort ſate in ſtate; which will ſtill make the building more extenſive. A roof it had, which we ſufficiently underſtand by the two pillars which Samſon pulled down, and which ſupported it. It hence muſt have been a place of a particular conſtruction, like the Egyptian hall in Vitruvius (37), and nothing like the theatres of the ancient Greeks or Romans.

(Y) Joſephus (38) underſtands, that they wanted to flout and jeer him; though alſo they may have made him go through a courſe of ridiculous geſtures and ſpeeches.

(Z) In the margin of our verſion it is, As when he was ſhaven; or it was grown to the ſame length it was of when Delilah clipt it. Whence we gather, that Joſephus (39) is right in ſaying, this was an annual feaſt in honour of their god Dagon, as appears alſo by the text of ſcripture; where great thanks are returned to Dagon, for delivering Samſon into their hands, which was ſtill uppermoſt in their thoughts, and what they had chiefly deſired ſeveral years paſt. From hence we may learn, that the worſhip of Dagon was not confined to Aſhdod, though it may have been his peculiar place, and that in theſe days he was the moſt highly revered of any god they had.

(37) l. 6. c. 5. (38) Ubi ſupr. (39) Ubi ſupr.

They made what diverſion they pleaſed with him, and dearly they paid for it; for they all periſhed by the fall of the building they were in, which was brought down by the ſtrength of Samſon. This was a terrible diſaſter, and moſt of, if not all, the chiefs of the Philiſtines were loſt in this mighty ruin; ſo that the nation muſt, upon that account, have been greatly humbled and in a low condition, being deſtitute of governors, and commanders, and men of wiſdom [m].

For a conſiderable time the Philiſtines lay quiet: they recovered their loſs at Gaza, and grew to a greater pitch of power than ever. They now made war upon the Iſraelites again, who had as good as thrown off their yoke ſince the fatal day at Gaza. They pitched firſt in Aphek, and the Iſraelites lay incamped at Eben-ezer. The two armies ſoon came to action, and the day turned in favour of the Philiſtines, who put the enemy to a precipitate flight, and in all ſlew four thouſand of them, and drove them into their camp. The Philiſtines, in the midſt of their triumph, upon this occaſion, heard an uncommon ſhout of joy from the Hebrew camp; and enquiring into the cauſe of it, were told, that the Hebrews had ſent for the ark of the lord, and that it was come into their camp. Upon hearing this they cried out in the utmoſt conſternation, God is come into the enemy's camp, what will become of us! Such a thing was never known before; and greatly did they bewail their unhappy lot, deſpairing to be delivered from thoſe mighty gods, as they ſpoke, who had ſo ſeverely ſmitten the Egyptians. They now were quite daunted and ſpiritleſs, till their chiefs, or ſome of the more reſolute awakened them from their fears, exhorting them to be of good cheer, and behave like men, leſt they fell under the power of the Hebrews, and became their ſervants, inſtead of being their maſters, as they were: behave like men, ſaid they, and fear not. This exhortation had its effect upon the drooping hearts of the Philiſtines in general, and inſpired them with freſh courage. Animated in this ſort, they came to a battle, and fell on ſo furiouſly, that they ſlew 30,000 of the enemy's footmen; and to crown all, they took the ark of God, which at firſt gave them ſo much trouble, and Hophni and Phinehas, the prieſts who attended it, they ſlew. Doubtleſs, they called this a moſt complete

[m] Judg xvi.

victory, and rejoiced in a moſt extraordinary manner, ignorant of the evil conſequences they were to ſuffer in return. In high triumph they carried the captive ark to Aſhdod, and placed it in the temple of their idol Dagon, as an acceptable offering to him, and as properly his captive, we may ſuppoſe. The next morning they went into the temple, and *behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the earth, before the ark of the Lord.* They took him up therefore, and ſet him in his place again, attributing this firſt humiliation to ſome unheeded accident (A). But on the ſecond day, when they went in again, they not only ſaw their god in the proſtrate poſture they beheld him yeſterday, but diſmembered alſo of his head, and hands, and feet, which lay upon the threſhold; nor was any thing left of him but the ſtump, or, as we rather chooſe to expreſs it, the trunk of his body. Hence came a ſuperſtitious cuſtom among his prieſts, never to tread on the threſhold as they went into his temple (B), either in remembrance of this mutilation as a calamity, or becauſe it had been hallowed by having ſerved for a reſting-place to the head and hands of their perſecuted god. But their own ſufferings far exceeded thoſe of their idol, who being ſenſeleſs could feel none of the pains they themſelves were afflicted with, being ſmitten with a ſudden plague, of which many of them died, while thoſe who ſurvived were grievouſly tormented with emerods. Aſhdod and its whole territory labouring under ſo dreadful a calamity, they reſolved to keep the ark no longer among them, being too ſenſibly convinced, that they ſuffered becauſe of the ark. But that they might not take a haſty ſtep, they

(A) They might impute it to ſome defect in the pedeſtal, or might imagine the ſtatue itſelf not to have been exactly poiſed, or, finally, they might attribute it to ſome unuſual ſhock, as of an earthquake, and the like.

(B) This ſuperſtition obtained for many ages, as may be gathered from Zephaniah (39), where thoſe are threatened that leap on the threſhold. Hence it appears, that they were wont to leap over the threſhold. This has doubtleſs an eye to the ridiculous and ſtupidly-grounded ſuperſtition of this people (40). The Jews have an idle ſtory, that the Philiſtines, henceforward forſaking Dagon himſelf, worſhipped the threſhold of his temple (41).

(39) i. 9. (40) Vide Bochart. Hierozoic. par. 1. l. 2. c. 36. (41) Vide Buxtorf. Hiſt. Arc. c. 19. p. 172.

they called an aſſembly of all the lords of the Philiſtines, to deliberate upon the means of delivering them from this raging evil, and what was beſt to be done with the pernicious ark. The reſolution they came to was, that the ark ſhould be removed to Gath, apprehending, as is thought, that Aſhdod was a place unacceptable to it (C). They carried it thither, and the ſame plague, and another ſort of emerods (D) followed it to Gath, without diſtinction of ſmall or great. The men of Gath then ſent the ark to Ekron; where, knowing what Gath and Aſhdod had already ſuffered by the detention of the ſame, they cried out with a frightful voice, that the ark of the GOD of Iſrael was ſent to deſtroy and afflict them alſo. Their fears were not vain, and great was their lamentation for the loſs of thoſe that died, and for the grievous ſoreneſs of the emerods, the affliction gathering ſtrength, and growing worſe as it ſpread (E). But they had no ſooner received the ark than, all in confuſion, they ſent to the lords of the

(C) Juſt as Æneas and his people indited their beds and their houſes of the diſaſters that befel them; and Cadmus forſook his own city.

——tanquam fortuna locorum,
Non ſua ſe premeret. ——

As if the ill luck which hunted him had been the place's, not his own; as our Dr. Jackſon obſerves out of Ovid, in his Original of Unbelief, chap. 18. paragr. 4. (42).

(D) At Aſhdod, it is ſaid, they were ſmitten with emerods only, without any addition; but now it is ſaid, they were ſmitten with emerods in their ſecret parts: whence it is evident enough, that this plague was ſome how or other altered; and it being the moſt univerſally interpreted in both places that they were afflicted by emerods, there is no other way that occurs to us of accounting for this alteration, but that at Aſhdod they had the ordinary ſort, which appear outwardly, and that now at Gath they had the blind ſort, which are inward. Inſtead of emerods ſome (43) ſpeak of violent diſorders in the inteſtines, of their rotting alive, and of their waſting away by dyſenteries and vomitings, thereby diſcharging their loathſome corruption. Other opinions there are concerning this matter; but none ſo generally received as what we have ſaid of the emerods.

(E) We find their lamentation and affliction expreſſed in deeper terms, upon every removal; which gives room for this aſſertion.

(42) Patrick upon 1 Sam. v. 8. (43) Joſeph. Antiq. 6. c. 1.

Philiſtines to conſult with them, entreating them to fix upon ſome manner of ſending the ark to its place. The reſult of this council is not expreſſed ; but it ſeems as if, obſerving the afflictions to ravage the cities chiefly, they removed the ark into the country (F), which, as ſeems alſo, only added to the number of their plagues, the country being now deſolated by an extraordinary production of mice. Finding therefore there was no reſpite to be had, and that the perſecution lay harder and harder upon them, and multiplied as often as the ark was removed, they called for their prieſts and diviners, to demand of them what they thought moſt

(F) Joſephus (44) relates, that the ark went through all the five cities of the Philiſtines, which we have no warrant to aſſert from ſcripture, except that the five cities being equally afflicted, and their gods equally perſecuted, as afterwards appears, may be accepted for a demonſtrative proof thereof : but there is no room to ſuppoſe this, ſince we find, that the Ekronites, convinced of the deſtruction and plague which followed the ark, did not ſo much as think of procuring it to be ſent either to Aſkelon, or Gaza ; but only, that it might be ſent back to its place. Their requeſt, it ſeems, was no farther complied with by the reſt, than the removing it from them into the country or the fields, for that is the ſenſe of the original, where it remained ſeven months ; nor is it likely, that either of thoſe two cities would have admitted it within their gates after a thrice-repeated experience of what the conſequence would be, if they did admit it ; nor does it appear, that they had yet been affected in the manner of Aſhdod, Gath, and Ekron, where the ark had been lodged. It ſeems, that the ark, being removed into the fields, gave birth to thoſe prodigious ſwarms of mice, which did eat up the country, and that Gaza and Aſkelon were now ſmitten by the plagues alſo, that the whole body of this people groaning under the ſame ſeverities and diſtreſs, there might be no diſſention among them about diſmiſſing the ark. And hence, perhaps, we may diſcover, that as much as they were divided into five ſatrapies or lordſhips, they were nevertheleſs ſo linked together, that one of them could not act in any matter of public concern without the concurrence of all the reſt ; which is no where ſo evident as in this caſe of the Ekronites, who were ſo thoroughly convinced the ark was to be ſent home, that we cannot conceive what ſhould have prevented them from acting accordingly, had it not been, that they were afraid of making a breach into their common conſtitution ; or dreaded to be called to an account by the reſt, for preſuming to act of their own heads in an affair of ſuch moment.

(44) Ubi ſupr.

moſt expedient to be done in this mournful time of peſtilence; and in what manner it would be fitteſt to ſend the ark quite from among them. Their anſwer was, That they ought not to ſend it away empty, but, by all means, with a treſpaſs-offering, as an atonement. They were then aſked what this treſpaſs-offering muſt be? They replied, five golden emerods, and five golden mice, according to the number of the lords of the Philiſtines; "for the ſame "plague was common to you all; make images of your "emerods, and images of your mice, which have been ſo "deſtructive to your land; and humble yourſelves to the "GOD of Iſrael, that he may withdraw his avenging "hand from among you. Do not offer to harden your "hearts, as Pharaoh did: proceed then, and make a new "cart, and take two milk cows which have never felt the "yoke, and take their calves away from them, and har-"neſs them to the cart you make (G), and on it place "the ark and the jewels you offer for a treſpaſs-offering in "a cover by it, and in that manner ſuffer it to depart. If "it takes the way which leads to Beth-ſhemeſh, you need "not doubt who has ſo ſorely afflicted you; but if not, "you may conclude, that what you have ſuffered has pro-"ceeded from a mere natural cauſe". They obeyed the voice of their prieſts, and punctually followed their directions. The cows moved away for Beth-ſhemeſh, lowing as they went along, nor turned once to the right or the left, the lords of the Philiſtines keeping after them till they ſaw them clear of their borders, where they wondering ſtood, to obſerve in what manner the ſacred captive was received by thoſe with whom it would dwell [n].

WE have ſufficient reaſon to conclude, that the Philiſtines, by diſmiſſing the ark in the manner they did, freed themſelves from their bitter afflictions, and that, though they were undeniably ſenſible of the hand which chaſtiſed them, they ſoon forgot the mighty power thereof. For about twenty years afterwards, underſtanding the Iſraelites were gathered in a body at Mizpeh, they reſolved to diſperſe them,

[n] 1 Sam. iv. 5, 6.

F (G) The new cart was ordered in honour of the God of Iſrael, and the kine, unconſcious of the yoke to draw it, were to prove, whether or no he would interfere in the return of his ark; for ſuch unbroken cattle could never go on right together, or at all, as we may ſay, but by a miracle.

them, jealous, perhaps, that they were upon measures of throwing off their yoke. They marched therefore towards Mizpeh, and a terror went before them, which quite confounded the Israelites, who having Samuel in the midst of them begged, that, without ceasing, he would entreat God for them. The Philistines marched on, unmindful of him, who, when his people turned to him, was ready to confound the strength and devices of the wisest and mightiest, and being on the edge of assaulting the Israelites, a fearful storm of thunder and lightning came on (H), which beat them down, and dispersed them; and being broken into this wild disorder, they were pursued and slaughtered by the Israelites to Beth-car. This was a blow indeed, and deprived them of the dominion they had exercised over the Hebrews, and was the loss of all the encroachments they had made upon their territory, and reduced them so low that they never offered to molest Israel again, all the days that Samuel [o] governed.

During all this time that they had held Israel in subjection, they had quite disarmed them, and would not so much as suffer a smith to dwell among them [p]. How sensibly soever the Philistines may have been affected by this last route; yet in a few years they seem to have been vastly, nay, infinitely more formidable than ever. For, understanding that a fortress of theirs, called Geba, had been surprized by Jonathan the son of Saul, they gathered together thirty thousand chariots, six thousand horsemen (I), and

[o] Ibid. vii. [p] Ibid. xiii. 19.

(H) To this Josephus (45) adds, that they were in part swallowed by an earthquake, so violent that it was as much as they could do to keep their legs.

(I) Sir Isaac Newton (46), from this vast number of chariots and horsemen, is tempted to think the Philistines were now very powerfully succoured, and their numbers mightily encreased by the accession of the shepherds out of Egypt, who were now expelled that kingdom: We shall not contend with him upon so dark a point, wherein he may as well be right as not. But we cannot refrain from noting, that he takes these thirty thousand chariots to be of the warlike sort, and designed for battle, wondering at the great excess of the number, when compared with those that

(45) Antiq. l. 6. c. 2. (46) Chronol. of anc. king. amended, p. 167.

and foot as the ſand of the ſea, to fight with, or rather plunder, the Iſraelites, who ſtill laboured under the ill effects of their tyrannical policy, by continuing deſtitute of arms. This very numerous multitude went out, and pitched in Michmaſh, and ſent ſuch a terror before them, that happy was the Iſraelite who could hide himſelf to his ſatisfaction from them, or get out of their way. Michmaſh, was their ſtation, from whence they ſent out three bands, three ſeveral ways, to ſpoil the country; and great damage they did to the whole land, as we have room to infer. Their ravages they committed without interruption, having to deal with an unarmed enemy, who conſequently were in no condition to make head againſt them.

At Michmaſh they continued to lie encamped, while their ſpoilers quite ruined and ſtripped the country; and here they took up their quarters ſome time. But in the midſt of their depredations they received a check from Jonathan, who, hurried on by a divine impulſe, and accompanied only by his armour-bearer, made a conſiderable ſlaughter of one of their out-guards; the noiſe of which ſpreading to the whole body, they were ſeized with a ſudden pannic, and an unſpeakable tumult aroſe among them; ſo that hyperbolically ſpeaking, the very earth trembled therewith (K). In the height of this diſor-

that followed Pharaoh, who periſhed in the Red-Sea. For our parts, we cannot take theſe chariots to have been any other than carriages, that were uſed, partly, in carrying the baggage of ſo great an army, as they ſeem to have had on foot at this time, and, partly, deſigned to move off the plunder of the whole country, which they ſeem to have graſped at with the moſt inſolent preſumption: and this, upon obſerving the method in which this war was carried on, muſt have been their deſign by ſuch a number of carriages; which, if we reduce to three thouſand, as the number ſtands in the Syriac and Arabic copies, will, as is very judiciouſly remarked (47), be far too many to ſuppoſe them to have been warlike chariots, ſince Mithridates had but one hundred, Darius but two hundred, and Antiochus Epiphanes but three hundred; and no one can imagine, that the Philiſtines, and whoſoever elſe may have joined them upon this occaſion, were able to muſter up ſuch a force in chariots as either of theſe three monarchs.

(K) Not that there was really an earthquake upon this occaſion. Beſides the thirty thouſand chariots and ſix thouſand horſemen

(47) Patrick upon 1 Sam. xiii. 5.

der, it came to pass, that they fell upon each other with a most fearful slaughter of themselves (L), and presently they began to move off in a wild uproar and fury; which, when it was observed by the Israelites, they moved after them by degrees, and at length pursued them one and all, with Saul at their head, who, if he had not been in too great a hurry, and commanded his men not to stand to take a little refreshment, the Philistines had lost a great deal more blood than they did upon this occasion; but as it was, their loss was very considerable (M), they being pursued from Michmash to Aijalon [q].

THOUGH

[q] 1 Sam. xiii, xiv.

horsemen mentioned in scripture, Josephus (48) numbers the foot at three hundred thousand. But a late commentator (49), from the alarm given them by Jonathan and his armour-bearer, and the fearful effects of the same, takes occasion to think, that the Philistines were neither so numerous, as is, in scripture said, nor so well skilled in war as they are usually deemed; and infers, that the text must have been corrupted.

(L) This favours, very much, the conjecture of Sir Isaac Newton, who supposes they had, about this time, an accession of the shepherds from Egypt, as we have already noted from him (50). It looks very much as if this great host, for such it may be justly stiled, though not a quarter so strong as is represented to us, had not a mutual confidence in each other, so far as to be certain, that a defection and treachery might not be brought to pass among them by the artifices of the enemy. The out-guard routed by Jonathan and his armour-bearer savoured strongly of treachery. The bare fame of an attack made by any two persons on so vast an army, could never of itself, have caused so wild an uproar, but something at the same time must have been added thereto, that made them enraged against each other, and fired them with the utmost fury and indignation. Nor does what we here insinuate, by any means, derogate from the concern the Almighty had in this miraculous deliverance of his people; since in cases of this kind he has so often acted by second causes.

(M) According to Josephus (51) they now lost sixty thousand men.

(48) Antiq. l. 6. c. 7. (49) Cleric. in 1 Sam. xiv. 15.
(50) See before in the Notes, p. 16. (51) Ubi supr.

THOUGH they were thus viſibly defeated by the hand of heaven; yet in a few years they revived again, and put themſelves under arms, once more to try what they could do with the Iſraelites: but they were now, perhaps, chiefly induced thereto upon hearing that Saul was gone diſtracted. But though they made a great noiſe and parade this time, yet they did not proceed with ſuch fury as formerly, and do not ſeem to have been very eager for a battle. They found Saul in the field ready to contend with them, which checked them in their career. They firſt rendezvouſed in Shochoh, in the tribe of Judah; and advancing thence, and ſtill finding the Iſraelites in a poſture to fight them, they went, and pitched upon a mountain oppoſite to another, on which Iſrael was incamped. They had in their army at this time a giant, one Goliath of Gath, who was ſix cubits and a ſpan high, and wore a ponderous and well-wrought ſuit of braſs armour: he had a helmet of braſs on his head, a coat of mail (N) of the ſame on his body, and a target or gorget of the ſame between his ſhoulders, and greaves of the ſame upon his legs. The ſtaff of his ſpear was like a weaver's beam, and the head of it weighed ſix hundred ſhekels of iron; and before him went one who bore his ſhield. This gigantic perſon ſeems to have been very ſenſible of his warlike abilities and ſtrength, and to have

(N) According to the Engliſh ſtandard, the height of Goliath was twelve foot eight inches, and ſomewhat better than three tenths. His coat of mail alone weighed five thouſand ſhekels of braſs, or upwards of one hundred and eighty-nine of our pounds Troy; and by the ſame rule, the head of his ſpear, which weighed ſix hundred ſhekels of iron, exceeded two and twenty of the ſame pounds (52). The weight of theſe and the other parts of his armour and arms, whoſe weight is not ſpecified, was not, perhaps, too heavy for ſo gigantic a perſon, whoſe ſtrength, doubtleſs, was in proportion to his ſtature: and yet ſome are willing to think it was too cumberſom; and therefore chooſe to ſay the ſhekels enumerated above, and commonly taken for the weight of his coat of mail, were the price of it (53), which ſeems to be as much too little on this hand, as it may appear too much on the other.

(52) See Arbuthnot's Tables of anc. Coins, Weights, and Meaſures. (53) See Patrick upon 1 Sam. xxii. 5.

have fancied, that he alone could ſupport his country's cauſe. Accordingly; whether by his own ſuggeſtions, or at the ſolicitation of his countrymen, we know not; this man took on him to fight any one in the hoſt of Iſrael, and by a ſingle combat to determine which of the two nations ſhould rule, and which obey. Accordingly he went down into the valley which parted the two camps, and called up to the Iſraelites, "To what purpoſe do "you draw yourſelves out in battle array! here am I, "a Philiſtine (O), and ye the ſlaves of Saul; find me "out a man among you that has the heart to come "down and fight me: if he kill me, we will ſubmit to "be your ſubjects; but if I kill him, you ſhall ſerve "us, as you have done heretofore: mark that I defy "every one of you; let who dare advance out of your "ranks to fight me!" This arrogant challenge met with no acceptance, and Goliath was left to himſelf to vapour his fill; but the figure of the man, and his menacing deportment ſtood the Philiſtines in good ſtead, by quite diſheartening the Iſraelites, who were greatly diſmayed, both at him and his words. But, as confident as Goliath was in his own ſtrength, and in conſequence thereof, how ready ſoever he was to fight, the reſt of his countrymen had not the leaſt ſtomach to it: They remembered how terribly it had more than once fared with them in their contentions with Iſrael. Wherefore, though the firſt day's experience convinced them, that not one ſoul of the Iſraelites would undertake a ſingle combat with Goliath; yet, having no mind to come to a battle, they every morning and evening ſent out Goliath to repeat his idle challenge, for forty days together. At laſt, as the armies were drawing down to each other in battle array, Goliath advanced out of the ranks as uſual; and in the height of his pretended expectations for one to come out (for pretended they muſt have been, after ſo many fruitleſs repetitions of the ſame defiance)

(O) It is generally thought, that he here vaunts himſelf as a lord among the Philiſtines; or rather that he boaſts of his liberty, that he was born of that country, and reviles the Iſraelites as ſervants or ſlaves; inſinuating, that he did them honour in offering to demean himſelf, ſo far as to contend in ſingle combat with any one of them.

defiance) he ſaw a handſome ruddy youth advancing toward him, from the Iſraelites, in the habit and appearance of an ordinary ſhepherd. The ſight fired him with indignation, and obſerving a ſtaff in his hand; "What, ſays he, am I a dog, that you are come a-"gainſt me with a ſtaff? and curſing him by his gods, "Come hither that I may give your fleſh to the fowls "of the air and the beaſts of the field." Having heard, what the young man, David, had to ſay in anſwer to him, he ſtepped towards him to ſeize on him, and cruſh the preſumptuous lad; but ere he reached him, a ſtone was ſlung at him by David, which took his forehead, and laid him flat at his length on the ground; and his head was inſtantly ſevered from his body by his own ſword, and carried off as a trophy by the conqueror. The Philiſtines no ſooner ſaw their champion gone, than they fled (P), as if their hopes and all centered in him; and to judge by their behaviour, it was really the caſe. They fled, and were purſued by Saul, quite home to the gates of their own cities, Gath and Ekron, with a fearful ſlaughter no doubt (Q); leaving all their tents and baggage behind them [r].

THE

[r] 1 Sam. xvii.

(P) From this flight commentators are apt to imagine, that what Goliath did in offering to decide the fate of each nation by ſingle combat, was his own act and deed, and without the aſſent of the Philiſtines; or elſe, that if they did bind themſelves to ſubmit to the fate of ſuch a battle, they were faithleſs enough to ſlight the obligation. To us, it appears, that they did in a very great meaſure depend on Goliath for ſucceſs in this war; that they prided themſelves chiefly in him; and that, flattering themſelves he was invincible, and, by his ſtrength and armour, an overmatch for any in the hoſt of Iſrael, they were not againſt what he took on him, as their champion; but that they formally agreed to ſtand to what he promiſed is unlikely: ſuch deciſions by ſingle combat ſeem not to have been the cuſtom of thoſe early times; but the whole ſeems to be the effect of great pride and vanity in the champion, and a mixture of ſtupidity and cowardice in the reſt.

(Q) If we hearken to Joſephus (54), they had thirty thouſand killed, and twice that number wounded in this purſuit, which ſeem to be exceedingly too many.

(54) Antiq. l. 6. c. 11.

The same hand, which had deprived them of Goliath, persecuted them again soon afterwards; for two hundred of them were slain by *David* for the sake of their foreskins only, that he might perform the condition imposed on him by Saul, before he would give him his daughter to wife; but the particulars of this slaughter are not specified in the text of scripture. But thence it may be gathered, that this was the cause of a fresh rupture, and that the princes of the Philistines undertook to revenge the injury, but what success they had, is not said [s].

Achish. Soon after this they were overthrown in battle by David *, and some great change seems, about this time, to have been wrought in their government; for as, ever since the Abimelechs they are represented under lords or princes; so now we read of a king they had, whose name was Achish, and who resided at Gath [t]. He is elsewhere called Abimelech [u], the ancient appellation, as we have seen, of the first kings of this people. David, to avoid the terrible intentions of Saul, fled to Gath, and was brought before this king; who imagining him, by his behaviour, to be beside himself, would take no farther notice of him, than to order he should be brought no more into his presence [w].

The Philistines all this time were upon no settled terms with Saul, but invaded him, and thereby diverted him from laying hold on David in the wilderness of Maon; but it seems they had ill success this time again, and fled before Saul, or else retreated for fear of him.

Achish, the son of Maoch (R), after this received David, and his wives, and all his train of followers into his

[s] Ibid xviii. * Sam. xix. 8. [t] Ibid. xxi. 10. [u] Psal. xxxiv. [w] 1 Sam. ubi supr. Ibid. xxi. 27—29.

(R) From this mention of his father's name, some are willing to think him a different person from the former; to which they seem to be partly inclined, by the kind manner in which he received David, whom the former had spurned at, as an ideot or a madman. But we must remember, that David actually played that part to save his life; and it is no wonder, if Achish did not care to be troubled with so unhappy a wretch, as David then made himself: but the same man may have returned to a better mind concerning him, when he was let into the secret of David's fears: and may afterwards have entertained a correspondence with a person

his protection, and treated the diſtreſſed refugees with great hoſpitality. And at David's requeſt, that he might have ſome place allotted him for his particular dwelling, he very generouſly named Ziklag for that purpoſe; whence it came to be afterwards claimed by the kings of Judah. All this muſt give us a very favourable idea of Achiſh, if we conſider what reaſon the Philiſtines had to be angry with David, who certainly deſerved not very well at their hands; and thoſe muſt have had very commendable notions, who could thus forgive a man, with whom moſt others would have kept no meaſures (S), and have ſlighted the obſervance of all laws. Achiſh conceived very high thoughts of David, and underſtanding he had been out upon ſome expedition, examined him about it, and receiving from him ſuch an anſwer, as made him imagine he had been plundering his own nation; he expreſſed great ſatisfaction thereat, hoping David had done ſomething to make himſelf odious in the eyes of his countrymen, and that now he ſhould have him a ſervant for ever. Preparing ſoon after to war with Saul, he told David, that he expected him to head his followers, and march with him; and promiſed to recompenſe him with ſome moſt eminent poſt in his ſervice. The Philiſtines firſt gathered together at Shunem, and there encamped. From thence they removed to Aphek. Here the ſeveral bodies of the Philiſtines appeared together, in a kind of review, under their reſpective chiefs, and David and his men followed about, or after, Achiſh; from whence it is gathered, that the poſt he promiſed him was, to be captain of his guard. When the lords and chiefs of the Philiſtines

ſon of ſuch known worth, and invited him into his dominions, and aſſured him of protection againſt the evil intentions of Saul; hoping thereby to weaken Saul, and keep up a diviſion in his kingdom, at the ſame time that he ſtrengthened himſelf. If no humanity may be allowed to Achiſh in this caſe, a large ſhare of human policy may be admitted: nor do we perceive any ſolid ground for ſuppoſing this Achiſh and the former to be different perſons.

(S) Thoſe who remember that David ſlew two hundred of them, for their foreſkins only, may juſtly admire at the patience and forgiveneſs of this people, who could after ſuch an action receive him any otherwiſe than as a ſworn enemy to them and theirs. How it was poſſible, that they could refrain from exerciſing great rigor towards him, is what we are wholly at a loſs for, except we recur to the immediate interpoſition of the Almighty.

Philistines observed this, they were offended, and expostulated with Achish, who in vain endeavoured to perswade them, that David was a fast and very trusty friend. Instead of being satisfied with what the king said, they grew angry with him; and insisted on it, that David should not stir a step further with them; that he should return to Ziklag his appointed place: and not have it in his power to betray them in battle, the only way he could have to reconcile himself with his natural lord and master, at the cruel expence of the Philistines. In short, they could not imagine, that David, who was the idol of his own people, would forfeit his valuable popularity among them by fighting against them. Achish was unable to resist all this clamour, and calling David to him, assured him, That for his own part, he had the highest sense of his sincerity and innate worth, and had been perfectly satisfied with his behaviour ever since he had sheltered him; but, that since the lords were far from being disposed to think so well of him, it were in vain and imprudent to contend against them in this matter; and therefore desired him to return quietly to Ziklag. David resenting the unkindness of the notions the lords entertained concerning him, and protesting his readiness to fight in his cause, Achish answered him with great earnestness, that he was fully convinced of his affection; that he had a singular veneration for him; and that, in his eyes, he was as an angel of God; but that seeing the lords were so unreasonably bent against him, the thing could not be, and he must set out for Ziklag early the next morning.

So David went his way, and Achish and the Philistines marched against Saul, who was encamped on mount Gilboa. A battle was fought between them on that same mount, and the Philistines prevailed mightily against the Israelites, and drove them before them with great slaughter. In particular they pressed hard after Saul and his sons; and these, Jonathan, and Abinadab, and Malchishua, they slew. They sent their arrows with great eagerness after Saul, and did hit him several times; but did not lay him along, nor had they the honour of dispatching him: he was dead ere they reached him by his own weapon. Thus the Philistines at length obtained a complete victory; in consequence of which they possessed themselves of much of the enemy's country. On the morrow after the battle, when they came to strip the slain, they found Saul king of Israel, and his three sons among the rest, in mount Gilboa. They

did

did cut off Saul's head, and diſpoiled his body of his armour. His armour they dedicated in the temple of Aſhtaroth, and his body, and thoſe alſo of his ſons, they ignominiouſly hung upon the walls of Beth-ſhan. What they did, particularly with his head, is not related; but it ſeems, as if they at firſt ſent it up and down with his armour, to dedicate both in the temples of their idols, and to feaſt the eyes of their people with ſuch grateful objects, and ſuch demonſtrative marks of victory. But the bodies of Saul and his three ſons hung not long where the Philiſtines expoſed them. They were ſtolen away from them by the men of Jabeſh [y].

Now there is reaſon to think, that Achiſh ſoon after died, inaſmuch as we find the Philiſtines in a ſhort time at variance with David, with whom Achiſh would certainly have maintained a fair correſpondence, except we ſuppoſe the lords of the Philiſtines invaded king David very early in his reign, and no ſooner heard that he was anointed king over Iſrael, than they went out to make war upon him. Their deſign ſeems to have been to nip him in the bud; for while the diviſion between him and Iſh-boſheth ſubſiſted, they gave him no trouble; but when they underſtood that Iſrael and Judah were united under him, it is likely, they feared the heavy effects of his reſentment, or innate enmity to their nation. They marched out therefore, and incamped in the valley of Rephaim, from whence they removed to Baal-perazim, where they were encountered by David, and by him ſo completely overthrown, that, intent upon nothing but ſaving themſelves, they left their baggage behind them, and even their gods, which they carried about with them, in imitation of the Iſraelites, when they brought their ark againſt them. The Philiſtines ſeem to have rallied again upon recollection, to reſcue their captive gods, and drew up again in battalia in the valley of Rephaim (T); but they were defeated again by David in a

[y] 1 Sam. xxviii, xxix, xxxi.

(T) Or the valley of the giants, as Joſephus (55) renders it; who ſuppoſes, that they were now unable to raiſe any thing of an army themſelves, and that they were joined by the Syrians and Phœnicians; as a proof of which he alledges they returned home upon their firſt defeat, and came back to the charge again with thrice the numbers they had before, and drew up in the ſame place

(55) Antiq. l. 7. c. 4.

a ſudden onſet, by the immediate interpoſition of God, and purſued with a long and bloody ſlaughter from Geba to Gazer [z], a place it ſeems on their own frontiers.

The war did not end here; for a ſhort time afterwards they were invaded by David, and ſubdued, and Methegammah (U) was taken out of their hands [a].

The Philiſtines had ſeveral men of extraordinary ſtature among them, and all it ſeems of the kindred of Goliath (W). And

[z] 2 Sam. v. 17—25. [a] Ibid. viii. 1.

place where the former battle was fought; and that they were again miraculouſly defeated with very great eaſe, and put to flight with the loſs of all their baggage and their gods. Joſephus is very fond of trebling the forces of a vanquiſhed people, as we have obſerved before (56), and may have occaſion to obſerve hereafter. But why he ſhould imagine the Philiſtines were at ſo low an ebb, as to be unable to make war with David of themſelves, we do not clearly perceive, even though we ſhould allow of the great ſlaughter and deſtruction, he makes of them in ſome of their preceding battles (57).

(U) Or, as it is in the margin, the bridle of Ammah; or, as it is explained in the Chronicles (58), the city of Gath and the territory thereunto belonging. There are many and very various expoſitions of this point; but as the context clears it up naturally, we ſhall paſs them over, and adhere to that, as moſt likely and juſt. Only let it be obſerved, that as Gath was the royal ſeat, it may, on many accounts, have been called a bridle to the reſt of the land. As to its ſtanding upon a hill called Ammah, as ſome commentators teach, they would have done well, had they produced their authority for ſo ſaying: we know of none.

(W) If they were not immediately his ſons, they may poſſibly have been of the ſame family. To ſay nothing of their deſcent from the Anakims, who were expelled from Hebron, and took up their abode at Gath, which is a very obſcure piece of hiſtory; it is common in all nations to ſee families remarkable for their extraordinary ſtature: nor is there any need to ſuppoſe them deſcended from any ancient race of giants. We are indeed told, that the Anakims either fled from Hebron to the cities of the Philiſtines, or elſe were planted there of old time (59). But how it came to paſs, that they were ſo dwindled away there in the days of David; and how it comes to paſs, that we read no where of them in the armies of the Philiſtines to the days of Saul, we preſume not to ſay.

(56) See before in the Notes p. 126. (57) See before in the Notes p. 247, 251. (58) i. xviii. 1. (59) Joſh. xi. 22.

And though they had experienced the little uſe of ſuch men in an army, yet they ſeem ſottiſhly to have caſt their eyes upon theſe; now flattering themſelves, that by their help they might retrieve their honour, and take revenge on David. Wherefore, after they had lain quiet ſeveral years, they broke out again into a war with Iſrael, and their giants marched with them. They came to a battle, in which Iſhbi-benob (X), a ſon of Goliath, as is thought, taking David at ſome diſadvantage, had like to have ſlain him. But miſſing his aim, he fell by the hand of David, aſſiſted by Abiſhai, although the head of his ſpear weighed three hundred ſhekels of braſs (Y), and although he was extraordinarily appointed (Z) for war. A ſecond battle was fought near a place called Gob, wherein Saph, another ſon of Goliath, was ſlain by Sibbechai the Huſhathite. A third battle they fought at Gob alſo, and Goliath's brother, the ſtaff of whoſe ſpear was like a weaver's beam, fell by the valorous might of Jaare-oregim a Beth-lehemite. From this laſt place the war was transferred into the territory of Gath; and in this fourth battle, another ſon of Goliath, who had ſix fingers upon each hand, and ſix toes upon each foot, did, upon imitation of his father, challenge the whole army of Iſrael to ſend out one of their number to fight him, and was brought down by the hands of Jonathan the brother of David. The Philiſtines, thus exhauſted of their gigantic brood, or perceiving that their mighty ſtature and ſtrength ſtood them in no manner of ſtead, refrained from a further proſecution of the war they had ſo obſtinately maintained,

(X) Joſephus (60) calls him Amchon.

(Y) To judge of him by the weight of his ſpear, he was not of much above half the ſtrength and ſtature of Goliath, the head of whoſe ſpear, as we have noted (61), weighed ſix hundred ſhekels, or twenty-two of our pounds Troy; whereas this man's weighed but three hundred ſhekels, or eleven of the ſame pounds.

(Z) The words of the text are obſcure; it ſays, he was girded with a new ſword:——— Joſephus (62) ſays only, that he had his ſword by his ſide. Of all the expoſitions we have ſeen, we approve of that moſt, which gueſſes that his ſword was made on purpoſe for him (63), to ſuit his ſtrength, which ſurpaſſed that of an ordinary man.

(60) Antiq. c. 10.
(61) See before in the Notes, p. 249.
(62) Ubi ſupr. 16.
(63) Vide Cleric. in 2 Sam. xxi.

in ſpite of the frowns of fortune, in three ſucceſſive conflicts, before this laſt [b].

FROM henceforward the affairs of this people are more ſlightly touched on; whence it may be argued, that they ſuffered a decay; and accordingly we are told, that their horn was broken aſunder by theſe unfortunate wars with David [c], who now made them tributaries to his throne, as we ſhall ſee anon (A); though on the other hand it may be alſo concluded, that having ſo often, and to ſo little purpoſe, engaged themſelves in bloody and deſtructive wars, they grew wiſer, and rather applied themſelves to commerce and the advancement of their nation that way (B). And hence it may be, that we find their country open to the Iſraelites in the beginning of Solomon's reign, Achiſh the ſon of Maachah then reigning at Gath; who, whether he is the ſame Achiſh who was ſo kind to David,

[b] Ibid. xxi. 15—22. [c] See Eccleſiaſt. xlvii. 7.

(A) According to Joſephus (64), this was the laſt battle they had with the Hebrews, never daring to look them in the face again; which muſt be one of his miſtakes.

(B) We the rather think after this manner, it being pretty evident, that they had been increaſed ſome years ago by the fugitive Edomites (65), who brought with them their ſuperior ſkill in commercial and nautical affairs; not that the Philiſtines were wholly ignorant therein till the Edomites came among them; but it is now likely they applied themſelves thereto much more than ever, and that they were greatly improved therein. Sir Iſaac Newton (66) reckons, that they took Sidon by the advice and aſſiſtance of the Edomites, thereby, it is likely, meaning to extend their trade, which they had now chiefly at heart, by deſtroying ſo dangerous a rival. He alſo (67) ſuppoſes this to have fallen out in the reign of David; for he obſerves, that in Solomon's reign the Zidonians, though ſettled at Tyre, had not yet loſt their name. We read in Juſtin (68), that Sidon was expugned by the Philiſtines; though he ſeems to miſtake, in ſaying it was done by the king of Aſcalon; for we do not read of a king of that place any where elſe. Remembering the ſtory of the Syrian goddeſs Derceto, who was metamorphoſed here (69), the Greeks and Romans may have conſidered the city of Askalon as the metropolis of Palæſtine; whence we find the king of Palæſtine placed in that city by Trogus, whom Juſtin epitomizes.

(64) Ubi ſupr. (65) See before, p. 165. and in the notes, and p. 224. (66) Chronol. of anc. Kingd. amended, p. 104, 105. (67) Ubi ſupr. (68) l. 18. c. 3. (69) See before, p. 221.

David, we muſt not hope to determine, though commentators are divided upon it, probably he was not [d].

MANY years after theſe wars, the Philiſtines were haraſſed by Nadab [e] king of Iſrael, who laid ſiege to a city of theirs, called Gibbethon; which city was again beſieged by Elah king of Iſrael [f], ſome years afterwards; for it belonged to their kingdom, though the Philiſtines finding it deſerted by the Levites [g], ſeized on it, and kept it, notwithſtanding theſe ſeveral efforts to tear it from them; the kingdom of Iſrael at this time being in great diſtraction.

BUT, notwithſtanding this their obſtinacy againſt the kings of Iſrael, they afterwards courted the favour of Jehoſhaphat king of Judah, by a voluntary payment of the tribute [h], which had been, as we may hence conclude, impoſed on them by their conqueror David (C); and which, it ſeems, they had neglected to pay to ſome of Jehoſhaphat's predeceſſors, as this ſtory plainly enough inſinuates, and as will be further confirmed by what follows.

FOR they rebelled againſt Jehoram the ſon of Jehoſhaphat, and brake into his kingdom, and in the end rifled his palace of all the wealth they there found; and even extended their rage againſt him, to the cruel butchery of all his houſe, except Athaliah and her ſon Ahaziah, who, ſome how or other, eſcaped. At this time we alſo gather, that they carried off a great number of captives, ſome of whom they ſold to the Edomites [i], next to themſelves, the worſt enemies the Iſraelites had; and ſome to the Grecians [k], thereby ſending them ſo far from home, that they could have but little or no chance of ſeeing their native country again. This their extraordinary ſucceſs may have been brought to paſs either by the conjunctive, or diſtant co-operation of the Arabians, who made war at the ſame time upon Jehoram [l].

WHENCESOEVER their ſucceſs aroſe, it in the end proved a very unfortunate affair to them. They were in-

[d] 1 Kings ii. 39. [e] Ibid. xv. 27. [f] Ibid. xvi. 15. [g] 2 Chron. xi. 14. [h] Ibid. xvii. 11. [i] Amos i. 6. [k] Joel iii. 6. [l] 2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17.

(C) Joſephus (70) calls it their accuſtomed tribute, and it can have been no body but David himſelf that impoſed it on them.

(70) Antiq. l. 8. c. 9.

vaded by Uzziah king of Judah, who dismantled Gath, and Jabneh, and Ashdod, and reared cities of strength among them to awe them, and keep them in subjection [m]; which must greatly have broken their spirits, and have brought them low.

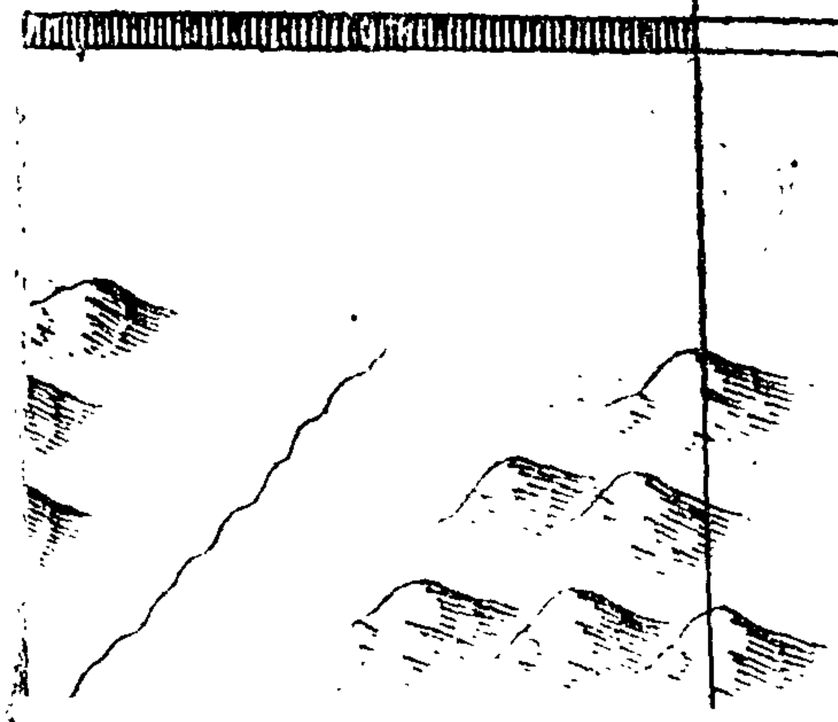
THEY groaned under this fearful blow all the days of Uzziah, we may suppose, and, perhaps, all the days of Jotham; but in the reign of Ahaz, they perceived the crazy state of the kingdom of Judah; and, observing the opportunity to be favourable, they took up arms again. They warred against Ahaz with a success which made ample amends for their sufferings by Uzziah his grandfather; reducing the cities of Beth-shemesh, Ajalon, Gedoroth, Shocho, Timna, and Gimzo, and the several territories thereunto belonging, and there settled themselves, thereby adding a large portion of the kingdom of Judah to their own country [*].

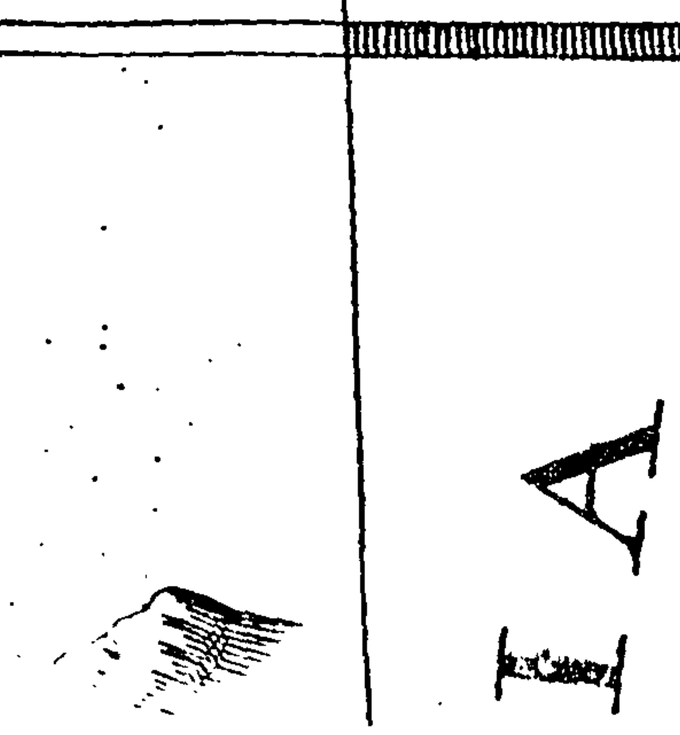
THUS did the Philistines rather more than reinstate themselves; but this fine acquisition was a very short time in their hands. They were immediately after this conquest admonished not to rejoice, because the rod of him that smote them was broken: *for that out of the serpent's root should come forth a cockatrice .... which should dissolve their whole country* [n]. And this was severely fulfilled on them by Hezekiah the son of Ahaz, whom they had conquered; for Hezekiah, as we understand it, over-ran their whole country [o], and forced ample retribution of all sorts from them. This, though it had been, alone, a very grievous oppression on them, they saw, almost at the same time the Assyrians among them, in the reign of Sennacherib, who sent his general Tartan to reduce them. Their city Ashdod was besieged accordingly, and taken by Tartan [†]; and thus successively were they broken, almost without any intermission.

AND now the burthen of their final extinction comes heavily upon them. By their subjection to the Assyrians, their liberties departed entirely from them; and, what was worse, their country became the seat of a long and obstinate war. For Psammitichus king of Egypt beholding the vast progress of the Assyrian power, grew jealous and apprehensive, that Egypt might share the fate of its neighbours; and therefore, to be as timely in his opposition

[m] Ibid. xxvi. 6.
[o] 2 Kings xviii. 8.
[*] Ibid. xxviii. 18.
[†] Isai. xx. 1.
[n] Isa. xiv. 29—31.

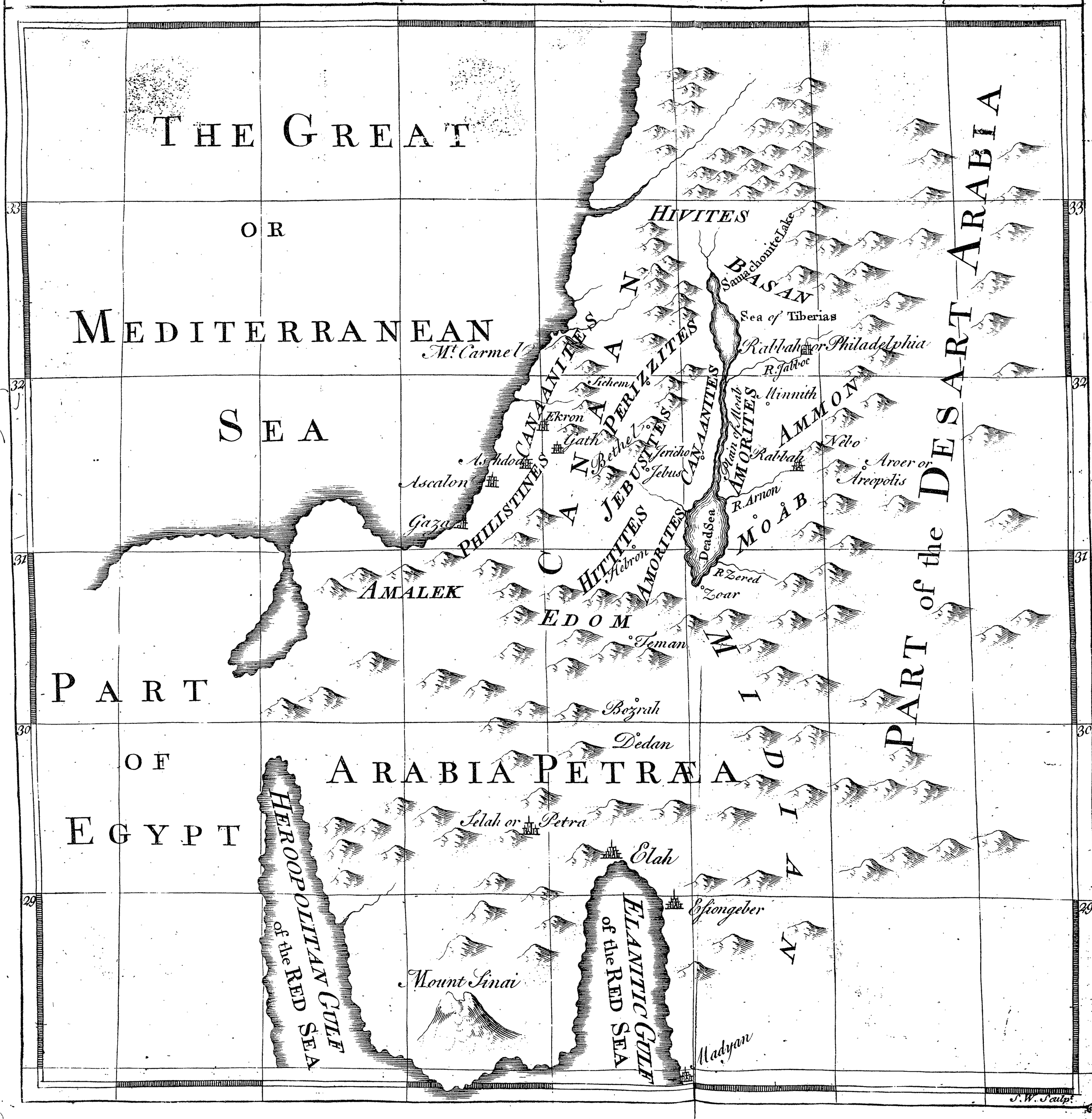
ıtes, Moabites, Ammonites, Midian-
)REN *of* ISRAEL, *according to this* History





Vol I. Place this opposite top. 358.

A MAP *of the Divisions & Situations of the Tribes of the* Canaanites, Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Edomites, Amalekites, *&c. before & at the time of the* Exodus *of the* CHILDREN *of* ISRAEL, *according to this* History



S. W. Sculpt.

ſition as he could, he undertook to drive the Aſſyrians out of Paleſtine. To this purpoſe he particularly laid ſiege to Aſhdod, or Azotus; but he was twenty nine years before that place ere he could reduce it [p]: during all which time it cannot be doubted, but that the country ſighed under all the calamities uſual in ſuch caſes.

FROM henceforward they were tributary to the great monarchies, as they ſucceeded each other. In the beginning of this ſervitude they were miſerably haraſſed by the Egyptians, who, willing to make their barrier as ſtrong as poſſible againſt the dreaded invader, laid hands on all they could of this country, and, particularly, took Gaza from them [q].

AFTER this we read of a king of Gaza [r]; concerning which we have nothing to add, nor have we ought elſe to relate concerning this people. What in the end became of them will be beſt learned from the threats of the prophets, and particularly Zephaniah, who paints their deſtruction in very lively and natural colours (D): *Gaza ſhall be forſaken, and Aſkelon a deſolation: they ſhall drive out Aſhdod at the noon day, and Ekron ſhall be rooted up. Woe unto the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts, the nation of the Cherethites: the word of the Lord is againſt you: O Canaan, the land of the Philiſtines, I will deſtroy thee, that there ſhall be no inhabitant; and the ſea-coaſt ſhall be dwellings and cottages for ſhepherds, and folds for flocks* [s].

[p] Herodot. l. 2. c. 157. [q] Jerem. xlvii. [r] Zach. ix. 5.
[s] Zephan. xi. 4—6. See alſo Joel iii. Amos i. Jerem. xlvii. Ezek. xxv. Zach. ubi ſupr.

(D) Here it is worth obſerving, that Gath is omitted, as if already deſtroyed, as it doubtleſs was, being moſt obnoxious to the enemy, as it was the royal ſeat of this turbulent people; and as it was a key to, and a curb upon, the whole country (71). Hence therefore it muſt have been, that the throne of this kingdom was removed to Gaza; but to purſue this point any further were time loſt.

(71) See before in the Notes, p. 256.

CHAP. V.

The History of the ancient Syrians.

SECT. I.

A Description of Syria.

Its names.

SYRIA is in Hebrew Aram, ſo named from Aram, the youngeſt ſon of Shem. This Hebrew name is of very wide extent; perhaps, of little leſs than the Greek name Syria; at leaſt it included what we now call Syria and Meſopotamia, which is the Aram Naharaim, or Syria of the two rivers [a].

ARAM then is its firſt and genuine name; how it came to be called Syria is variouſly ſaid. Some [b] derive it from one Syrus, who ſprung from the earth (A). Others [c] from Syrus, the ſon of Agenor. Other thoughts there are upon this ſubject; but the moſt certain opinion is, that Syria is a contraction of Aſſyria [d], and that the ancients uſually confounded them together (B).

AUTHORS are not agreed upon the exact bounds of this country, becauſe they conſider it at different times, when its name was more or leſs famous, and its empire more or leſs ample. But, confining ourſelves to the proper Syria, we may venture to ſet bounds to it and determine its dimenſions. It lay between the Mediterranean on the weſt, and the river Euphrates on the eaſt; and between mount Taurus on the north, and Arabia the deſart,

[a] See before, Vol. I. p. 460. [b] African. apud Syncell. p. 150. [c] Chronic. Alexandr. p. 101. [d] Vide Herodot. l. 7. c. 63. Juſt. l. 1. c. 2.

(A) Perhaps this fabulous account may have taken birth from an ancient tradition, which ſtill obtains in the country, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, that Adam was created in Syria.

(B) Mr. Selden, in his Prolegomena to his Syrian gods, has dwelt on this point, to whom we refer our reader, who would be thoroughly informed and convinced thereof. We ſhall only add, that Lucian (8), who was himſelf a Syrian of Samoſata, calls himſelf an Aſſyrian.

(8) De Dea Syr. p. 1.

ſart, Paleſtine, and Phœnice on the ſouth. And this tract extends from the thirty ſecond to the thirty ſeventh degree of north latitude, and from the fifty eighth to the ſixty ſecond degree of longitude. Its length from north to ſouth three hundred ſeventy five miles; its breadth from eaſt to weſt three hundred miles.

Its diviſions.

SYRIA, in ancient times, has been very variouſly divided. At firſt, we may be ſure, it was parcelled out into endleſs little kingdoms and juriſdictions. In after-times it ſeems to have been divided into four principal ones, Zobah, Damaſcus, Hamath, and Geſhur. Theſe were the principal diviſions; the reſt we find in ſcripture, ſuch as Beth-rehob, Iſhtob, Maacha, were ſubdiviſions, as we think. Afterwards the whole country was divided into two parts only, though the Phœnicians, Idumeans, Jews, Gazites, and Azotites, or the whole country of the Philiſtines, were included, which two parts were Cœle-Syria and Phœnice [e]. After the death of Alexander, Syria in the great extent of its name was thus divided, Commagene, Seleucis of Syria, Cœle-Syria, Phœnice on the ſea-coaſt, and Judea in the midland. This is Strabo's diviſion; but Ptolemy ſubdivides theſe, and in the proper Syria only, reckons Commagene, Pieria, Cyrriſtica or Cyrrheſtica, Seleucis, Caſſiotis or Caſiotis, Chalybonitis, Chalcidice or Chalcidene, Apamene, Laodicene, Phœnicia, Mediterranea, Cœle-Syria, and Palmyrene.

Commagene.

To follow the diviſion of Ptolemy; Commagene, or Comagene, had on the weſt mount Amanus; on the north part of mount Taurus; on the eaſt it was waſhed by the Euphrates; but on the ſouth, whether it was conterminous with Seleucis, or Cyrrheſtica, or with both, is uncertain. It was the north corner of Syria. The chief cities of this province were Samoſata upon the Euphrates, Antiochia ad Taurum, or the foot of Taurus, and Germanicia; theſe and other cities and eminent places ſtood within this compaſs, once flouriſhing and magnificent, but now obliterated and in ruins.

Seleucis, Pieria and Caſiotis.

THE maritime Seleucis contained Pieria and Caſiotis, which were ſubdiviſions thereof; the firſt lying to the north, and the laſt to the ſouth. Within theſe limits ſtood Alexandria upon the Sinus Iſſicus, Seleucia, Pieria upon the Mediterranean, and Laodicea upon the ſame.

[e] Strabo, l. 16.

Seleucis Mediterranea. IN the inland or Mediterranean Seleucis, ſtood the famous Antioch upon the Orontes. Theſe two Seleucides are by Mela and Pliny called Antiochene.

Apamene. APAMENE lay to the eaſtward of Caſiotis, and had Apamea, at leaſt half ſurrounded by the Orontes, for its chief town.

Cyrrheſtica. CYRRHESTICA was a province upon the Euphrates, Cyrrhus, or Cyrus, was the capital of this part of Syria. Here alſo ſtood a famous city called Hierapolis, Bambyce, and by the Syrians Magog [f], where the Syrian goddeſs was worſhipped.

Chalcidine. CHALCIDINE was wholly an inland province, nor bordered either upon the Mediterranean ſea, or the Euphrates, and had Chalcis for its capital. It was ſurrounded by Antiochene or Seleucis on the weſt; by Cyrrheſtica on the north; by Chalybonitis on the eaſt; and by Apamene and Cœle-Syria on the ſouth.

Chalybonitis. ON the eaſt of Chalcidine lay Chalybonitis on the Euphrates; its chief city Chalybon.

Palmyrene. PALMYRENE was a ſpacious and fertile province in the midſt of a frightful deſart to the ſouth of Chalybonitis; waſhed on the eaſt by the river Euphrates; once ſtored with great cities; all of which are quite periſhed but their metropolis Palmyra; which, though now as much a deſart as that which ſurrounds, and divides it from the reſt of the nations, is yet deſervedly reckoned one of the wonders of our preſent world.

Cœle-Syria. THERE is no reconciling the antient geographers, ſo as to be able to determine the bounds of what they mean by Cœle-Syria; but before all of them we prefer Strabo, who tells us, that Cœle-Syria was the vale between Libanus and Anti-Libanus; which, however the name may have been extended, was undoubtedly the proper Cœle-Syria and Syria Cava, which we take to have been the ſame. The principal cities of this part are Heliopolis, now Balbek, which we ſhall have occaſion to reſume hereafter, and Damaſcus, now Sham, as is commonly and inaccurately ſaid, which, lying eaſtward of Anti-Libanus, cannot be immediately reckoned into the proper Cœle-Syria.

Laodicene. WE know not how to fix the place of Laodicene. It may have been a part of the proper Cœle-Syria. Its chief city was Laodicea Cabioſa, or ad Libanum.

OF

[f] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 5. c. 19, 23.

Of the Phœnicia Mediterranea we ſhall ſpeak in the next chapter.

Other Diviſions.

Under the Roman empire, the proper Syria was divided into Comagena or Euphratenſis, Syria, Palmyrena or Syria Salutaris, Phœnicia Libani or Libaneſia, Libaniſia, and Libanuſia, as we think. The Arabs reckon Paleſtine into Syria on the one hand, and even Cilicia on the other, and call it Shâm, and Abu'lfeda divides the whole into five Junds, or provinces, the Kinneſryne, the Hemeſene, the Damaſcene, the Jordanitic, and the Paleſtine.

Climate and Fertility.

The climate of Syria is happy, if any be ſo, and its fertility ſo great, that it may be juſtly ſtiled a pleaſant garden almoſt throughout. We ſhall not here enter into a detail of its productions, which are many, noble, uſeful, and delicious. It abounds with ſufficient of all things, both for the profit and delight of man. It is moſtly a plain country, and for the moſt part covered over with a deep and rich ſoil. In ſhort, it yields to no ſpot on earth, that lies under the ſame happy parallel.

Rivers.

The rivers of this country, that we ſhall take notice of, are the Orontes (B), the largeſt of them all, a turbid, rapid ſtream, with waters not fit to drink, and fiſh unfit to eat* ; and the Barrady, formerly the Chryſorrhoas, which ruſhing from Anti-Libanus down to Damaſcus, is there divided into endleſs ſtreams for the ſupply and decoration of that city ; whence recollecting at ſome diſtance, it ſoon loſes itſelf in a bog[g]. The rivers Abana and Pharpar muſt have been only branches (C) of this.

Things

* See Maundrell's Journey from Alepp. to Jeruſ. p. 4. [g] Maundrell's Voyage from Aleppo to Jeruſalem, p. 123.

(B) This river, according to Strabo (1), diſappeared at a place called Charybdis, between Apamea and Antioch ; and after haveing run five miles under ground, appeared again. In the ſame author (2) alſo there is a fabulous tradition concerning the origin of this river, as that Typhon, in his flight, furrowed up the earth, and formed the canal ; that he was thunder-ſtruck at the fountain-head of this river, and that his going down was the cauſe of the ſpring which riſes there. They feigned him to be a huge dragon. This may be added to the fabulous accounts we have already given of Typhon's exit (3).

(C) Radziville (4), the Palatine of Wilna, tells us roundly of the rivers Abana and Pharpar, which watered the city of Damaſcus

(1) l. 6. p. 275. (2) l. 16. p. 750. (3) See before, p. 11. & ſeq. (4) Peregrin. Jeroſolym. Epiſt. 2. p. 31.

Natural Rarities.

THINGS more particularly remarkable in this country are the two valleys of salt, the one within four hours of Aleppo [h], the other in the neighbourhood of Palmyra [i], which shoot forth that mineral in surprizing abundance; the soil to a considerable depth being strongly impregnated therewith, as is said of the valley near Aleppo; and as might, doubtless, have been said of the other, had tryal thereof been made. The medicinal waters also in and about Palmyra, and in several other parts of Palmyrene [k], might claim our attention, were this a proper place. Among the remarkables of this country we may also reckon the few cedars which are now standing upon Lebanon, or Libanus. They are near a christian monastery, called Canobine, about ten hours journey from Tripoli. They stand in the midst of snow

[h] Idem ibid. sub fine. [i] Philosophical Transact. Numb. 217. p. 83. [k] Ibid. p. 103, 104.

cus, when he was there, which is about one hundred and fifty years ago, and that they were unnavigable, but full of fish, and streamed down to it from the mountain Chrizoroa, which should have been written Chrysorrhoas, the Greek name of the river which watered Damascus, and not of any mountain there. Thevenot. who was so curious and minute an observer of every thing in and about Damascus, never once mentions the rivers Abana and Pharpar; but tells us (3) of three rivers that water Damascus, and meet at the end of the town; one of which, in the chapter following, he calls Banias. There is no footstep of the names Abana and Pharpar * among the best Arabian geographers. Abu'lfeda tells us, that the stream which supplies Damascus, comes out of a cavern on the west side of the city, and immediately divides; which is so exactly Dr. Maundrell's (4) description of this water, that they very abundantly confirm each other. This last traveller could not so much as find any memory of the names of Abana and Pharpar, and supposes they must have been branches of this river Barrady, which comes out of the rock. And, as he so nicely agrees with Abu'lfeda in the approach of this river to Damascus, he does the same with Thevenot in its departure therefrom; they both agreeing, that its divided streams meet again on the other side of the town. Dr. Maundrell then in this case may be safely relied on, in what he says of this remarkable stream.

(3) Travels to the Levant, Part 2. Book 1. c. 4. * Vide Alber. Schult. Comment. Geograph. in vit. Salad ad vocem Damascus. (4) Journey from Alep. to Jerus. p. 122.

ſnow (D), near the higheſt part of Libanus, or Lebanon. Of the old ones, which are very large, there are only ſixteen, but young ones of a leſſer growth there are in great numbers. One of the largeſt of the former being meaſured, was found to be twelve yards ſix inches in girt, yet perfectly ſound, and the ſpread of its branches was thirty ſeven yards in circumference :* and about five or ſix yards from the ground it divided itſelf into five limbs, each equal to a great tree [1]. Another traveller *, who was alſo on the ſpot, tells us, that the largeſt he meaſured was, towards the middle of the trunk, ſeven foot wanting two inches round, at the ſame time that he reckons the ſpread of its boughs one hundred and twenty foot about. In which laſt dimenſion, agreeing ſo nearly with what is ſaid before of the ſame, there muſt be a monſtrous ſlip of the pen, or overſight of the preſs, either in this or the former account; for the difference between ſeven foot and twelve yards is quite ſurprizing. But the difference between theſe travellers goes on: the latter ſays, the largeſt of the cedars had not a trunk above ſix or ſeven foot high out of the ground, which falls moſt unaccountably ſhort of what has been juſt now ſaid upon that point: and yet this author [De la Roque] talks of the enormity of the trunks of theſe trees, and of the prodigious branches which part therefrom; which is throwing away great words very improperly, if he is not moſt

[1] Maundrell ubi ſupr. p. 142. * De La Roque, Voyage de Syrie, tome I. p. 88.

(D) Rauwolf, who viſited theſe cedars about midſummer, complains of the rigor of the cold and the ſnows here. Radziville, who was here in June, about five years after him, talks of the ſnow that never melts away from theſe mountains. Other travellers talk to the ſame purpoſe; among whom our Maundrell repreſents the cedars ſtanding in the midſt of ſnow; but he was there in the month of May. From all this we might have formed a judgment, that the cedars ſtand always in the midſt of ſnow: but we are aſſured of the contrary by another traveller (5), according to whom the ſnows here begin to melt in April, and are no more to be ſeen after July; nor is, ſays he, any at all left, but in ſuch clefts of the mountains which the ſun cannot come at: that the ſnow begins not to fall again till December, and that he himſelf, when he was here, ſaw no ſnow at all; and it is probable, that he ſpeaks nothing but the truth.

(5) De la Roque Voyage de Syrie, Tome I. p. 89.

moſt egregiouſly out in the dimenſions he gives us, which are ſo triffling, that they cannot deſerve admiration in any degree. This, though a digreſſion of ſuch a kind as is unfit to find a place in a work of this nature, we hope we ſhall be excuſed in, meaning thereby only to obviate what might be objected, by ſome, to the diſcredit of a very ſincere traveller of our own nation (E). 'It will not be expected of us to give an accurate deſcription of this noble tree; therefore we ſhall only ſay, that it bears a narrow leaf, of a ſad green, together with a cone like that of the pine-tree, but darker, and of a ſmoother coat. As theſe cedars ſpread out extremely with a broad flat head, which is compared to the top of an umbrella, the weight of the ſnow that might lodge upon them at certain ſeaſons, would break down their branches: but, to prevent this, they are reported to have the extraordinary faculty of preparing themſelves againſt ſo deſtructive a danger, by ſtretching their branches upwards till they form a cone; thereby exhibiting the ſmalleſt ſurface poſſible to the heavens, and by that means preſerving themſelves from ruin [m]. Theſe cedars of Lebanon making ſo noble a figure in the books of the Old Teſtament, and having been anciently the pride of this country, we could not well ſay leſs than we have concerning the few of them left, which are held in ſuch veneration

[m] De la Roque ubi ſupr. p. 90, 91.

(E) We cannot forbear obſerving, that there ſeems to be almoſt as great a difference concerning theſe cedars between Rauwolf (6) and Radziville (7); who viſited them about a century and a half ago. The former reckons the largeſt cedars at ſeveral fathoms in circumference. The latter ſays, they were handſome proper trees, with wide ſpreading branches, like the trees the Poles call Modrzew; he does not raiſe the admiration at all. But the truth of it is, Mr. de la Roque muſt be excuſed, if he does deceive us by leſſening the cedars ſo much. It is not his own voyage, though he ſets his name to it, which is ſomewhat odd. He is no more than editor of this, as well as of other voyages under his name, which were really and properly Monſ. le Chevalier d' Arvieux's. To prove that it muſt be his miſtake, we ſhall only recur to the memoirs of the miſſionaries (8) in the Levant, where a jeſuit, who meaſured the largeſt of theſe cedars, tells us, it was in girt ſix fathoms, which ſquare very well with Maundrell's twelve yards.

(6) Ray's Collect. of Voyages ubi ſupra. (7) Peregrin Jeroſolym. ubi ſupr. (8) Tome IV. p. 358.

ration by the inhabitants in theſe parts, that nothing can be added thereto (F).

As we have been ſo particular in deſcribing the Egyptian monuments of antiquity; we cannot paſs over the chief, at leaſt, of thoſe which are to be found in this country, which, in the judgment of many, may be thought no way inferior to any thing of the kind in Egypt. Who founded the noble edifices, whoſe remains we ſhall have here occaſion to deſcribe, is quite uncertain; but nothing is more probable, than that they were not erected under any of the princes in the enſuing hiſtory, they being in the moſt correct ſtile of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Upon this account we might be taxed with irregularity in introducing them into a period, when they had no being, had we not this for our excuſe; that being quite in the dark, as to the time when they were built, we may as well ſpeak of them here as any where elſe. Artificial Rarities.

Though there are many noble veſtiges of the magnificence of Syria, ſcattered up and down the country, both Pagan and Chriſtian, we ſhall dwell on two only; Balbek, formerly Heliopolis as is commonly ſuppoſed, and Palymyra, or Tadmor in the wilderneſs.

Balbek, or Balbeck, is mentioned by the Arabians as the wonder of Syria, (G); and ſuch of our European travellers The fine Ruins at Heliopolis, now Balbek.

(F) We are told (9), that at the foot of the largeſt of theſe cedars are four ſtone altars: That upon the day of the transfiguration, the patriarch of the Maronites repairs to them, attended by a number of biſhops, prieſts, and monks; and followed by five or ſix thouſand of their religion from all parts; and that under theſe trees they celebrate that feſtival, which they miſcal the feaſt of cedars. By another it is added, that the patriarch officiates pontifically upon this ſolemn occaſion; that they are particularly mindful of the bleſſed Virgin upon this day; becauſe the ſcripture compares her to the cedars of Lebanon; and that the ſame holy father threatens, with his church thunderbolts, thoſe who preſume to hurt or diminiſh them.

(G) The Arabian geographical lexicographer, cited by Schultens, in his geographical commentary (11), at the end of his edition of Soltân Salah'addin's life, ſays; Balbek is a city of three days journey from Damaſcus, where are wonderful foundations and magnificent veſtiges of antiquity, and palaces of marble columns, ſuch

(9) Ibid. (10) De la Roque ubi ſupr. p. 87, 89. (11) Ad vocem Balbecum.

vellers as have visited it, are so charmed with what they there behold, that they are at a loss how to express their admiration. On the south-west of the town, which stands in a delightful plain on the west foot of Anti-Libanus, is a heathen temple, together with the remains of some other edifices; among the rest a palace of a true magnificence. These ancient structures have been patched and pieced in later times, and converted into a castle, as it is called.

The Rotunda.

As you draw near to these venerable ruins, you meet with a rotunda, or round pile of building, incircled with pillars of the Corinthian order, which support a cornish that runs all round the structure; the whole of great elegance and stateliness, but now in a very tottering condition [n]. It is mostly of marble, and, though round on the outside, is an octogon within; being withinside adorned with eight arches, supported by eight Corinthian columns, each of one single piece. It is now open at top, but appears to have been covered with a shell, and to have been much embellished with the figures of eagles. The Greeks, who have converted this lovely round into a church, have barbarously spoiled the beauty of the inside, by daubing it over with plaster [o]. Leaving this, you come to a large, firm, and very lofty pile of building, which has the air of an adjectitious work; and through this pile you pass into a noble arched walk, or portico, one hundred and fifty paces long, which leads you to the temple.

The great temple.

This temple has, to a miracle, resisted the injuries of time, and the madness of superstition, being as good as entire. It is an oblong square, in its general form and proportion exactly like St. Paul's Covent-Garden; but for magnificence of structure and dimension, there is scarce any comparison, this temple being almost as big again every way. Its length on the outside is one hundred ninety two foot, and its breadth ninety-six [p]. Its length within side is one hundred and twenty foot, and its breadth sixty. The pronaos, or anti-temple, took up fifty-four foot of the hundred and ninety, but is now tumbled down, and the pillars

[n] Maundrell ubi supr. p. 135. [o] La Roque ubi supr. p. 152.
[p] Maundrell ubi supr.

such as in the whole world are no where else to be seen. And Abúlfeda; at Balbek are palaces of hewn stone with most lofty columns; nor is there in all Syria any stone structure more admirable or magnificent.

pillars which ſupported it are broken. The whole body of this temple, as it now ſtands, is ſurrounded with a noble portico, ſupported by pillars of the Corinthian order, ſix foot three inches in diameter, about fifty-four in height (H), and each of three ſtones apiece. Their diſtance from each other, and from the wall of the temple, is nine foot. There are fourteen of them on each ſide of the temple, and eight at each end, counting the corner pillars in each number. The architrave and corniſh, which are ſupported all round by theſe pillars, are exquiſitely carved. And as you walk round this temple, between its wall and the pillars which go round it, you have, overhead, a ſolid arcade all the way, of great ſtones hollowed out arch-wiſe; in the center of which is a god, a goddeſs, or a heroe (I), ſtruck out with that life that is not to be conceived [q]; and all round the foot of the wall of the temple itſelf is a double border of marble, the loweſt parts of which is a continued baſs-relief in miniature, expreſſing heathen myſteries and ceremonies; where, without any confuſion, you ſee a ſurprizing mixture of men and beaſts, in the moſt happy compoſition, and moſt agreeable variety [r].

HAVING thus deſcribed the outſide of this temple, we will proceed to the inſide; but let us firſt take a view of the entrance, than which nothing can be more auguſt. The aſcent to it is by thirty ſteps, on each ſide bounded by a wall, which terminates in a pedeſtal, on which formerly ſtood a ſtatue, as may be ſafely ſuppoſed. The front is compoſed of

[q] Idem ibid. [r] De la Roque ubi ſupr. p. 138, 147.

(H) Theſe fifty-four are French feet, which, according to Maundrell, ought to be but forty-five Engliſh, which is a very great difference. The French author viewed this place for a fortnight together, whereas our Engliſh traveller was ſcarce here a day; ſo that the former may be chiefly relied on in moſt particulars, and accordingly we have adhered chiefly to him; though they both agree very well, conſidering, that the one was a tranſitory, the other a conſtant, obſerver, as we may call them. Beſides, in this caſe the thing ſpeaks itſelf; for, according to our mean ſkill in architecture, a Corinthian pillar, whoſe diameter is ſix foot, in which they both agree, will require at leaſt fifty foot of height to appear with any manner of elegance and delicacy.

(I) An emperor, or an empreſs, ſays de la Roque (12); but in this we chuſe to rely on Maundrell's judgment.

(12) Ubi ſupr. p. 148.

of eight Corinthian pillars, as we have already said, fluted, as are all the rest that go round the temple, and an ample and nobly proportioned triangular pediment. Within these eight pillars, at the distance of about six foot, are four others like the two former, and two pillars of three faces each, that terminate the walls of the temple, which come out a good way from the body of the temple itself. All these form a porch or portico before the door of the temple, in depth about twenty four foot, and in breadth sixty odd. Through these pillars appears the door of the temple, under the vault of the portico; but it there appears with great majesty, and without the least confusion; so nice are the proportions of the pillars, their distance from each other, and the recess of the door itself. The door-case or portal is square, and of marble, in proportion and construction just like the great marble portal at the west end of St. Paul's, but far richer in sculpture, and larger, if we mistake not. The whole height of it is about forty foot, and its whole width about twenty eight, with an opening of about twenty foot wide [s]. You are no sooner got under this portal, but, looking up, you see the bottom of the lintel, enriched with a piece of sculpture, which has scarce its equal in the world. It is a vast eagle in bass-relief, expanding his wings, and carrying a caduceus in his pounce; and on each hand of him is a fame [t], or cupid [u]. These, each of them, support the one end of a festoon by a string or ribbon, the other being held in the eagle's beak on each hand, inimitably fine [w].

When you are got withinside of the temple, you find it divided into three isles, two narrow on the sides, and one broad in the middle, after the manner of our churches, being formed by two rows of fluted Corinthian pillars, of between three and four foot diameter, and in height, including the pedestal, about thirty six. These pillars are twelve in number, six on a side, at the distance of about eighteen foot from each other, and about twelve from the walls of the temple. The walls are adorned with two rows or orders of pilasters one over another, and between each two of the lowermost is a round nich about fifteen foot high. The bottom of the niches is upon a level with the bases of the pillars, and the wall to that height is wrought in the proportions of a Corinthian pedestal,

[s] Idem ubi supr. p. 136. [t] Maundrell ubi supr. [u] De la Roque ubi supr. p. 137. [w] Idem ibid.

ſtal, and the niches themſelves are Corinthian in all their parts, with the ſtricteſt preciſion and niceſt delicacy. Over theſe round niches are a row of ſquare ones, between the pilaſters of the upper order: the ornaments belonging to them are all marble, and they are each crowned with a triangular pediment (K). Towards the weſt end of the middle iſle you aſcend to a choir, as it is called, by thirteen ſteps, which are the whole breadth of this part in length. This choir is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the temple by two large ſquare columns adorned with pilaſters, which form a noble entrance, exactly correſponding with that of the temple itſelf. Here is a great profuſion of aſtoniſhing ſculpture; but the architecture is the ſame here as in the body of the temple, except that the pillars have no pedeſtals, and the niches ſtand upon the pavement [x]. The two large ſquare pillars, which ſo remarkably diſtinguiſh this part of the temple, are thought to have ſupported a canopy; but nothing of that kind is to be ſeen now. In the bottom of this choir, is a vaſt marble nich, where ſtood the principal deity here worſhipped. In this choir are ſeen the moſt finely imagined ſculptures, feſtoons, birds, flowers, fruits; and fine baſs-reliefs, neptunes, tritons, fiſhes, ſea-gods, Arion and his dolphin, and other marine figures [y]. The cieling, or vault, of this temple is bold, and divided into compartments filled with excellent carvings. It is open towards the middle; but whether a cupola or lanthorn ſtood there for the admiſſion of light, or whether it was always open, cannot be judged at this diſtance of time [z]. In a word, the charming ſymmetry, the correct taſte, and the height wherewith all the carvings are finiſhed, even at ſuch elevations, where ſuch niceneſs is thought unneceſſary, are ſuch, that it may be truly ſaid, the whole pile is faultleſs, and without the leaſt blemiſh. The whole ſtands upon vaults of ſuch excellent architecture, and ſo bold a turn, that it is thought they

[x] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 140—142. De la Roque ubi ſupr. p. 143.

[y] Maundrell ubi. ſupr.

[z] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 144, 145.

(K) In the draught Maundrell (13) has given us of the inſide of this temple, the upper and the lower niches are exactly alike, both round: this is a remarkable difference; but which way to reconcile them we know not.

(13) Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſ.

they ſerved for ſomething more than meerly the ſupport of the ſuperincumbent weight, and may have been a ſubterraneous temple, applied to ſome particular ſervice in the Pagan worſhip. And, though this temple now ſtands by itſelf, there are evident marks, that it was accompanied by other buildings, no way unworthy of it; among which are reckoned four different aſcents to it, one upon each angle, with marble ſteps ſo long, that eight or ten perſons may go up abreaſt [a].

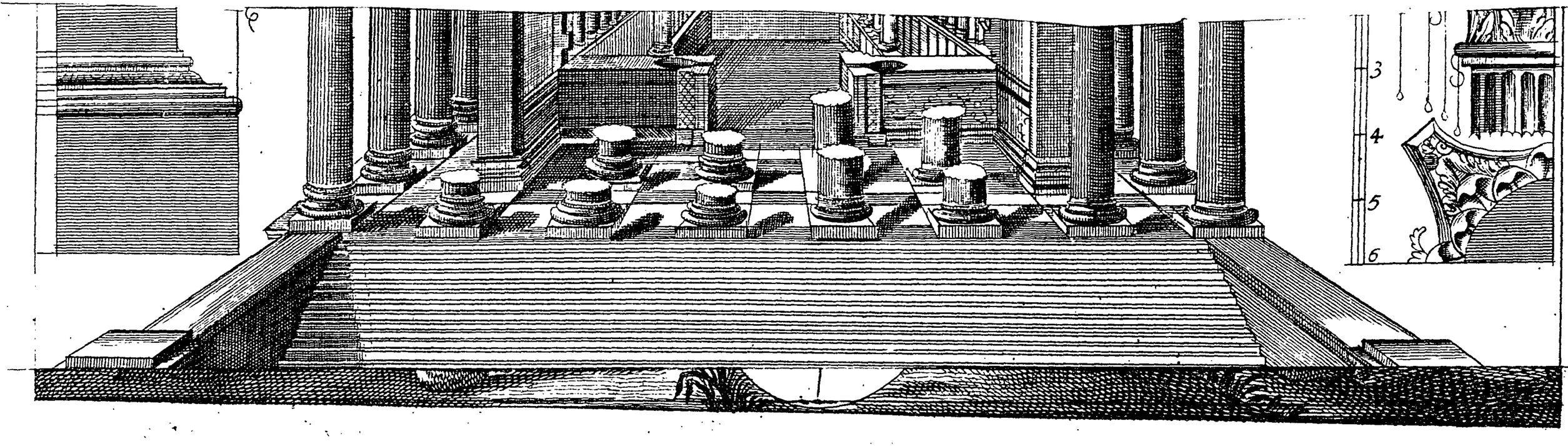
Stoues of an incredible ſize.

WITHIN the wall of this caſtle, as is now called, are alſo great remains of what muſt have been a palace, ſcarce inferior to any royal ſeat, that has ever been in the world; but being by no means in ſo perfect a ſtate as the temple, we ſhall ſpeak of it in general terms, and inſiſt only on ſuch parts as deſerve our greateſt attention. But firſt of all it muſt be obſerved, that the old wall, which encloſed both this and the temple above deſcribed, is built of ſuch monſtrous blocks of ſtone, as exceed all belief, and have given birth to a tradition among the natives, that the whole is the work of the devil. There are particularly three, which lie end for end with each other, and which together extend one hundred eighty three foot in length, whereof one is ſixty three foot long, and the other two ſixty apiece. Their depth is twelve foot, and their breadth the ſame; and, what adds to the wonder, theſe ſtones are lifted twenty foot from the ground. The reſt of the ſtones of this wall are of ſurprizing dimenſions, but none quite ſo large as theſe [b].

The palace.

GOING through the long arched walk, which we have already mentioned as leading to the temple, and which looks like a ſubterraneous paſſage, adorned with many buſts, which for want of light cannot well be diſcerned, the firſt object which ſtrikes the ſight is a ſpacious hexagonal building, or wall, which forms a kind of a ſpacious theatre, which is open at the other end, and preſents you with a terraſs, to which you aſcend by marble ſteps. This aperture admits you into a ſquare court, larger than the firſt, round which are buildings more magnificent than what you ſee till then. Here, on each hand you have a double row of pillars, which form porticoes, or galleries, of ſixty ſix fathom in length, and eight in breadth. The bottom of this court was taken up by a third building, more

[a] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 149, 150. [b] Maundrell ubi ſupr. p. 138. De la Roque ubi ſupr. p. 121.


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V. 2st

THE TEMPLE AT BALBECK

Pt 2d

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THE PROSPECT OF BALBECK

P. Simms Sculpt

more ſumptuous than the reſt and deeper, and ſeems to have been the body of the palace, fronting eaſt, as all the fronts in this caſtle do. The columns belonging to this part are of ſuch ſize, that they are compared with thoſe of the hippodrome at Conſtantinople. Nine of theſe columns are ſtanding (L), and a good piece of the entablature, which evince it to have been one of the wonders of Aſia; and, to crown all, each of theſe nine pillars is but one block. Many conſiderable and diſtinct veſtiges of the ſeveral parts of this palace are ſtill extant. The Corinthian order prevails chiefly throughout the whole, and ſcarce is there any where to be found ſuch precious remains of architecture and ſculpture. The ornaments are various, but without any of the wild extravagancies of modern architects. The fine taſte of Greece, and the magnificence of Rome here meet; ſtatues without number, buſts of all ſorts, proud trophies, curiouſly wrought niches, walls and cielings inriched with baſs-reliefs, incruſtations, and other works of the fineſt marble; therms and cariatydes judiciouſly placed. Underneath the whole are vaſt vaults; where from time to time you diſcover, through the ruins, long flights of marble ſtairs, near two hundred in a flight. The turn and elevation of theſe vaults are bold and ſurprizing: and in theſe ſubterraneous parts you find many rooms, halls, rich apartments entire, and many marble tombs. The walls here alſo are adorned with niches, baſs-reliefs, and inſcriptions in Roman characters; but theſe inſcriptions are quite effaced by the length of time and the damps. Some of theſe vaults are quite dark, and muſt be viſited with lights, either becauſe of their great depth, or becauſe the paſſages, which may have given them light, are ſtopped up by rubbiſh; but others receive light by great windows, which ſtand on the level of the ground above:

(L) Maundrell remembers theſe pillars in the following words: "About fifty yards diſtant from the temple, is a row of Corinthian pillars, very great and lofty; with a moſt ſtately architrave and corniſh at top. This ſpeaks itſelf to have been part of ſome very auguſt pile; but what one now ſees of it is but juſt enough to give a regret that there ſhould be no more of it remaining (14)." He did not viſit the palace; not being prepared, we ſuppoſe, with the thoughts, that there had been any building of the kind there.

(14) Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſ. p. 137.

and laſtly, all theſe edifices are built with ſtones of the enormous ſize already mentioned, without any viſible mortar, cement, or binding whatſoever [c]. The temple and theſe ruins ſtand in the ſame incloſure, as we have ſaid, and may challenge any monument of antiquity now extant, either at Athens, or Rome, or even in Egypt. All over and about the town you, at every ſtep, meet with ſome melancholy fragment of antiquity. The quarry from whence they had the ſtone for theſe works is a little way out of the town. It is cut out in ſteps ſomewhat like an amphitheatre, where there lies one ſtone ready hewn, which ſeems to ſurpaſs what have been already deſcribed. It is a notion, it was too heavy to be moved; but, upon a nice examination, it is faſt to the rock [d]. Such was Balbek, which might tempt one to think it to have been once the moſt conſiderable place in Syria, and the delight of ſome mighty prince, who there choſe to reſide (M).

The ruins of Palmyra.

BUT the magnificent ruins of Palmyra ſeem equally to claim our admiration. We ſhall not here examine who was the original founder of this city, whether Solomon, or any other before him, nor will we endeavour to inveſtigate to whom we are indebted for what now ſtands of this deſolate and abandoned town. Such diſcuſſions will come more naturally in their proper places, as they may occur in the

[c] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 124—132. [d] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 151, 155.

(M) We flatter ourſelves, that no antiquary will, according to this deſcription of Balbek, allow Solomon to have had any hand in what we ſee there; and yet prince Radziville (15), who is, in the main, a very judicious traveller, thinks it paſt diſpute, that it is the work of Solomon. He imagines it to be the houſe he built for Pharaoh's daughter, and that it moſt exactly anſwers the deſcription of that palace in the book of Kings (16), and indeed we cannot ſay there is no ſimilitude in the caſe. This he avers upon an accurate and diligent obſervation, as he tells us; and adds as a further proof of it, that the buildings have not ſuffered any violence, but are crumbled away and decayed by meer length of time. He muſt have minded theſe ruins in general; he cannot have deſcended to particulars; or he had never been ſo egregiouſly overſeen as he ſeems to have been.

(15) Peregrin. Jeroſolym. Epiſt. 2. p. 27. (16) 1. vii. 8——13.

the body of this work. Thus much, however, we may ſafely premiſe, that at Palmyra we ſee no remains, or next to none, of Solomon's Tadmor, this city having been more than once ſacked and demoliſhed ſince his time, as will appear, when we come to mention the viciſſitudes thereof.

Its names and ſituation

PALMYRA, by the Greeks and Romans; in the ſcripture, Tadmor in the wilderneſs; by Joſephus, Palmira and Thadamor; by the ſeptuagint copies, Theodmor and Thedmor; and by the Arabs and Syrians at this day, Tadmor, Tadmur, and Tatmor; was once a noble city in the ſouth-eaſtern parts of Syria. The origin of theſe names is dark and uncertain (N). It ſtood on a fertile iſland, if we

(N) The author of the deſcription of Palmyra (17) calls it Palmira, which he derives from the palms about it, and ſuppoſes it to be the tranſlation of a Hebrew word, importing a palm. Halley (18) derives it from Πάλμυς Palmys, which Heſychius interprets a king or father, or from Παλμύτης, Palmytes, an Egyptian god, according to the ſame Heſychius. Seller (19) is of another mind, he cannot think of deriving it from Palmys, a king or father, or from Palmytes an Egyptian god: for what, ſays he, had the gods of Egypt to do ſo near the banks of Euphrates? He derives it therefore from Πάλμη, Palme, a Perſian ſhield, or Parma, as the Latins render it. This he ſupports with ſome authority, and a good deal of probability, rejecting the fantaſtic etymology of Malela (20), who will have it called Palmira, διὰ τὸ πάλαι μοῖραν γενέσθαι τὴν χώμην τῷ Γαλιάθ, becauſe David ſlew Goliath there, which few or none will be willing to allow. The etymology of Tadmor is ſtill darker, if poſſible; but, as dark as it is, we cannot forbear acquainting the learned and inquiſitive reader with the thoughts of Schultens, in his geographical commentary (21), upon both the names Tadmor and Palmyra. He obſerves, that in the text it is written תמר Tamor, and in the margin תדמר Tadmor. Tamor he reckons to have become the uſual name of this place, for ſoftneſs ſake, and to refer to תמר Tamar the palm; with which in the next note this place will be ſeen to have abounded. He ſuppoſes alſo, that originally in Arabic they did not ſpell it تدمر Tadmor, but تتمر [תתמר] Tatmor, and thus he accordingly finds it in his Arabic geographical Lexicon; as if you ſhould ſay palmiferous, or palm-bearing, the T for found

(17) Philoſoph. Tranſact. Numb. 217. p. 85. (18) Ibid. Numb. 218. p. 161. (19) Hiſtory of Palmyra in the Appendix, p. 177. (20) Par. 1. p. 182. Par. 11. p. 153. (21) In vit. Salad. Ad vocem Tadmora.

may ſo call it, ſurrounded on all ſides by a thirſty and barren deſart. The firſt object, that now occurs as you approach this forlorn place, is a caſtle of mean architecture and uncertain foundation, though impregnably ſituated, as we ſay, about half an hour from the city. This caſtle ſtands on the north ſide of the city, and from thence you deſcry Tadmor, incloſed on three ſides by long ridges of mountains; but to the ſouth is a vaſt plain, which ſtretches away out of ſight. The air is exceeding good; but the ſoil is barren (O), affording nothing green but a few palm trees in the gardens, and a few more ſcattered up and down. The city muſt have been of large extent by the ſpace now taken up by the ruins; but there are no veſtiges of the walls, whereby to judge of its ancient form. It is now a deplorable ſpectacle to behold, being only inhabited by thirty or forty miſerable families, who have built them poor huts of dirt within a ſpacious court, which once incloſed a magnificent heathen temple.

The great court and temple.

To begin the deſcription here; this court, which ſtands about the ſouth end of the city, is two hundred and twenty yards on each ſide, with a high and ſtately wall of large ſquare ſtone, adorned with pilaſters within and without, to the number, as near as could be judged, of ſixty two on a ſide. The beautiful corniſhes have been purpoſely beaten down by the Turks, who have thereby deprived the world of one of the fineſt works of the kind, that, perhaps, was ever ſeen, as here and there a fragment, which has eſcaped their fury, abundantly evinces. The weſt ſide of this court,

by

found ſake being changed into D. The alteration of this name he aſcribes wholly to the Romans, who upon finding the place called Tadmor, or Tadmur, may at firſt have corrupted it into Talmura; but that ſoon after, underſtanding the city had its name from its palm-trees, they converted Talmura into Palmura, whence Palmyra.

(O) Not that it had always the ſame ſterile appearance. Abu'lfeda, who, though he calls Tadmor a ſmall city in the deſart of Syria, yet places it in Arabia, writes, that Palmyrene, for the moſt part, abounded in ſalt; and that the palm and olive flouriſhed there; adding, that there are many great and noble ruins there to be ſeen. In him moreover we read, that it had perpetual ſprings, and yielded fruits and corn. Upon this occaſion it may not be amiſs to refer you back to what we have conjectured concerning the preſent ſterility of the land of Edom (22).

(22) See before in the notes, p. 153.

by which you enter in it, is moſt of it broken down; and towards the middle of it there are remains of an old caſtle, built by the Mamaluks, as is ſuppoſed out of part of the ruins which are here in ſuch abundance. This caſtle ſhrouds the remains of an ancient fabrick of exquiſite beauty, as appears by what is ſtill ſtanding of its entrance, being two ſtones of thirty five foot in length, carved with vines and cluſters of grapes, exceeding bold and to the life. They are both in their right places, and by them it appears, that the door or gate was fifteen foot wide. In this great court are the remains of two rows of very noble marble pillars thirty ſeven foot high, with capitals of the fineſt carved work; and the corniſhes muſt have been of equal beauty, though quite deſtroyed by the relentleſs ſuperſtition of the Mohammedans. Of theſe pillars fifty eight are entire. They muſt have been many more in number; for, by what appears, they went quite round the court, and ſupported a moſt ſpacious double piazza, or cloiſter. The walks on the weſt ſide of this piazza, which face the front of the temple, ſeem to have been the moſt ſpacious and ſtately of all; and at each end of it are two niches for ſtatues at their full length, with their pedeſtals, borders, ſupporters, and canopies, carved with the greateſt artifice and curioſity. The ſpace within this once beautiful incloſure is conceived to have been an open court, as we have already called it, in the midſt of which ſtands the temple, incompaſſed with another row of pillars of a different order, and far exceeding the former in dimenſions, being fifty foot high. Of theſe, ſixteen are now ſtanding; but there muſt have been about double that number, which, whether they formed an inner court, or ſupported the roof of a cloiſter, is utterly uncertain. One great ſtone lies down, which ſeems to have reached from theſe pillars to the walls of the temple; ſo that the latter conjecture may naturally enough take place. The whole ſpace contained within theſe pillars is one hundred and ſeventy ſeven foot in length, and in breadth eighty four. In the midſt of this ſpace is the temple, extending ninety nine foot in length, and in breadth about forty. It has a ſumptuous entrance on the weſt, exactly in the middle of the building, and, by what remains, ſeems to have been one of the moſt glorious edifices in the world. You here ſee vines and cluſters of grapes executed to the life; and over the door you can juſt trace out a ſpread eagle, as at Balbek, which takes up the whole width; with ſome angels, or cupids, accompanying it on the ſame ſtone, and ſe-

veral eagles are ſeen upon ſtones that are fallen down. Nothing of this temple is ſtanding but the walls, in which it is obſervable, that the windows, though not large, are narrower at top than at bottom, but mightily enriched with ſculpture. It has been aukwardly patched up to ſerve for a moſque, all but the north end, where are very precious reliques; which, whether they were in the nature of canopies over altars, or to what uſe elſe they ſerved, is not eaſy to conjecture. They are beautified with the moſt curious fret-work and ſculpture; in the midſt of which is a dome, or cupola, ſix foot diameter, all of one piece; but whether they are hewn out of the ſolid rock, or molded of fine cement, or compoſition, is made a doubt.

Promiſcuous ruins.

LEAVING this court and temple your eyes are accoſted with an amazing ſight of marble pillars, ſcattered up and down for the ſpace of near a mile of ground; but in ſuch lamentable confuſion, that there is no room to gueſs for what ends they were framed. But, to paſs by the ruins of a moſque, as not worth our obſervation, and not bewilder your eye with the ſad confuſion which here preſents itſelf, we will proceed to particulars as they occur after, or correſpond with each other.

Obeliſk and two pillars.

ADVANCING towards the north, as you leave the temple, you have a tall and ſtately obeliſk, or pillar, before you, conſiſting of ſeven large ſtones, beſides its capital. It has a wreathed work about it; the ſculpture here, as every where elſe, extremely fine. It exceeds fifty foot in height, is twelve foot and a half in compaſs juſt above the pedeſtal, and a ſtatue is conceived to have once ſtood upon it. On the eaſt and weſt of this, at the diſtance of a quarter of a mile, is a large pillar, which ſeem to have correſponded with each other. And there is a piece of another near to the eaſtern pillar, which looks as if there had been once a continued row of them. The height of this eaſtern pillar, as taken by a quadrant, is above forty foot. Its circumference is proportionable, and on the body of it is a Greek inſcription in commemoration of two patriots, by a grateful order of the ſenate and people, which, with the others of the ſame and other kinds, we may hereafter meet with, we ſhall paſs over for the preſent, that we may not break in upon the thread of this deſcription. The weſtern pillar has another inſcription of the like ſort; but not quite ſo perfect as the former.

The great piazza.

PROCEEDING on from the obeliſk, or pillar, laſt mentioned, at the diſtance of one hundred paces, is a magnificent

nificent entrance, vaſtly large and lofty, and for workmanſhip nothing inferior to any piece hitherto deſcribed; but unhappily it has ſuffered the ſame fate with the reſt. This entrance leads into a noble piazza, above half a mile long and forty foot broad, formed by two rows of ſtately marble pillars twenty ſix foot high, and eight or nine about. Of theſe pillars one hundred and twenty nine are ſtanding; but, by a moderate calculation, they cannot have been fewer at firſt, than five hundred and ſixty. Covering over them, there is none remaining, nor pavement beneath, that can be ſeen. Upon moſt of theſe pillars are inſcriptions in Greek and Palmyrene characters; ſo that it ſeems to have been a much frequented, and the moſt conſpicuous part of the city, and moſt proper for the daily and honourable commemoration of ſuch as had deſerved well of their fellow citizens, or friends and relations. And, as if inſcriptions were not ſufficient, it ſeems, as if here they fixed the ſtatues alſo of the perſons celebrated; there being pedeſtals jetting out from theſe pillars, ſometimes one way, and ſometimes more, whereon muſt have ſtood ſtatues, which have long ago fallen victims to the furious and barbarous zeal of the Mohammedans; and upon theſe pedeſtals are inſcriptions, even when none are on the pillar they belong to, and ſometimes even when there are. The upper end of this ſpacious piazza was ſhut in by a row of pillars, ſtanding cloſer together than thoſe on each ſide, and perhaps a banquetting houſe ſtood upon them, though no ſign of it be ſpared. But on the left hand, a little further, appear the ruins of a very ſtately pile, which may have been of ſuch a kind; of finer marble than is obſerved in the piazza, and with an air of delicacy throughout the whole, far ſurpaſſing what is obſerved in the piazza itſelf. The pillars, which ſupported this laſt pile, are all of one ſtone, twenty two foot long and eight foot nine inches round. Among theſe ruins is found the only Latin inſcription that was ſeen in this place.

Banquetting houſe.

In the weſt ſide of the above piazza are ſeveral openings, ſuppoſed to have been for gates, which led into the court of the palace. Two of theſe gates look as if they had been the moſt magnificent and glorious in the world, both for the elegance of the work in general, and for the ſtately porphyry pillars, wherewith they were adorned. Each gate had four, not ſtanding in a line with thoſe of the wall, but placed by couples in the front of the gate, facing the palace, two on the one hand, and two on the other.

Porphyry pillars and palace.

other. Of theſe porphyry pillars, there are but two entire, and but one of them ſtanding in its proper place. They are about thirty foot in length, and nine in circumference, and of ſo very hard a conſiſtence (P), that it is a very difficult matter to injure them. Theſe, of all the pieces of porphyry here found, are the moſt beautiful. The palace itſelf is ſo completely demoliſhed, that there is no forming a judgment of what it has been, either for majeſty or ornament. It plainly appears to have been thrown down by violence, which, together with the length of time, has quite defaced and obliterated this one noble pile, there being only a broken piece of its walls left ſtanding here and there. But, it is very likely, that it fronted the famous piazza before-mentioned, and that it was ſurrounded with rows of pillars of different orders, many of which are ſtill ſtanding, ſome plain, and ſome wrought and channelled, as thoſe immediately encompaſſing the temple. To theſe pillars alſo there are pedeſtals with inſcriptions on them.

Great numbers of marble pillars.

ON the eaſt ſide of the ſame piazza is, if the expreſſion may be uſed, a wood of marble pillars, ſome perfect, ſome deprived of their beautiful capitals, but ſo ſcattered and confuſed, that there is no reducing them to order, or conjecturing to what uſe they formerly ſerved. In one place are eleven together, forming a ſquare in this diſpoſition,

: • • :
: : paved at the bottom with broad flat ſtone, but
: • :

without any manner of roof.

The little temple.

AT a little diſtance from hence, is a ſmall ruined temple, which, by what remains of it, muſt have been a very curious piece. The entrance into this temple looks to the ſouth, and before it is a piazza of ſix pillars, two on one hand of the door, and two on the other, and one at each end. The pedeſtals of thoſe in the front have been filled up with inſcriptions, both in Greek and the other characters, but ſcarce intelligible.

The ſepulchres.

BUT of all the venerable remains of this deſolate place, none more attract the admiration of the curious, than their coſtly ſepulchres, which are ſquare towers, four or five ſtories high, ſtanding on each ſide of a hollow way, towards the north end of the city. They extend a mile, and may anciently have extended farther. At a diſtance they look like the ſteeples of decayed churches, or the baſtions

(P) This our author ſays, ſuppoſing porphyry to be factitious, which is diſputed.

N° 2d.

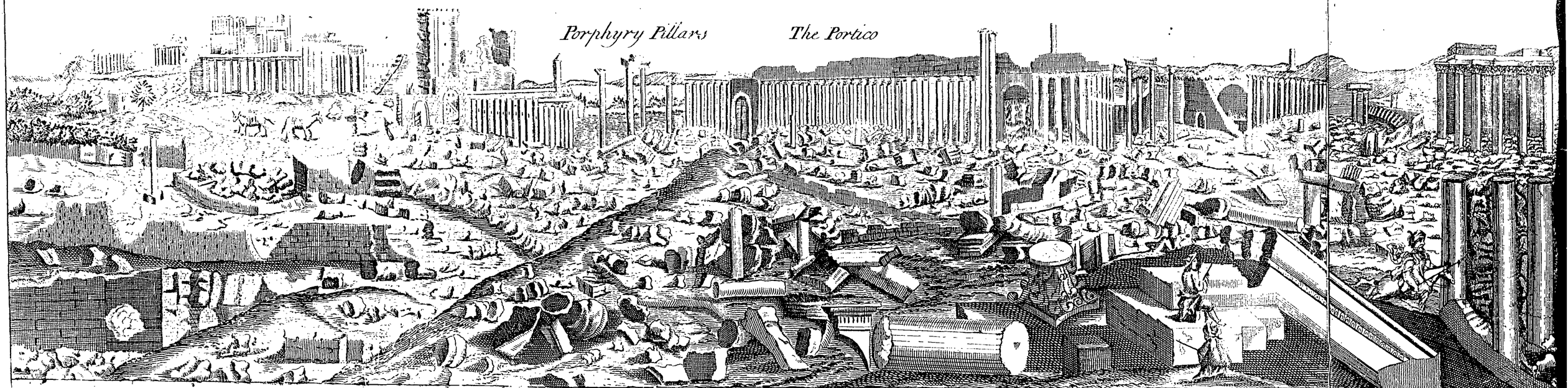
A Vieu of the Ruines of Palmyra alias Tadm

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The Temple now inhabited

Porphyry Pillars

The Portico



P. 4th.

...a alias Tadmor taken on the Southern Side



P. Pinnas. Poulis

ſtions of a ruined fortification. Many of them, though built of marble, have proved faithleſs to their charge; having ſunk under the weight of years, or ſubmitted to the inexorable malice of violent hands. They are all of one form, but of different ſize, in proportion to the fortune of the founder. In the ruins of one of them, that was entirely marble, were found the pieces of two ſtatues, the one of a man, the other of a woman, in a ſitting, or rather leaning, poſture. By theſe it is diſcovered, that their habit was very noble, rather agreeing with the European, than the preſent eaſtern faſhions; whence they are conjectured to have been Romans. Of all theſe ſepulchres, there are two, which ſeem to be more entire than the reſt. They are ſquare towers, five ſtories high, their outſides of common ſtone, but their partitions and floors within of good marble. They are beautified with very lively carvings and paintings, and figures both of men and women, as far as the breaſt and ſhoulders, but miſerably defaced. Under them, or on one ſide, are Palmyrenian characters, which are thought to be the names of the perſons there depoſited. To judge of the conſtruction of the reſt of theſe ſepulchres, by what is obſerved in one of them; they had a walk quite a-croſs them from north to ſouth, exactly in the middle, by which they entered. The vault below, was divided in the ſame manner, and the diviſion on each hand ſubdivided by thick walls into ſix, or more or leſs, partitions, each big enough to receive the largeſt corpſe, and deep enough to contain at leaſt ſix or ſeven piled one upon another. In the loweſt, ſecond, and third ſtories, theſe partitions were the ſame, excepting that the ſecond had a partition, anſwering to the main entrance, for the convenience of a ſtair-caſe. Higher up this method was diſcontinued; becauſe the building, growing narrower toward the top, could no longer admit of it. In the two uppermoſt rooms, it is likely that no bodies were depoſited, except that of the founder himſelf, whoſe ſtatue, wrapt up in funeral apparel, and in a lying poſture, is placed in a nich, or rather window, in the front of the monument, ſo as to be viſible both within and without. Here is a Greek epitaph [f].

SUCH were once the magnificent abodes, and ſuch the noble ſepulchres of the Palmyrenians; enough to evince, that

[f] Philoſophical Tranſactions, Numb. 217.

that the world never saw a more glorious city; the pride, it is likely, of ancient times, and the reproach of our own: a city, not more remarkable for the stateliness of her buildings and unwontedness of her situation, than for the extraordinary personages who once flourished here, among whom the renowned Zenobia and the incomparable Longinus, must for ever be remembered, with admiration and regret.

SECT. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the ancient Syrians.

Antiquity.

THE ancient Syrians, or Aramites (A), scarce submitted to any other nation under the sun, in point of antiquity, being the first that inhabited the fertile and well situated region of their abode after the general deluge, as we have already observed [a]. This is indisputably the case, and therefore there may be no need of expatiating thereon. But the Posterity of Shem by Aram, did not possess this country wholly to themselves; their relations of Canaan's line, being straitened for want of room in the places where they settled at first, encroached upon them by degrees, and seized on a portion of their lot, and kept the same, till one common destruction and captivation involved them both. To use many words in proof of this twofold descent of the Syrians, from the righteous line of Shem, and the unrighteous line of Ham, is needless, since we find a very noted portion of the country of Aram, or Syria, denominated from Hamathi, one of the eleven sons of Canaan, who may have even settled here in person. The same we might here say of the Arkite, the Sinite, Zemarite, and the Arvadite, though indeed we have not such positive assurances thereof, as of what we say of the Hamathite. We can only deliver it as our opinion, that these Canaanite

[a] See before, Vol. I. p. 460.

(A) This name was not wholly unknown to the Greeks. Strabo calls them Aramæi; for those, says he (1), whom we call Syrians, call themselves Aramæans. Hence, the Arami, Arimi, and Erembi, and the like names.

(1) Geograph. l. 1. p. 42.

Canaanite families did moſt, if not all of them, fix their abode in Syria (B). But whether the country was more or leſs divided between the Aramites and Canaanites, we forbear to enquire into, ſince we have little or no authority to build upon. The ancient Syrians then were partly deſcended from Ham, and partly from Shem, and both of nearly equal ſtanding in this country, and very little behind any nation in antiquity; but, if we believe a tradition current among the preſent inhabitants, it muſt be called the oldeſt country in the world (C).

Government.

THAT they were anciently governed by heads of families, called kings, and that there were great numbers of them in the country, is certain; and that they continued under the ſame government, in part, even to the days of Saul, is plain by the kings of Zobah[b]; and by the petty kings in Meſopotamia, who were ſummoned to attend Benhadad in his wars, no fewer than thirty two. Seeing therefore, that this moſt ſimple and natural form of government, obtained in Canaan on the one hand of them, and in Meſopotamia on the other, and that even we find veſtiges of the ſame in Syria itſelf, down to the days of Saul, we cannot doubt, but that they were at firſt divided into many ſmall kingdoms. Not that this was the only form that ſeems to have taken place; for as Gibeon in Canaan, in the days of Joſhua, ſeems to have been a commonwealth among the many kingdoms there; ſo Damaſcus in Syria ſeems to have been the ſame in David's time.

[b] See 1 Sam. xiv. 47.

(B) The Arabs have a tradition there were Canaanites very anciently in Syria, for they talk of Dimaſhc (2) the ſon of Canaan, who built the famous city of Damaſcus (3).

(C) For here they particularly pretend, that Adam was formed (4), and that Cain ſlew Abel *; both which places they ſhew to travellers that viſit Damaſcus, for they are in the neighbourhood of that city (5). To which Radziville adds, that hollow groans are ſometimes heard under ground, in teſtimony of the innocent Abel, as they told him; that the place is held in deep veneration, and indued with a miraculous power of healing ſuch as labour under any violent diſeaſe, if they but lie down naked thereon, reſtoring them immediately to their priſtine health.

(2) Vide Schultens, Comment. Geograph. in vit. Saad. ad vocem Damaſcus. (3) See before, Vol. I. p. 460. (4) See Thevenot, Maundrell, &c. * See before in the notes, Vol. I. p. 228. (5) Peregrin. Jeroſolym. epiſt. ii. p. 30.

time. What we have to offer in ſupport of this opinion, is not indiſputably clear; but Damaſcus is ſpoken of as without a chief, and as if the power was wholly in the people, in David's time. It is ſaid, that the Syrians of Damaſcus [c], not their king, ſent an army of upwards of twenty thouſand to the relief of Hadadezer king of Zobah, which ſeems to imply, as if they were ſomething like what we call a republic. The foundation and nature of the kingdom of Zobah, we pretend not to ſpeak of; but that of Damaſcus, which roſe upon its ruins, as Zobah did upon the ſubverſion of the ſmaller principalities, ſeems to have been of the tyrannical and arbitrary kind. The kingdom of Damaſcus was eſtabliſhed in violence, by a ſtrong hand, and the conſtitutions thereof muſt, one would think, have been of a piece with its foundation; haughty, uncontroulable, and ambitious to ſubdue its neighbours; and, in truth, it roſe to the univerſal monarchy of all the parts on both ſides of the Euphrates under Hazael, as will be ſhewed in its due place. This may be ſaid of the kingdom of Damaſcus, which ſupported itſelf with various fortune, till Syria changed both inhabitants and maſters, which it did upon the firſt riſe, as it were, of the Aſſyrian power.

Their laws. We have no ſyſtem of their laws, and ſcarce wherewithal to form any particular idea of them, but we are not ſo much at a loſs for what concerns their religion.

Their religion. The ancient ſtate of their religion, indeed, we are wholly at a loſs for, nor will we dwell on the obſcurities thereto relating. It is certain they had many idols among them of very ancient repute; among the reſt Rimmon (D) may be reckoned, whoſe temple ſtood at Damaſcus: He ſeems

[c] 2 Sam. viii. 6.

(D) This name, in the language of the Old Teſtament, ſignifies a pomegranate: whence this deity, whether god or goddeſs, is thought to have born ſome relation to Venus. Selden (6) is moſt inclined to derive it from רום rum, high, or lofty. We forbear to ſpeak of Gad, and refer you to this laſt author. The Syrians had a deity alſo, called Babia, a goddeſs from whom the children and young people were called Babias (7). They may have eſteemed them under her tutelage, and our Engliſh word, babes, ſays one (8), may thence have been borrowed.

(6) Vide Selden de Dis Syr. Syntag. ii. c. 10. (7) Damaſc. vit. Iſidor. apud Pho. c. cxlii. (8) Purchas's Pilgrim, Book i. ch. xx. at the end.

ſeems to have been, at leaſt, the principal God of Damaſcene, which is all we ſhall venture to ſay concerning him.

THIS ancient god in time gave way to another; for the Syrians deifying their king Ben-hadad II, under the ſtile of Adad, or Ader [d], he was conſidered as their moſt glorious and auſpicious god (E). This fancied god, and others of the ſame ſtamp that may have ſucceeded him, flouriſhed as long, we may ſafely ſuppoſe, as the ancient Syrians poſſeſſed this their ſeat, or were maſters thereof. But both they themſelves and their gods, in great meaſure,

[d] Joſeph. Antiq. l. ix. c. 2.

(E) Adad is called alſo Adod the king of the gods (9). and Adad is interpreted One (10); and where we have this interpretation we are told he was their greateſt god. Selden (11) and Iſaac Voſſius (12), are very nice in deducing the true import of this name, which we ſhall for this once paſs over, becauſe it appears to us, that, according to the ſcripture orthography, it ought to be ſpelt Hadad, as is plain from Joſephus (13), who, in ſpeaking of the ſcripture kings of Syria, calls them Adad, or Ader; and particularly writing of the great Ben-hadad, the ſecond of that name in ſcripture, he tells us he was deified or honoured with divine worſhip, as was alſo his ſucceſſor Hazael. Here we have the firſt account of their deifying of Adad, or, as the ſcripture ſtiles him, Ben-hadad, who, if we except his ſucceſſor Hazael, was the greateſt prince the ancient Syrians can boaſt of; and we are clearly of opinion, that this great god Hadad, or Adad, is no other than the deified Ben-hadad; and from thence it appears, that there were Syrian princes of the name of Adad, before they had any god ſo called. By Adad they meant the ſun, and pictured him with rays darting downwards, to expreſs his beneficence, and to ſhew that the chief influence of the heavens is in the beams of the ſun (14). This high compliment might have ſuited better with Hazael, whoſe reign was a continued ſeries of proſperity, than with Ben-hadad, who was ſeveral times unfortunate; but, as Joſephus tells us, they were both deified, and as Adad, or Hadad, was a name common to all the kings of Syria, as appears both by ſcripture and Nicolas of Damaſcus (15), it may have been the Hazael of ſcripture, who was ſo highly revered.

(9) Sanchon. apud Euſeb. de præpar. evangel. lib. i. p. 38. (10) Macrob. Saturnal. 1. c. 18. (11) Ubi ſupr. Syntag. 1. c. 6. (12) De Idololatria, l. i. c. 22. (13) Antiq. l. ix. c. 2. (14) Macrob. Saturnal. ubi ſupr. (15) Apud Joſeph. Antiq. c. 6.

ſure, ſubmitted to fate, when Syria was conquered and tranſplanted by Tiglath-pileſer.

HEREUPON the religion of the country may, without ſtraining the point, be ſaid to have changed face; a new idolatry was introduced, or many additions to the old were brought in, by the new inhabitants, who were ſent hither by the Aſſyrian; and now the religion of Aſſyria prevailed chiefly all over the country. That this is true, will be pretty evident from ſome arguments you will find in our chronology of Aſſyria. What changes and alterations this ſyſtem ſuffered under the Babylonians firſt, and the Perſians afterwards, and laſtly under the Seleucidæ and Romans, we cannot preſume to ſay; but ſuch as it was, in the ſecond century of the chriſtian æra, we ſhall borrow from Lucian, who was an eye-witneſs of what he ſays for the moſt part, and the reſt he received from the prieſts.

AT Hierapolis, or the holy city, or Magog, as the Syrians themſelves are ſaid [c] to have called it, in the province of Cyrrheſtica, ſtood the temple of the great Syrian Goddeſs (F). It was upon an eminence in the midſt of the city, ſurrounded by a double incloſure or two walls, the one old, the other new. At the north ſide it had a court, or porch, before it, of about five or ſix hundred foot in circumference, where ſtood the priaps, of three hundred fathom, or three hundred cubits high; for we find both theſe meaſures, but both exceedingly too large, to our apprehenſion. Theſe obſcene images, or rather columns, were but ſlender, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter; but by whom, or to whom, they were erected, was the ſubject of much fable. The front of the temple itſelf ſtood eaſt, and before it was a tower raiſed upon a terraſs, about twelve foot high; which was no ſooner mounted than the temple

[c] Plin. Hiſt. Natur. ubi ſupr.

(F) It is impoſſible to ſay who they meant by this Syrian Goddeſs; but we find a ſtory in Juſtin (16), which we ſuppoſe to be borrowed from Nicolas of Damaſcus; that a king from whom Damaſcus derived its name, had a queen called Arathis; whoſe ſepulchre was religiouſly frequented by the Syrians, who eſteemed her as their principal deity: and this queen, according to our author's account, was older than Abraham, whom he reckons among the kings of Damaſcus, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve again hereafter.

(16) L. xxxvi. c. 2.

temple appeared. It was built after the manner of the Ionian temples; the porch of it was adorned with golden doors; nay, the whole temple glittered with gold, and particularly the roof. The air about it was inchanting, nothing inferior to the ſweeteſt of Arabia, and ſo ſtrongly perfumed the garments of all that viſited it, that they were ſcented for a conſiderable time.

Idols, ſtatues, &c. in and about the temple.

THIS temple was not without its ſanctuary, into which no admiſſion was allowed, even to ſuch of the prieſts, as were not in an eſpecial manner allied to the gods there kept, or wholly addicted to their ſervice and worſhip. Within the ſanctuary, which was always open, were the ſtatues of Jupiter and Juno, as the Greeks were ſo complaiſant as to call them, though the inhabitants, as our author aſſures us, had other names for them. But ſince we have not their true names, we muſt be contented with the Greek. Theſe ſtatues of Jupiter and Juno were of gold. Juno ſat upon lions, and Jupiter was ſupported by bulls, being in looks and poſture like the Jupiter of the Greeks; but the ſtatue of Juno was contrived ſo as to participate of Minerva, Venus, Luna, Rhea, Diana, Nemeſis, and the Deſtinies, according to the view you had of her. In one hand ſhe had a ſcepter, in the other a diſtaff. On her head ſhe had rays and a tower, and ſhe was girt with a ceſtus, or girdle, of the celeſtial Venus. She was adorned with a great variety of gems, which had from time to time been preſented to her, by Egyptians, Indians, Ethiopians, Medes, Armenians, and Babylonians. But of all theſe, the moſt remarkable was the Lychnis ſhe wore at her ſide. This ſtone is ſaid to ſhine moſt by candle-light. With this Lychnis therefore ſhe illuminated, ſays our author, the temple by night. In the day-time it had no remarkable luſtre, and only looked of a fiery aſpect. It was wonderful of this ſtatue, that though a perſon ſtood either on one ſide or before it, ſtill it looked at him. Between Jupiter and Juno was another gold ſtatue, but with no characteriſtics, or peculiar enſigns, and called the Sign. It was uncertain who they pointed at by this ſtatue; but becauſe it had a golden dove on its head, ſome were willing to think it was Semiramis. Twice every year it went in proceſſion to the ſea-ſide. On the left hand, going into the temple, was the throne of the Sun, but it had no ſtatue in it; for they held it abſurd to make ſtatues either of the ſun or moon, who were ſo reſplendidly viſible to mortal eyes; but no more than right,

to form the ſtatues of ſuch as were inviſible. Next after this throne was the ſtatue of Apollo, not a ſtripling, but with a large beard; for they could not endure the thoughts of addreſſing themſelves to any god that was under age; and moreover, they did put cloaths on this idol, which was done to no other. Next to Apollo ſtood Atlas, then Mercury, then Lucina, all which made the ſide furniture of the temple. On the right hand as they entered the temple, ſtood Semiramis pointing to Juno; for that empreſs had had the arrogance to claim ſupremacy to herſelf, in the adoration of mankind, not excepting even Juno; whereupon being ſeverely puniſhed by the gods, who perſecuted her with diſeaſes and various calamities to humble her pride, ſhe at laſt ſubmitted to the goddeſs; and for this reaſon was figured as pointing to Juno, in perpetual acknowledgement of her arrogant error; and to direct people, that the ſaid goddeſs was to be worſhipped, not herſelf. Next to Semiramis ſtood Helen, then Hecuba, Andromache, Paris, Hector, Achilles, Nereus the ſon of Aglaia, Philomel, and Progne, Tereus turned into a bird, another ſtatue of Semiramis, Combalus, Stratonice, a beautiful piece, Alexander, done after the life, and Sardanapalus, in a peculiar habit and attitude. Under this temple they ſhewed the cleft where the waters drained off at Deucalion's flood: on this place, ſaid they, did Deucalion erect an altar to Juno, and this tradition brought on an extraordinary ceremony, which we ſhall mention hereafter. This hole or cleft was but ſmall when our author ſaw it. We had almoſt forgotten, that on the right hand of the temple, there was a little brazen man, with privities far beyond their due proportion.

FINALLY, within the incloſures of the temple, they kept oxen, horſes, lions, bears, eagles, all which were no way noxious to men, but all ſacred and tame.

The ſacred lake.

ADJACENT to the temple was a lake, where ſacred fiſhes were preſerved and attended. Some of the largeſt had names given to them, and came when called. One of theſe our author particularly obſerved had golden fins. The lake itſelf was deep; two hundred fathom, the prieſts reported; and in the midſt of it ſtood a ſtone altar, which ſeemed to ſwim, as moſt thought it did; for the pillar, or what elſe ſupported it, was not eaſily to be diſcerned. This altar was for ever crowned, and reeking with incenſe, and daily frequented, as we ſhall ſee anon. Without the

temple

temple ſtood a large brazen altar, and ſtatues of kings and prieſts almoſt innumerable.

THE oracle in the temple was quite extraordinary, and may ſerve to evince, how deeply the prieſts were verſed in the myſtery of their profeſſion. Here were images that would move, ſweat, and deliver oracles, as if alive; and noiſes were often heard in the temple, when it was ſhut up. Apollo, as we underſtand our author, was the chief Oracle. Other idols delivered their anſwers by their prieſts: This Syrian Apollo did all himſelf. He, as we have already obſerved, was the only god that had cloaths put on him; the reaſon of which, to our apprehenſion, was, that a living perſon might the more ſpeciouſly be ſubſtituted to act the part of a ſtupid block. However this were, this Apollo, when he was inclined to make anſwer upon any conſultation, began firſt to move himſelf; upon which the prieſts immediately ſtept up to him to lift him, or elſe he fell into great agonies, ſweating and beſtirring himſelf after a furious rate. But with the prieſts who came to his aſſiſtance, he behaved in a very unruly manner, toſſing and tumbling them about from place to place as he pleaſed; till the high prieſt, coming up to him, propoſed his queſtion. If the queſtion was unacceptable to him, he retired; if otherwiſe, he drove his ſupporters onwards. He had the direction of all matters ſacred and civil, being upon all occaſions conſulted, and always declared the time when it was proper for the image, we have called the Sign, to make its proceſſion to the ſea. In fine, our author aſſures us, that he ſaw this god walk in the air. Oracle.

THE revenues and treaſure of this temple were in proportion to its ſplendor, to the great majeſty of the goddeſs, and to the mighty power and excellence of her kindred deities that attended her. Arabia, Phœnice, Babylonia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Syria, paid their liberal contributions. Here were coſtly preſents ſhewn, in garments and other things of ineſtimable price, which were very carefully kept; ſo that, in this reſpect, it was a very Loretto. Riches of the temple.

Now for the prieſts. There were ſeveral ſorts of them, each aſſigned to particular taſks. Some killed the ſacrifices, ſome bore the drink-offerings, ſome carried fire, and ſome waited at the altar; and of theſe above three hundred, in white habits, and with caps, or bonnets, on their heads, attended the ſacrifices. And beſides them, there were other conſecrated orders; as of minſtrels, ſkilful in the

touch of several instruments, Galli, or eunuch priests, and to conclude, mad and frantic women. The office of high priest was annual, he wore purple, and a golden mitre. Other sorts of holy persons there were of the several nations, who held the Syrian Goddess in veneration, whose business it was to instruct their countrymen, who from time to time resorted hither in pilgrimage, in the rules and customs of this holy city. They were called masters, or instructors.

It is remarkable of their eunuch priests, that they were emasculated by the voluntary operation of their own hands. How this unnatural custom came to prevail, is accounted for by the following story. Stratonice, who built this temple, having been admonished by the goddess to undertake the work, to no purpose, till she forcibly brought her to obedience by a violent procedure against her, the king her husband consented to let her go and take in hand the building; but committed the care of her to a beautiful youth named Combabus. This Combabus, no way fond of his commission, but dreading the consequences of being so much alone with the beauteous queen, destroyed his sex, and left the ruins of it, carefully embalmed and sealed up, with the King. He departed with the queen Stratonice, was after some time solicited by her, and convinced her of his inability. But nevertheless, it came to pass, either through malice or envy, that Combabus was clearly convicted of adultery, infidelity, and impiety to the goddess. As he was leading to execution, he called out for the treasure he had left with the king, which being produced, his intended punishment was converted into the most tender embraces in the arms of his prince. The king now raised him to the highest degree of riches and honour, and he was famed for the wisest and happiest man living. Combabus desired leave to finish the temple; which being granted, he passed the remainder of his life there. And there stood his statue in brass, as we have already said, the work of Hermolaus the Rhodian. And because it was industriously reported, that some of his dearest Companions resolved to undergo his calamity for his sake, or that Juno inspired several with a rage of unmanning themselves, that he might not be single in his misfortune; many mad zealots, either in honour of Combabus, or to please Juno, performed the hated operation on themselves every year in the temple, as we shall hereafter relate. Furthermore,

The story of Combabus.

these

theſe Galli, or devoted eunuchs, took on them the habit and offices of women, becauſe Combabus had been fallen in love with by a ſtrange woman, who knew not the violence he had done to his ſex; which to prevent for the future, he put on the outward appearance of a woman. Such were the Galli, their inſtitution, and their patron.

Sacrifices.

We come now to ſpeak of the ſacrifices, ceremonies, and peculiar cuſtoms pertaining to this holy city. They ſacrificed twice a day, to Jupiter in ſilence, to Juno with great noiſe of minſtrels and ſingers. Every ſpring they celebrated an extraordinary ſacrifice; for felling ſome great trees, in the court of the temple, they garniſhed them with goats, ſheep, birds, rich veſtments, and fine pieces of wrought gold and ſilver: they then carried the ſacred images round theſe decorated trees, and ſet fire to them, and all was conſumed. At this ſacrifice there was always a great concourſe of people from all parts, every one bringing his ſacred images with him, made in imitation of thoſe in the temple. There was alſo a private ſacrifice made by every one that undertook the pilgrimage to this city of Hierapolis. The pilgrim killed a ſheep, cut it up in joints, and feaſted on it, ſpreading the fleece on the ground, and kneeling upon it. In this poſture he put the feet and head of the victim upon his own head, and beſought the goddeſs to accept his ſacrifice, and vowed her a better. To theſe may be annexed the offerings made upon the following occaſion. Twice a year a man climbed up to the top of one of the priaps we have mentioned, and there continued ſeven days. He let down a chain, by which to draw up what ſhould be given to him; for many upon theſe occaſions brought their offerings, and declared their names, which one below took care to bawl out to the man ſitting above, who thereupon began a prayer, ſtriking a kind of a bell all the time. Finally they had, ſometimes, a way of ſacrificing which was truely ſhocking and barbarous. They firſt crowned the victims with garlands, and then drove them out of the porch or court of the temple, one ſide of which was an abrupt ſteep, where falling, they periſhed. Nay, ſome were ſo mad as to tie up their children in ſacks, and then ſhove them down the ſame ſteep, reproaching them as not children, but beaſts.

Feſtivals.

Some of their feſtivals, if ſo they may be called, were obſerved in memory of Deucalion's flood. Twice a year they went to the ſea-ſide, and thence brought water into

the temple; in which labour, not only the priests were employed, but also all Syria and Arabia, says our author. This water they poured out in the temple, and it ran off by the hole or cleft we have already mentioned. This they did by a pretended command of Deucalion's, as our author, like a meer Greek, calls him. What ceremonies they practised at the sea-side, we are not told; but it seems they were very extraordinary. Returning with their vessels full of water and sealed up, they carried them first to a sacred person called Alectryo, who receiving the said vessels of water, examined the seals, and taking his due from each votary for his pains, untyed the string, took off the seal, and returned his burthen to each, who carried it into the temple for the purpose before-mentioned. This Alectryo, whoever, or whatever, he was, received a considerable revenue for holy uses upon these solemn days. They had another kind of festivals, which in our language may be called their descension days. For upon these days did their gods and their other fine things make a visit to the bottom of the lake we formerly mentioned. Juno, or the Syrian Goddess, herself went down first, for the preservation of her favourite fish, who, if they had seen Jupiter, would have died. Upon these occasions a notable farce was acted between the said goddess and god. He was wont to advance to go down first; whereupon she interposed, and, after much ado, prevailed on him to return back again. But of all their holy-days the great burning, as we may call it, was the most considerable. Upon this occasion, there came people from all parts to assist at the great sacrifice we have already described, and the other religious duties of the season. This festival was of some days continuance, as we apprehend our author; and at particular times while it lasted, the whole multitude was drawn into the temple, while the priests stood without, some of them mangling their bodies, some thumping violently against each other, while others beat upon tabrets or drums, and sounded with musical instruments, and sang out aloud, and prophesied. And now it was, that, amidst all this uproar, the frenzy of castrating themselves seized on many in the temple, who, crying out with a loud voice, and drawing their swords, performed the operation, and devoted themselves to the goddess.

Miscellaneous matters.

THE religious customs, and laws, and traditions of this place, were as extraordinary as any thing else we have hitherto

therto ſeen. Twice a year a man went up to the top of one of the priaps, as we have ſaid, and there remained ſeven days. His manner of getting up was thus. He ſurrounded the priap and himſelf with a chain, and aſcended by the help of that and certain pegs or pins, which ſtuck out of the ſides of the priap for that purpoſe, lifting the chain up after him at every ſtep he mounted. Here we cannot but obſerve, that our author ſays, That thoſe who had ſeen them climb up the palm trees in Egypt and Arabia, might readily underſtand him; whence we gather theſe phalli, or priaps, ſo monſtrouſly high as he ſays, were ſo ſlender that a man might graſp them. Whether we reckon the height he gives them, at three hundred fathom, which is monſtrous, or even at three hundred cubits, which is ſomewhat more credible, they were about as high as our * monument. How ſo ſlender a body could be reared to ſuch a height, we leave to thoſe who are better ſkilled in ſuch matters than ourſelves, and proceed. When the perſon had got up, he let down a chain, wherewith he drew up all manner of neceſſaries for himſelf, and therewith made him a commodious ſeat, a kind of a neſt. It was given out, that, during the ſeven days, he had a more intimate intercourſe with the great goddeſs; and alſo that this was done in memory of Deucalion's flood, when the men clomb up the mountains and trees to ſave themſelves from periſhing. During theſe ſeven days, the perſon never ſlept, and if at any time he happened to doſe, a ſacred ſcorpion, ſaid they, went up and awakened him. Our author rather thinks, that the fear of falling kept him from ſleeping.

Every day many people ſwam to the altar in the midſt of the lake, there to perform their devotions.

They ſacrificed oxen, ſheep, and the like, but ſwine they held to be unclean.

But the ſacrifice was not performed at the temple. The victim was only preſented at the altar. The reſt was done at home.

Fish and doves, or pigeons, were accounted holy, the former to Derceto, the latter to Semiramis; in memory of their different transformations.

* The monument on Fiſh-Hill near London Bridge, 202 foot high, erected in memory of the great fire in the year 1666.

THEY fed many doves in and about their houſes, and if a man had touched one of them, he was unclean all the reſt of that day, as holy as they eſteemed them.

As ſoon as any man had commenced Gallus, or eunuch prieſt, by diſmembring himſelf, he ran about the city with the part in his hand, 'till at length, throwing it into ſome houſe, he thence received a woman's attire, and from that time forward wholly addicted himſelf to a feminine way of life.

THE eunuch prieſts, notwithſtanding, entertained a flame for the women, and the women for them, which, far from being thought ſcandalous or portentous, was eſteemed pure and holy.

IT was unlawful for any Gallus, or eunuch prieſt, to enter into the temple.

WHOSOEVER took on him the pilgrimage to Hierapolis, this holy city, firſt ſhaved his head and eye-brows, then offered up a ſheep in the manner already mentioned. After which he might bathe in nothing but cold water, or drink of any thing elſe, or lie upon ought but the cold ground, till he had reached the city.

THE pilgrims being arrived were entertained at the public charge, and lodged with people of their reſpective countries, here called inſtructors or maſters, who were paid by the public for informing them in the rites and ceremonies of the place.

THE pilgrims were all branded with marks upon the neck and wriſts.

THE young men and boys conſecrated the firſt fruits of their beards and heads of hair, which, being ſhaved or clipped in the temple, were depoſited in a gold or ſilver box, or other veſſel, with the name of the perſon it belonged to inſcribed, and kept in the temple.

WHEN any of the Galli died, their funeral was not after the ordinary manner. Their companions carried their dead bodies into the ſuburbs, where ſetting them down, they hurled ſtones at them, and left them lying upon the bier; where they lay the ſpace of ſeven days, and then were conveyed into the temple; but to have done it before had been prophane.

HE that had ſeen a dead perſon, might not enter into the temple that day; but on the morrow he was abſolved from his uncleanneſs, if he purified himſelf.

ALL the Family of any one deceaſed were to keep from the temple thirty days, and ſhave their heads.

THUS much we have thought neceſſary to ſay, concerning the great Syrian goddeſs and her worſhip, all which is very unhappily diſguiſed in a Greek dreſs. We cannot doubt, but that here we have great remains both of the doctrines and practices of the ancient Syrians, though blended and confounded with many additional ſuperſtitions.

FOR the preſent we ſhall add no more concerning the religions of Syria. The ſuperſtitions at Antioch, under the Selucidæ, we ſhall enlarge on in the hiſtory of thoſe princes. We are not ſure, that Plutarch means this Syrian goddeſs; for hereafter you will ſee, that ſhe was not the only idol that ſeems to have borne the title; when he ſays that ſhe puniſhed thoſe, who eat of two certain ſorts of fiſh, with ulcers and boils all over their bodies, with ſore ſhins, and with a diſſolution of the liver [g]. They are ſaid to have expiated this crime, by putting themſelves in a ſack, and rolling themſelves in the dirt [h]. But, as we have obſerved, we are not certain, that what is here ſaid refers to this goddeſs; though it is likely it may.

Their Temper.

WE learn from Plutarch, that the Syrians, of his time at leaſt, were an effeminate people, prone to tears, and very remarkable for their way of mourning for their deceaſed, hiding themſelves from the light of the ſun, in caves or other obſcure places, many days together. This mournful, tender, effeminate temper of mind, may have always been one of the characteriſticks of the Syrians, as it ſtill is.

Their Learning and Arts.

WE can ſay nothing particular touching the cuſtoms of the ancient Syrians, their civil concerns, or of their arts and learning. They were by ſome * anciently joined with the Phœnicians, as the firſt inventors of Letters; but however true or falſe this may have been, certain it is, that they ſubmitted to no nation that flouriſhed with them, in degree of human knowledge and ſkill in the fine arts. They were ſo happily ſituated, that they may, almoſt, be ſaid to have been in the center of the old world; and as in the ſunſhine of their empire they were enriched by the ſpoils, and tribute, and commerce of the nations far and near,

[g] Περι δεισιδαιμονίας p. 170. [h] Menand. apud Porphyr. Περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων Παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς Ἀπολλ. p. 113.
* Clem. Alexandr. Strom. l. 1 p. 307.

near, they certainly aroſe to a great pitch of ſplendor and magnificence, thoſe great encouragers of ingenuity and induſtry. The altar at Damaſcus, which ſo raviſhed Ahaz king of Judah [i], may ſerve as a noble ſpecimen of ſkill of their artificers.

Their Language.

THEIR language is one of thoſe kindred dialects we commonly call the Oriental tongues, and is pretended to have been the mother of them all; cencerning which, and for our thoughts thereon, we muſt refer the readers to what we have already ſaid [k]. It became a diſtinct tongue ſo early as the days of Jacob, for what his father-in-law and uncle, Laban of Padan-aram, or Meſopotamia, calls Jegar-ſahadutha, is by Jacob himſelf called Galeed [l]. The Syriac was not only the language of Syria but alſo of Meſopotamia, Chaldea; for there is no more difference between the Chaldee and Syriac, than between the Engliſh and Scotch; Aſſyria, and, after the Babyloniſh captivity, of Paleſtine.

THERE are three dialects of the Syrian tongue. 1. The Aramænian, or Syriac properly ſo called, which is the moſt elegant of all, and uſed in Meſopotamia, and by the inhabitants of Roha, or Edeſſa, and Harran, and the outer Syria. 2. The dialect of Paleſtine, ſpoken by the inhabitants of Damaſcus, mount Libanus, and the inner Syria. 3. The Chaldee, or Nabathæan dialect, the moſt rude and unpoliſhed of the three, and current in the mountainous parts of Aſſyria, and in the villages of Irâk, or Babylonia [m].

THE Syriac character is very ancient, and ſuppoſed by ſome to have been in uſe above three hundred years before the birth of Chriſt [n]. There are two ſorts of this character; the Eſtrangelo (G), which is the more ancient and rude,

[i] 2 Kings xvi. 10. [k] See before, vol. 1. p. 433. [l] See Geneſ. xxxi. 47. [m] Abu'lfarag. Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 11. [n] Bernard. Tab. Alph.

(G) This name is generally derived from the Greek word στρόγγυλος, round, as if it was a round character; whereas it is rather ſquare; wherefore, if it muſt be derived from that word, we ſhould rather chooſe to take it in Theophraſtus's ſenſe, who uſes στρόγγυλα ξύλα (17), for rough unhewn timber, by reaſon of its rude and unpoliſhed form.

(17) De Plantis.

rude, and chiefly found in the titles of books, as capitals with us; and that called the Fſhito, the ſimple or common character, which is much more expeditious and beautiful. There was a project ſet on foot, by Paul of Antioch, for adding the letters that are wanting in the Syriac alphabet, as the Greeks had done; which he recommended to the thoughts of James of Edeſſa, who declined it, becauſe he feared, that the books, wrote in the imperfect character or alphabet, might, by ſuch an innovation, come to be loſt [o].

[o] Aſſeman. Biblioth. Orient. tom. 1. p. 479.

THE

The Common Character. Power.	Figure. Joined both to the following and preceding.	Joined to the preceding Letter only.	Joined to the following Letter only.	Single.	*The Eſtrangelo.* Names.	Figure.
The Support of a Vowel.						
B.					*Olaf.*	
G.					*Beth.*	
D.					*Gomal.*	
H.					*Dolath.*	
W.					*He.*	
Z.					*Waw.*	
Hb.					*Zain.*	
T.					*Hheth.*	
Y.					*Teth.*	
C or *Kh.*					*Yûd.*	
L.					*Cof.*	
M.					*Lomad.*	
N.					*Mim.*	
S.					*Nûm.*	
The Support of a Vowel, but a Gutural.					*Semach.*	
					E.	
F. or *P.*					*Pe.*	
S. { glosly pron.					*Sode.*	
K.					*Kof.*	
R.					*R. ſh.*	
Sh.					*Shîn.*	
T. or *Th.*					*Tau.*	

THE Syriac writing, like that of the other eaſtern tongues, was deſtitute of vowels, till towards the latter end of the eighth century, when they were introduced, as is generally ſuppoſed, by Theophilus of Edeſſa, chief aſtrologer to the Khalif al Mohdi, who borrowed them from the Greek alphabet, and firſt made uſe of them, to diſtinguiſh the Greek pronunciation of the names and patronymics, in his Syriac tranſlation of the works of Homer [p]. The marks to expreſs theſe vowels are ſtill nearly in the form of five of the Greek vowels; for they reject Epſilon and the Omicron, there being no ſhort vowels in their tongue. But James of Edeſſa, who flouriſhed about a century before Theophilus, invented ſeven new characters for all the Greek vowels; which he did, at the deſire of Paul of Antioch, to whom he ſent them. They are ſtill extant [q].

THE Syriac is ſaid to have much degenerated, till James of Edeſſa reſtored it to its ancient purity. He was the firſt that wrote a grammar in Syriac [r]. It is an eaſy and elegant, but not a very copious, tongue, and has a great number of Greek words, which were incorporated with it, in the times of the Seleucidæ. There is a number of books in the Syriac, very little known to the Europeans, of which a late writer [s] has given an ample account; but what this tongue is moſt to be valued for, are the excellent tranſlations therein of the old and new teſtament; which equal, if they do not ſurpaſs, thoſe in any other language.

PERHAPS no nation, of equal antiquity, had a more conſiderable trade than the ancient Syrians. We cannot doubt, but they had ſhips on the Mediterranean, as ſoon as any of their neighbours; and, by the vicinity of the river Euphrates, it is paſt diſpute, that they traded with the eaſtern regions upon that river very early. They had many valuable commodities of their own to carry into other parts. The eaſy and ſafe navigation of the Euphrates, when compared with that of the ſea, would tempt one to conſider them as older Merchants than the Phœnicians, or even the Edomites; who muſt have made very early attempts upon the Arabian gulf, in compariſon of which the Mediterranean was a main ocean. We the rather inſiſt on the trade of this ancient people, becauſe we do not know, that it has

Their trade.

[p] Abu'lfarag. ubi ſupr. p. 147. Echellenſis in not. ad Catal. Ebedjeſw. p. 180. Aſſeman. ubi ſupr. p. 522. [q] Apud Bar Hebr. (vel Abu'lfarag.) in Libr. ſplendor. Vide Aſſeman. ubi ſupr. p. 479. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid.

has yet been fully handled, or profeſſedly, by any body. Herodotus [t] indeed reports, that the Phœnicians were much older navigators than either the ancient Syrians or Egyptians; ſaying, that they carried on the commerce of Aſſyria and Egypt by their ſhipping. Here, by the way, is a further proof than we have hitherto given, that Syria and Aſſyria were confounded together by the ancients. For how ſhould the Phœnicians have ſailed to the coaſts of the proper Aſſyria, an inland country; a country they could not poſſibly have reached, but by doubling the cape of Good-hope, and entering the Perſian gulf? A voyage which could have anſwered no end, ſeeing they might have ſupplied that country, and have been ſupplied from thence, at an infinitely cheaper rate, by means of their next neighbours the Syrians, who navigated the Euphrates; and who, it cannot well be diſputed[u], were the firſt that brought the Perſian and Indian commodities into the weſt of Aſia. Syria was therefore the moſt ancient magazine for ſuch commodities, and chiefly ſupplied all the weſtern parts; nor can we think otherwiſe, than that the Midianitiſh merchants [v], who bought Joſeph, had loaded their camels in Syria, with the aromatics and other precious things they were carrying into Egypt. Among which it is no unlikely matter, that they had commodities of other countries beſides thoſe of Syria. Till interpreters can agree upon the genuin explication of the text, we have liberty to think as largely this way as we pleaſe.

Now becauſe the Syrians engroſſed this lucrative commerce, they may have been in great meaſure negligent of the Mediterranean navigation, chiefly intent upon their eaſtern trade, which drew merchants from all the weſtern parts to trafic in their country, as well for their own growth as for foreign productions; and particularly the Phœnicians, their next and moſt induſtrious neighbours. So that Herodotus [w] may be much in the right, when he talks of the trade they anciently carried on for Aſſyria [Syria] and Egypt. We might draw ſome natural parallels of this caſe, ſo as to leave it almoſt indubitable. The Spaniards and Portugueze, who have engroſſed all the wealth, as it were, of the Weſt Indies, make little or no uſe of ſhipping, if compared with the two trading nations, England and Holland, who may be ſaid to drive on the commerce of the whole world in their

[t] l. 1, c. 1. [u] See before, p. 134. [w] Ubi ſupr.

their bottoms. The Syrians then, it is likely, neglected ſea affairs, and therein fell much ſhort of the Phœnicians.

THIS was the ſtate of the ancient Syrian trade and navigation, which we may ſafely ſuppoſe encreaſed from time to time, till their king Hazael, as you will ſee in his reign, graſped at the whole trade of both eaſt and ſouth, by ſeizing on the famous emporium, Elath, on the Red-ſea. The Syrians now had a commodious outlet to the ſouthermoſt parts of Arabia, Ethiopia and the more ſouthern ſhores of Afric, not to mention Egypt, who could not be very fond of her new neighbours, and may have been ſhy of them, and that, upon very juſt grounds. But this Syrian monopoly was of ſhort duration. They had ſcarce ſettled themſelves on the ſhores of the Arabian gulf, but their king Hazael died, and they loſt Elath: which, however, they recovered again under their laſt king Rezin; but their empire was ſoon after extinguiſhed, together with his life; and therefore, though the Syrian colony remained afterwards at Elath, we ſhall purſue their commerce no further, it being foreign to our preſent purpoſe; but we ſhall endeavour to confirm what we have here advanced, when we are to treat of the Phœnician affairs. In the mean time, let any one conſider the ſtate of trade in the Levant and Mediterranean, before the diſcovery, or re-diſcovery, as ſome [x] would have, of it, of the cape of Good-hope, and, poſſibly, he will be pretty much of our opinion. Diodorus Siculus numbers the Syrians among the mariners employed by Semiramis in her Indian expedition; but, as we are not diſpoſed to give much credit to his author Cteſias, we ſhall make no uſe of his hint, thinking it of no ſervice to us.

SECT. III.

Of the Chronology of the ancient Syrians.

BEFORE we proceed to the little we can ſay upon this obſcure ſubject, we will exhibit a ſeries of the races of the ancient kings of Syria, according to different writers.

The

[x] V. Huet Hiſtoir. du Com. et de la Navigat. des Anc. Cap. 8.

The Kings of Zobah, or Sophene.

According to Scripture.	According to Josephus.	Contemporary with
Rehob - - - -	Arach - -	Saul.
Hadadezer, or Hadarezer (A)	Adrazar - -	David.

The Kings of Damascus.

According to Scripture.	According to Nic. Damasc.	According to Josephus.	Contemporary with
* * * *	Adad I. - -	Adad - -	David.
Rezon - -	Adad II. - -	Uncertain -	Solomon.
Hezion - -	Adad III.	* * * * * * * *	Rehoboam.
Tabrimon - -	Adad IV.	* * * * * * *	Abijam.
Ben-hadad I.	Adad V. - -	Adad - -	Asa.
Ben-hadad II.	Adad VI.	* * * * * * *	Jehoshaphat and Jehoram.
Hazael - - -	Adad VII.	* * * * * * * *	Ahaziah and Joash.
Ben-hadad III.	Adad VIII.	* * * * * * *	Amaziah.
* * * * *	Adad IX.	* * * * * * * *	Uzziah.
Rezin - -	Adad X.	Rases, or Arases.	Jotham and Ahaz.

The Kings of Hamath.

According to Scripture.	According to Josephus.	Contemporary with
Toi * * * *	Thœnus * *	David.
Joram, or Hadoram.	Joram * * * * * *	
* * * * * * *		

The Kings of Geshur.

According to Scripture.

Ammihud - -	Contemporary with - -	Saul. - -
Talmai - - - - - - - - - -		David - -
* * * *		

(A) The difference between the Hebrew ד D and the Hebrew ר R, is so little, that it is no wonder we find this king's name spelt these two ways.

We have not minded the Seniority of these kingdoms, by placing them either in an exact collateral, or successive order; but have given the second place to Damascus, because it rose upon the ruins of Zobah, though Hamath and Geshur were kingdoms before it (B).

We have no positive assurance, that Zobah coalesced under one king in the days of Saul, or, consequently, that Rehob was their first king; we only build upon what we apprehend to have been the case. Their king had been beaten by Saul, and they thereupon may have come to the resolution of setting up one supreme, perceiving the Israelites to prosper so under their new monarchy. The Philistines seem to have done the like [y], at the same time, and for the same reason. If this be granted, none is so likely to have been the first king as Rehob, the father of the great Hadadezer, who in the days of David was so firmly seated in the newly-erected throne of Zobah, that he aspired at the universal monarchy of Syria, and in effect, was become a very great and mighty prince, as you will see in the history of his reign [z]; as also that if he was not the second, he was certainly the last, king of Zobah; for we hear no more of the kingdom.

The kingdom of Damascus rose upon the ruins of the kingdom of Zobah. It was founded by Rezon in the latter part of Solomon's reign. That Rezon seized on Damascus, while David was alive, or during the best days of Solomon, cannot be reconciled with scripture, as you will see in the history of those two kings; and that he deferred it till the reign of Rehoboam is very improbable; it may be doubted whether he lived so long: for, supposing him to have been but thirty years of age, which is the least we well can, when he served under Hadadezer of Zobah against David, he must have been about one hundred

[x] 1 Sam. xiv. 47. [y] See before, p. 252. [z] See 1 Kings xi. 24.

(B Not that we imagine it had never been a kingdom before. Nicolas of Damascus (1) writes, that Abraham was king there, which we may consider in the life of that patriarch. And from the same author, we suppose, Trogus borrowed the kings of Damascus he mentions to have reigned there, both before, and after, Abraham; as Damascus, Azelus, and Adores before him, and Israhel after him, as well as all the rest of his mistaken history of the Jews, who, according to him, are originally of Damascus.

(1) In Excerpt. Vales.

years of age when Rehoboam began to reign. It is moſt likely then, that Rezon erected the kingdom of Damaſcus, while Solomon was taken up with his vanities, and had forgot both himſelf and his people.

JOSEPHUS, as may be obſerved in the table, makes one Adad king of Damaſcus contemporary with David, in which he is a ſtrict follower of Nicolas of Damaſcus, whom in the next reign he drops. Joſephus [a], inſtead of allowing Rezon to have made himſelf king at Damaſcus, ſeems to inſinuate, that he made Hadad, the Edomite, king there, or ſome where elſe in Syria. We know there are thoſe who in this matter think along with him. Perhaps the beſt argument that may be brought in proof, that the fugitive king of Edom was eſtabliſhed on the throne of Syria [b], may be, that his ſucceſſors poſſeſſed themſelves of part of the Edomitiſh dominions, and particularly Elath upon the Arabian gulph: but this argument will have but little weight with thoſe, who conſider that ambition and avarice may have had as large a ſhare in that acquiſition, as any conviction of an inherent right. But we forget, that our intention was only to prove, that the kingdom of Damaſcus commenced in the latter part of Solomon's reign.

NICOLAS of Damaſcus ſeems to agree well enough with the ſcripture accounts of the Damaſcene kings, and particularly, if we ſuppoſe his firſt Adad to have been Hadadezer of Zobah; and that he was ſo, is pretty plain: nor is it any wonder, that he ſhould have made the city of his birth the ſeat of a kingdom, only one reign longer than he ought to have made it. Beſides, he may not be altogether miſtaken, in calling his firſt Adad king of Damaſcus; for, as may be obſerved hereafter, he certainly was king or chief over that province, though he did not there reſide. By calling his firſt Adad the Hadadezer of Zobah, we bring them to quadrate very well with the ſcripture.

IT is impoſſible to determine the exact number of years each king reigned, wherefore we have only placed them over-againſt the princes of David's line, or the kings of Judah.

WE have on purpoſe avoided a dry diſcuſſion of this point; for there is no certainty to be expected in what concerns the ſucceſſion of theſe kings, and the length of their reigns.

THE kingdom of Hamath roſe together with that of Zobah, as appears pretty plain by the wars between them.

But

[a] Antiq. l. 8. c. 2. [b] See before, p. 167.

But we muſt obſerve, that it is at a venture we have placed Joram as ſucceſſor to his father Toi in the kingdom.

THE kingdom of Geſhur ſeems to have riſen together with Zobah and Hamath. We are not ſure, that Ammihud preceded his ſon Talmai in the kingdom; but it is very likely he did.

SECT. IV.

The Reigns of the Kings of the ancient Syrians.

The KINGS of ZOBAH.

REHOB we ſuppoſe to have been the ſole king of Zobah, and to have laid the foundations of his ſon's grandeur. Rehob.

HADADEZER, or Haderezer, the ſon of Rehob, was a great and ambitious prince, and remarkable for his unfortunate wars with king David. He had warred with advantage againſt the king of Hamath; aiming at the univerſal monarchy of Syria, we imagine; but when he oppoſed David's progreſs towards the reduction of the land, which had been promiſed to Abraham and his ſeed, quite to the Euphrates [a], his good fortune left him. In the firſt battle he fought with David he loſt one thouſand chariots, ſeven thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand foot. The Syrians of Damaſcus then ſent their army to reinforce him. In the ſecond battle Hadadezer loſt two and twenty thouſand men. Thus beaten out of the field, the conqueror poſſeſſed himſelf of a good part of Syria, and particularly Damaſcene. Hadadezer now loſt his golden ſhields; for ſuch he had in his treaſury, we ſuppoſe; his two cities Betah and Berothai, exceedingly rich in braſs, were plundered [b], and his dominion was conſiderably diminiſhed and impoveriſhed. But it is likely nothing perplexed him more than the defection of Rezon, afterwards king of Damaſcus, who leading the forces ſent him from that province, or Hadadezer's own, uncertain which, deſerted him in the midſt of his adverſe fortune, and, gathering a band of men about him, lived an outlaw, and upon the ſpoil [c]. Hadadezer. Year of the Flood, 1955. Year before Chriſt, 1044.

[a] See Geneſ. xv. 18. [b] 2 Sam. viii. 3—9. [c] 1 Kings xi. 23, 24.

It is not expreſſed, that Hadadezer became tributary to king David, nor indeed is it likely that he did, by what follows. For he furniſhed Hanun king of Ammon with twenty thouſand men againſt David; but they, with the other auxiliaries of that war, were put to a ſhameful flight by Joab [d]. Though he was paid for theſe twenty thouſand men, and was by no means a principal in this war, yet the next year he ſeems to have made himſelf ſo [e]. He called in all the petty kings, that owed him homage, on the other ſide of the Euphrates; and every where elſe, as far as his power extended, he levied forces. By which means he got together a very conſiderable army, which he committed to the conduct of Shobach his General, to aſſiſt Hanun againſt David a ſecond time; or rather to make a deſperate effort to retrieve his own honour and dominion, or to humble David, if poſſible. But this great hoſt alſo miſcarried, being routed with the loſs of many thouſands, and Shobach himſelf was ſlain on the ſpot. The battle was fought at a place called Helam; about forty thouſand of the Syrians were ſlain, and among the reſt Shobach, as we have ſaid. The petty princes, that ſerved Hadadezer in this fatal warfare, made their peace with David, and became his tributaries [f], as Hadadezer himſelf did, as is very likely; concerning whom, or the kingdom of Zobah, we find no further account.

The KINGS *of* DAMASCUS.

THE kingdom of Zobah being undone, that of Damaſcus roſe upon the ruins of it. REZON was the firſt king, the ſame who deſerted from Hadadezer king of Zobah. He ſeized on Damaſcus, and was the founder of this noble kingdom, and he abhorred Iſrael, to whom he was a very troubleſome, inveterate enemy, taking advantage of Solomon's neglect [g].

Hezion. HEZION ſucceeded Rezon; but whether he was his ſon, or any otherwiſe related to him, we know not (A). He

[d] See before, p. 125. [e] See before in the notes, p. 126. [f] 2 Sam. x. 15—19. [g] 1 Kings xi. 23. 25.

(A) It is the joint opinion, of Sir John Marſham (1), Sir Iſaac Newton (2), and archbiſhop Uſher (3), that Rezon and Hezion are different names for the ſame king. It is impoſſible for us to declare ourſelves, either for or againſt it.

(1) Canon. Chronic. Secul. 13 amended, p. 221. (2) Chronol. of anc. Kingd. (3) Annal.

He lived at peace and amity with the kings of Judah and Iſrael [h].

TABRIMON (B) the ſon of Hezion. He, as well as his father, had no miſunderſtandings with the kings of Judah and Iſrael [i].

BEN-HADAD the ſon of Tabrimon. Ambaſſadors came to him with large gifts from Aſa king of Judah, by whom he was tempted to make war upon Baaſha king of Iſrael; from whom his army took Ijon, Dan, Abel-beth-maachah, all Cinneroth, and all the land of Naphtali [k], and, in the end, extended his power to the city of Samaria itſelf, as we ſhall ſee anon. Ben-hadad I. Year of the Flood, 2059. Year before Chriſt, 940.

BEN-HADAD the ſon of Ben-hadad. He vigorouſly proſecuted the enmity his father had ſo ſucceſsfully begun againſt Iſrael, but therein was twice very remarkably baffled by the interpoſition of heaven. When he firſt marched againſt Iſrael, we underſtand it to have been with mighty parade, he having no leſs than thirty two kings over his chariots [l], and a vaſt army of both horſe and foot. He proceeded and ſat down before Samaria, and ſtrait ſummoned Ahab the king to ſurrender himſelf as his vaſſal; to acknowledge himſelf to be his creature; and that all belonging to him was at his ſervice and diſpoſal. To this he received as ſubmiſſive an anſwer as he could wiſh for. But his arrogance ſwelled to that pitch, that a bare verbal ſubmiſſion would not ſerve his turn. He ſent into Samaria, therefore, to admoniſh Ahab, that he intended the next day to ſend ſome officers to ſearch his palace and the city, for all the riches, women, and fine children (C), that they might ſeize on them, and bring them away. The king of Iſrael boldly refuſed to ſubmit to ſo unparalleled Ben-hadad II. Year of the Flood, 2098. Year before Chriſt, 901.

[h] 1 Kings xv. 18. [i] Ibid. xv. 18. [k] Ibid. ℣ 20.
[l] Compare ibid. xx. 1. with ibid. xxii. 31.

(B) Sir Iſaac Newton (4) reckons him to have been ſubject to the Egyptians, who under Seſac, or Shiſhak, conquered Syria (5), in this king's reign, according to his hypotheſis; and that his ſon Ben-hadad ſhook off the yoke.

(C) This laſt particular is aggravated by ſome (6) into a great piece of inſolence and brutality; as if he ſent to Ahab for his moſt beautiful male children, to ſin againſt nature with them.

(4) Ubi ſupr. (5) See before in the Notes, p. 32.
(6) Vide Cleric. in 1 Reg. xx. 3.

an indignity, which Benhadad little expecting, was highly exasperated. He sent a third time to Ahab, to try whether he could not threaten him into so base a compliance, wishing himself in a worse condition than Ahab, if he did not bring such an army before Samaria, that every soldier taking but a handful of it (D), there should be no signs of it left. He received a stubborn reply to this vain menace, Ahab advising him to wait the event of things before he reckoned upon them.

THE Syrian army, which had hitherto been in loose array, was now ordered to invest the city of Samaria in form, and get all ready for the assault. While this was doing, Ben-hadad, who seems to have been a very voluptuous prince, and much given to drink, betook himself to his pleasure, fearless of all danger, for he could apprehend none. As he was in the midst of his security and carousals, he was told, that a party was drawing near from the city, which at first caused a small alarm in the camp, and disturbed Ben-hadad himself. But when he understood what the matter was, he commanded, that they should be brought before him alive, whether their designs were for peace or for war, and then returned to his cups. The party which was coming out of the city was, in fact, Ahab and a choice company with him; who, though it was noon-day, were encouraged to fall upon the great host of the Syrians. The Syrians on the other hand, dreaming of nothing

(D) This proud message is very variously interpreted. The words of the text itself are: *The gods do so unto me, and more also, if the dust of Samaria shall suffice for handfuls, for all the people that follow me* (7) or as it in the margin, are at my feet. This, according to Josephus (8), means no more, than that he had so numberless a multitude with him, that each taking but a handful of soil, should encompass Samaria with works that should over-top the wall of the city. Others (9) take it much as we do; that if each man in his army took but a handful of the ruins of Samaria, they might carry the whole place away with them. Others (10) again suppose his meaning to have been, that he would return with such an army, that if each soldier took but a handful of his country, nothing of it should be left remaining. Take it which way you will, it was a high vaunt, and passionately spoken to set off the greatness of his kingdom.

(7) 1 Kings xx. 10. (8) Antiq. l. 8. c. 8. (9) Cleric. in 1 Reg. ubi supr. (10) Patrick upon 1 Kings xx. 10.

nothing leſs than an aſſault, thought they ſhould have nothing to do, but to conduct them to their king. But when Ahab and his followers were come up, and all at once laid about them furiouſly, the Syrians fled, and a pannic fear ſpread itſelf all over the camp, ſo that there was no one that thought of any thing elſe but ſaving himſelf; and particularly Ben-hadad mounted a horſe, and rode away with the reſt as faſt as he could, inſtead of rallying and confirming his people. They all fled, and the Iſraelites purſued them with a very great ſlaughter.

THE Syrians were covered with ſhame at ſo inglorious a flight, and would gladly have found ſome excuſe to palliate it. They pretended, that, the gods of the Iſraelites being the gods of the hills, it was no wonder, that ſuch a misfortune had befallen them; and, to comfort their king, aſſured him, that if he could but draw out the Iſraelites upon a plain, his gods would prevail in their turn, as they preſided over the plains (E). They moreover laid ſome blame upon the two and thirty kings, as not hearty in his cauſe, or ſubmiſſive enough to diſcipline, and deſired, that truſty ſkilful officers might be ſubſtituted inſtead of them. They then adviſed their king to levy juſt ſuch an army as the former, chariot for chariot, horſe for horſe, and never doubt of ſucceſs.

BEN-HADAD hearkened to all this, and bore his diſhonour as uneaſily, we may ſuppoſe, as any of his ſubjects could for him. And when the ſeaſon of the year came about, he marched towards the king of Iſrael with ſuch an army, as if he meant to make good what he had boaſted towards the city of Samaria. He pitched in Aphek, in a plain we may be ſure, to be within the reach of his own gods, and *filled the country*, as it is expreſſed. Seven days he lay here incamped, over againſt the deſpicable numbers of the Iſraelites (F). Upon the ſeventh day it came to a battle

Year of the Flood, 2069. Year before Chriſt, 900.

(E) So early was the notion of topical deities, and of the gods fighting together with the men who worſhipped them. However, they muſt have known, that the Jewiſh law was delivered on a hill; that the temple of Jeruſalem ſtood on a hill. They could not but know, that the enemy's country was very hilly, and that the Iſraelites were particularly fond of ſacrificing and worſhipping in high places. Knowing all this, it is no wonder, that the Syrians, conſidering the theology of the times, ſhould talk after ſo wild a rate.

(F) It may be very well aſked, why the Syrians, ſeeing the advantage of numbers ſo greatly on their ſide, lay idle ſo long? But

battle between them, and that day the Syrians loſt of foot only one hundred thouſand. This ſlaughter ſo confounded them, that they gave ground, and retreated with precipitation to the city of Aphek itſelf, which was near, where twenty ſeven thouſand of them were cruſhed to death by the city wall, which fell on them (G).

BEN-HADAD now gave all over for loſt, and was not a little ſurprized, perhaps, that his gods had failed him. In deſpair therefore he concealed himſelf in the city of Aphek; but his officers reminding him, that the kings of Iſrael had been generous enemies, adviſed him to throw himſelf upon Ahab's mercy, and offered themſelves to prepare the conqueror to receive him kindly, with ſackcloth on their loins, and ropes about their necks. In this humble diſguiſe they accordingly went and accoſted Ahab, intreating him in behalf of their king. Ahab, overjoyed at his victory, was in admirable temper to receive them, and in a kind of tranſport called Ben-hadad his brother, and declared he was glad to hear he was living. The artful Syrians caught at the word brother, and made the beſt uſe of it they could for the ſervice of their diſconſolate king. Ben-hadad then was brought to Ahab, who deſired him to ſtep up into his chariot. While he was thus in the chariot with Ahab, he made many proteſtations and promiſes to him. He promiſed to deliver up all his father had wreſted from Iſrael, and not only that, but to allow Ahab great authority in his capital Damaſcus, even the ſame his own father had enjoyed in Samaria (H). By theſe fair ſpeeches he

But it may be anſwered, that the Iſraelites were incamped on a hill, and therefore they would not venture to attack them, chooſeing to ſtay till they ſhould ſhift their quarters.

(G) This is ſo extraordinary a caſualty, that it may be well aſked how it came to paſs? It is ſuppoſed they ranged themſelves round the walls of the city to make a defence; and that the walls were beaten down upon them by the Iſraelites, or ſhook down by an earthquake (11). In a word, that God was immediately concerned in this deſtruction (12). It need not be ſuppoſed they were all deſtroyed, but partly killed, and partly wounded or diſperſed.

(H) What privilege or authority Ben-hadad promiſes to Ahab is very doubtful. What privilege or authority Ben-hadad's father

(11) Patrick upon 1 Kings xx. 30. (12) Cleric. in 1 Reg. xx. 30.

he ſo wrought upon the mind of Ahab, that he was immediately reſtored to his liberty, and a peace was concluded [m].

How ſtrictly ſoever Ben-hadad adhered to his word with Ahab in other reſpects, he kept poſſeſſion of Ramoth-gilead, which was the ſubject of a freſh war, wherein he was invaded by Ahab, who alſo prevailed on Jehoſhaphat, king of Judah, to be his confederate. The two kings led their forces againſt Ramoth-gilead; where they found the Syrians prepared to receive them; but Ahab, having ſufficient reaſon to fear that the enemy would mark him out for deſtruction, diſguiſed himſelf before the battle, while the king of Judah put on his royal robes. The apprehenſions

[m] 1 Kings xx.

ther enjoyed in Samaria, is a queſtion we ſhould be glad to clear up, were it poſſible. Joſephus (13) has it, that Ahab ſhould have as free liberty in Damaſcus as his father had had in the city of Samaria, which was built but a few years before by Omri king of Iſrael. It is moſt likely, according to the LXX and the Vulgate, that he promiſes Ahab, the Iſraelites ſhould live free in Damaſcus, with all the liberties they enjoyed at home; that they ſhould have free ingreſs and egreſs ['Εξοδον], according to the former, or build them ſtreets to live together, by their own country laws, according to the latter; and the ſame, it ſeems, had been enjoyed by the Syrians in Samaria: this is the apparent ſenſe of our own verſion of this paſſage, and the moſt ſtrictly agreeable with the original. "Some think by ſtreets, he means market-"places where commodities were ſold, the toll of which ſhould "belong to Ahab. Others think he means courts of judgment, "where he ſhould maintain a juriſdiction over Ben-hadad's ſub-"jects: others, that we now call a piazza, of which Ahab ſhould "receive the rents. But commonly interpreters think he means "fortifications, whereby he might bridle the chief city of the "kingdom of Syria; that they might not make irruptions into "the land of Iſrael. Citadels, as we now ſpeak, to keep them "in awe, and to be a check to them, if they attempted any "thing againſt the Iſraelites: yet, after all, Gotf. Vallandus "hath ſaid a great deal to prove, that the Hebrew word ſignifies "Palaces; which he being allowed to build, was a great token "of ſubjection (14)." We muſt here obſerve, that we read of no cities Ben-hadad's father took from Ahab's. What he took was from Baaſha. However, he may have made other incroachments upon the kingdom of Iſrael, which are omitted.

(13) Antiq. ubi ſupr.) (14) Patrick upon 1 Kings xx. 34.

sions of Ahab were not without foundation; for the king of Syria commanded his two and thirty captains, who had rule over his chariots, to direct their arms only against the king of Israel. This had like to have proved fatal to Jehoshaphat, who had inevitably been slain, had not the officers ceased their pursuit of him, when they discovered that he was not the person they had in commission to destroy. But Ahab's precautions could not save him from the fate he endeavoured to evade; for one of the Syrians (I) drew a bow at a venture, and smote him between the joints of his harness: upon which he ordered his charioteer to carry him out of the field of battle, and died in the evening. But whether the Syrian chiefs had any knowledge of this accident, and, giving over their search, joined in the assault, we cannot pretend to say; but it appears, that the battle was fierce and obstinate, and that it lasted till night; under the covert of which each side drew off, with equal loss and doubtful victory [n].

The story of Naaman's leprosy.

Now the general, who commanded the Syrians in the last battle, was called Naaman; and, for his behaviour and conduct upon that day, his master beheld him as the deliverer of his country, and received him into highest favour as such: and indeed he seems to have been a very excellent person; but, unfortunately, he was a leper, which drew him to Samaria, hoping there to be cleansed, as he was. For the Syrians, it seems, continuing at enmity with Israel, made frequent inroads into their country, and, at times, carried off great booty, and numbers of captives. It happened, that a captive among the rest, a little maid, as she is called, served in the house of Naaman; and observing her master to be a leper, would wish him at Samaria, where was a prophet who could relieve him. Thus was she wont to express herself to her mistress; and at last it was reported to Naaman himself, that she had said so and so. Naaman then told it to Ben-hadad, who was for embracing any opportunity to procure him relief, and with that intent wrote a letter to the king of Israel, to recommend Naaman to him, and to entreat, that he would cure him of his leprosy. With this letter Naaman de-

[n] 1 Kings xxii. 3, 30—35.

(I) The Syrian who drew this bow is, by Josephus, called Aman. According to the same historian, Ben-hadad was in this battle himself; to us it seems, that he did not command in person, but committed the conduct of this war to Naaman.

departed, taking with him ten talents of ſilver, ſix thouſand pieces of gold, and ten changes of raiment, that he might reward the perſon that ſhould cleanſe him, in proportion to his own elevated rank, and in proportion to the value of ſo great a bleſſing. He mounted his chariot, and went, attended by a number of horſemen, and delivered his letter to the king of Iſrael. Jehoram miſtook Ben-hadad's meaning, and thought he wanted him in perſon to cure Naaman, an impoſſibility for him to do, and fancied, that he only ſought thereby an opportunity to wage open war with him. Naaman, in this comfortleſs dilemma, received a meſſage from Eliſha, who promiſed to help him. He therefore went to the prophet's houſe, and ſtopped at the door with all his train. Here he waited ſome time, and at laſt a ſervant came out to him from the prophet, with orders, that he ſhould waſh himſelf ſeven times in the river Jordan (K). This direction, after ſo patient an attendance, provoked him to diſdain. He thought he was derided. He expected the prophet to have appeared in perſon, in a formal manner, to call upon the name of GOD, and apply his hands to the afflicted parts. If waſhing could be of any avail, he thought the ſtreams of Abana and Pharpar at Damaſcus, far beyond any waters of Iſrael: in ſhort, thus diſappointed, as he thought, he gave vent to the keeneſt reſentment. But his attendants, much grieved to obſerve him in ſuch diſorder, begged him, in the moſt diſcreet and affectionate terms, to conſider how eaſy a matter it was to follow the prophet's directions, whether any good came of it or not; and he, being a man of ſenſe, hearkened to them, and drove to the river, and dipping himſelf ſeven times therein, was perfectly changed (L).

He

(K) It is obſerved, that by the laws of Moſes lepers were ſprinkled ſeven times (14). It is ſuppoſed, that there was ſomething peculiarly efficacious in a ſevenfold repetition, as the Almighty went through the great and beneficent work of creation within ſeven days (15); that accordingly it was enjoyned in honour of god, and, being performed, had its proper effects.

(L) This, ſays biſhop Patrick (16), was the only cure of a leproſy we read of, till CHRIST, the great prophet, came into the world. It was, and ſtill is, in thoſe parts, as loathſome a diſ-

(14) Levit. xiv. 7. (15) Cleric. in 2 Reg. v. (16) Upon Kings v. 14.

He returned to the prophet with inexpreſſible joy, renounced all idolatry, and would gladly have forced a preſent upon him; but his endeavours this way were to no purpoſe. He entreated the prophet to grant him two mule-loads of earth, it being his deſign to worſhip or ſacrifice to none other but God. He then conſulted Eliſha, whether or no it might be lawful for him to attend on his king in the temple of Rimmon, his office requiring him to ſupport his prince at his devotions, ſo that he could not avoid bowing down when he did. As for the earth, it is not ſaid that the prophet granted him any (L); and as for his ſcruple of conſcience we have not the prophet's deciſion thereon; he left it, perhaps undecided, as a matter of indifference in Naaman's caſe, and diſmiſſed him in peace.

Naaman, thus purified both in body and mind, departed; but, being on the road, was circumvented by Gehazi the prophet's ſervant, who accoſted him with a forgery in the prophet's name, whereby he got from him one talent of ſilver and two changes of raiment; wherefore his leproſy became entailed upon Gehazi and his poſterity [o]; which is ſaid to have given this generous Syrian an opportunity of diſplaying a noble inſtance of his generoſity, the good effects of which are ſaid to ſubſiſt at this very day (M).

Soon

[o] 2 Kings v.

diſeaſe, as it is inveterate. It differs much from the leproſy which is ſeen among us. It defiles the whole ſurface of the body with a foul ſcurff, deforms the joints, particularly at the wriſts and ankles, which ſwell out with a gouty ſcrophulous ſubſtance, very loathſome to look on; the legs of thoſe afflicted with it look like thoſe of old battered horſes: in ſhort, it may paſs for the utmoſt corruption of the human body on this ſide of the grave (17).

(L) It is not ſaid in the text, that Eliſha granted this his requeſt; but our tranſlators, in their argument to the chapter, where this whole ſtory is found, imagine that he did. From the words which follow, it appears, that he wanted this earth to raiſe an altar with it, a pious motive, though miſtaken.

(M) This is ſaid by a meer tradition, no doubt, but we do not know how to paſs it over. At Damaſcus juſt by the city walls, is

(17) Maundrell's journey from Aleppo to Jeruſ. in the append. letter 11.

Soon after Naaman's return to Damaſcus, Ben-hadad began to execute ſome private deſigns againſt Jehoram king of Iſrael; whence it is natural enough gathered, that Naaman either died, or reſigned, or was diſcarded, very ſoon after his return home (N). It was not an open war that Ben-hadad meditated againſt the king of Iſrael, but all was ſecret, and myſterious, and ſtratagem (O). But Ben-hadad was continually fruſtrated in all his aims, and began to ſuſpect the fidelity of ſome about him. To remove ſo dangerous a ſuſpicion from his breaſt, he was told, that it muſt certainly be Eliſha who diſconcerted all his meaſures, he being indued with ſuch a degree of omniſcience that nothing could be concealed from him, though tranſacted in the greateſt privacy imaginable. Ben-hadad had heard enough concerning that prophet, from Naaman, to incline him to believe as much; and therefore, by a ſtrange abſence of thought, reſolved to lay hands on him in the firſt place; and to that purpoſe detached a ſtrong party to Dothan, where he underſtood him then to be. They

is an hoſpital richly endowed for the reception of lepers; ſaid to be the ſame built by Naaman for Gehazi, ſervant to Eliſha (18).

(N) A late writer (19) tells us, without heſitation, that Naaman loſt his great office of general for refuſing to worſhip Rimmon; but the argument he builds on, which is the next thing we ſhall conſider ſeems to be but weak.

(O) The words of the text (20) itſelf are: *Then the king of Syria warred againſt Iſrael, and took counſel with his ſervants, ſaying, in ſuch and ſuch a place ſhall be my camp*; and by what follows, he enjoyned them ſtrict ſecrecy. From hence the late writer (21), we juſt now touched on, affirms, that Naaman was diſplaced; for which reaſon the king of Syria now commanded his army in perſon, and being not uſed to ſuch exerciſes, he on all occaſions conſulted his general officers. Did not Ben-hadad command his army twice in perſon before; once at Samaria, and once in the fatal day of Aphek? why then ſhould he not command it a third time? and why muſt he be ſo ignorant in military affairs? if he committed his army for once to the conduct of another, muſt it be thought he did it always? Finally, what wiſe king was there ever, who did not on all occaſions conſult his general officers? It is certainly wrong in an hiſtorian to be poſitive in matters of palpable darkneſs, to be fond of an hopotheſis, that is, to write by the ſpirit.

(18) Thevenot's travels into the Levant, par. 11. book 1. cap. iv. (19) Bedford' Script. Chron. p. 627. (20) 2 Kings vi. 8. (21) Bedford ubi ſupr.

They came to that city in the night, and the next morning were, by the prophet, ſmitten with ſuch a deception of ſight, that they ſuffered him to guide them into the very heart of the city of Samaria, where their right ſenſe returned to them, that they might behold their ſituation. Here, inſtead of being made priſoners of war, they were hoſpitably entertained, and generouſly diſmiſſed; and making their report to Ben-hadad of all that had happened, the prophet's power, and the king's humanity, a ſtop was put to the war (P).

THIS peaceable diſpoſition ſubſiſted not long, and in the concluſion Ben-hadad marched againſt Samaria [p] once more. The city he beſieged with his whole force, reduced it to the greateſt ſtraits, and was on the point of taking it by famine; ſo that either the ſiege was long and obſtinate, or elſe the place was poorly ſtored. He, as we have ſaid, was on the point of taking the city, when he was alarmed in the night, by a noiſe like that of a great army ruſhing in upon him; and preſently it came into his head, that Joram had hired the kings of the Hittites (Q) and Egypt to come to his relief; the apprehenſion of which ſo terrified him, that he raiſed the ſiege with unſpeakable precipitation. His army would not ſo much as take time to mount, but left every thing ſtanding in the camp juſt as it was, when they took the alarm, and dropped every thing that was in the leaſt cumberſom to them as they went along. They might have tracked them by the cloaths and veſſels they threw away from them in their haſte [q].

BEN-HADAD muſt at this time have been well advanced in years, and whether he had contracted ſome illneſs by the

[p] 2 Kings vi. 8—29. [q] Ibid. vii. 6, 7.

(P) According to Joſephus (22), upon the report they made to their king, he gave over his private deſigns, and ſtrait reſolved, inſtead thereof, to wage open war with Jehoram.

(Q) Who theſe kings of the Hittites were is very uncertain. Joſephus (23) calls them the kings of the iſlands. That any remnant of the Canaanitiſh Hittites ſhould at this time be formidable in any of theſe parts, is paſt our underſtanding, though ſome think that way (24). We are told, the remnant of them was reduced to the moſt abject degree of ſervitude by Solomon (25).

(22) Antiq. l. 9. c. 2. (23) Ubi ſupr. (24) Patrick upon 1 Kings x. 29. Cleric in 2 Reg. vii. 6. (25) See before, p. 214.

the fatigue of his flight and violence of his ſurprize, or whether his ſpirits were broken by ſo repeated a ſhame, he took to his bed. As he lay ſick it was told him, the prophet Eliſha was coming to Damaſcus (R); whereupon he ſent Hazael, with forty camels load of the choiceſt productions (S) of Damaſcus, to conſult the prophet concerning his indiſpoſition. Hazael then went to the prophet, whom he accoſted in the moſt reſpectful manner on the behalf of Ben-hadad. The anſwer he received was, that Ben-hadad might recover, but would not. The prophet having expreſſed himſelf in this dark manner, fixed his eyes upon Hazael, till he put the man out of countenance (T), and ſuddenly burſt into tears. Hazael, amazed at this, and humbly deſiring to know what might be the cauſe of it, was told, That he was to ſucceed Ben-hadad, and to be a cruel and mercileſs perſecutor of the children of Iſrael; that he would ſet their ſtrong holds on fire, ſlay their young men with the ſword, daſh their children, and rip up their women with child. Hazael profeſſed to underſtand not what the prophet meant, nor could conceive how ſo mean a perſon as himſelf could ever have it in his power to commit ſuch outrages (U): whereupon he received a further confirmation, a confirmation from God himſelf, that he was

(R) By Joſephus (26), the prophet was not yet arrived at Damaſcus, and Hazael was ſent out to meet him. Some (27) ſuppoſe he was juſt coming into the city.

(S) By the largeneſs of this preſent, it is thought Eliſha was accompanied by many of the ſons of the prophets, or that even four camels load had been ſufficient (28).

(T) This ſeems to be the moſt natural explication of the text. Hazael beheld the prophet with an eye of veneration, and as one infinitely his ſuperior, and therefore was abaſhed when Eliſha fixed his eyes ſo ſtedfaſtly upon him.

(U) The text runs; *But what is thy ſervant a dog, that he ſhould do this great thing?* Whereby moſt ave he underſtood, that he diſclaimed ſuch barbarity as the prophet foretold of him; but the real meaning of this paſſage is, but what is thy ſervant a dog? alluding to his mean condition, which would never allow him to commit what only a great prince had power to do (29). This is confirm'd by the prophet's anſwer, that he was to be king of Syria; which comes in very naturally.

(26) Ubi ſupr. (27) Patrick upon 2 Kings viii. 7. (28) Cleric. in 2 Reg. viii. 9. (29) See Patrick upon 2 Kings viii. 13. Vid. etiam Cleric. in 2 Reg. viii. 13. & Joſeph. Antiq. ubi ſupr.

was to be king of Syria. With this he returns to his master, who, by this solicitous message to the prophet, unknowingly shortened the term of his days. Hazael flatered him with hopes of recovery, but the next day stifled him with a thick cloath dipped in water [r]. So ended the reign of the great Ben hadad, who having adorned Damascus with fine structures, as is said, and added to the glory of Syria, was advanced to be a god (X) [t].

HAZAEL, having thus murdered his sick lord, ascended his throne. He had, by the wise providence of GOD, been nominated to the diadem of Syria some years before, and the prophet Elijah had orders to anoint him [t]. He was a scourge in the hand of GOD, to chastise the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, and under him the Syrian monarchy arose to its meridian. However, he seems to have sat very quietly on his throne, till he was provoked by Joram king of Israel and Ahaziah king of Judah, who leagued against him to wrest Ramoth-gilead out of his hands, in imitation of what their fathers had attempted in the reign of Ben-hadad; and so it happened, that Hazael either could not, or

[r] Ibid. viii. 7—15. [s] Joseph. Antiq. l. 9. c. 2. [t] 1 Kings xix. 15.

(X) We are almost tempted to think, that Hazael may have been the chief promoter of this deification, to cover his own guilt. He seems to have been afraid it should be known he was the murderer of his master, by his manner of dispatching him. Josephus calls this Ben-hadad, by the names of Adad, Adar, and Ader; which difference arises from the near similitude of the Hebrew R and D, as we have already (30) noted. The former number being printed off and dispersed, we cannot otherwise correct a fault in the list of the Damascene kings according to Josephus, where his Adad, which now stands opposite to Ben-hadad I, according to the scripture account, ought to be brought down to a line with Ben-hadad II. According to Sir Isaac Newton (31), the Damascus and Arathes we formerly mentioned (32), were this Ben-hadad and his queen, who were worshipped in their sepulchres, or temples. But by this supposition it should seem, that idolatry was yet in its nonage among the Syrians, whereas Josephus (33) talks of stately temples erected by Ben-hadad in his lifetime (34).

(30) See before in the Notes, p. 304. (31) Short Chronol. p. 32. (32) See before in the Notes, p. 287. (33) Ubi supr. (34) See Sir Isaac Newton's Chron. of anc. kingd, apud p. 222.

or would not prevent them from poſſeſſing themſelves of that city, as we apprehend, though Joram was dangerouſly wounded in the attempt. But Hazael made himſelf ample amends, by invading both the kingdoms of Judah and Iſrael, and purſuing them almoſt to deſtruction. He began with Jehu king of Iſrael, and ſubdued to his dominion, all in general that belonged to the kingdom of Iſrael, on the other ſide of Jordan, the countries of Gilead and Baſhan, the two tribes Reuben, and Gad, and the half tribe of Manaſſeh [u]. In the proſecution of this conqueſt he, no doubt, punctually fulfilled, by his cruel rage, all the things the mournful prophet had foretold of him, in the remarkable converſation they had together (Y). Year of the Flood, 2115. Year before Chriſt, 884.

WITH the ſame fury and ſucceſs he waged war upon Jehoahaz, the ſon of Jehu, till he had left him but fifty horſe, ten chariots, and ten thouſand foot; for the reſt had periſhed in battle againſt Hazael, who, as it is ſtrongly expreſs'd, *made them like the duſt by threſhing*; and, to conclude, he oppreſſed Iſrael all his days [x].

HAZAEL, having thus chaſtiſed Iſrael, turned his arms againſt the kingdom of Judah, for they had both confederated againſt him; ſo that he had a fair pretence for infeſting them both. He croſſed the Jordan therefore; and, after ſeveral ſucceſsful attempts upon other places, as we may ſuppoſe, made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong and royal city of Gath [y], which had been the ſeat of the Philiſtine kings, but was now poſſeſſed by the houſe of David [z]. His next thought was to attempt Jeruſalem itſelf; but, as he was meditating this great enterprize, he was diverted therefrom by the rich gifts of the weak and apoſtate Jehoaſh, who then reigned at Jeruſalem; and who, dreading the Syrian power, ſent Hazael all the treaſure and rich moveables that had been ſet apart, and dedicated by his father for ſacred, and other uſes. Hazael was pacified with ſo noble a preſent, and deſiſted from his deſigns againſt Jeruſalem [a] for a while. Year of the Flood, 2159. Year before Chriſt, 840.

[u] 2 Kings x. 31—33. [x] Ibid. xiii. 3, 7, 22. [y] Ibid. xii. 17. [z] See before in the Notes, p. 259, 261. [a] 2 Kings xii. 17, 18.

(Y) Joſephus (35) aſſures us he did; that he neither ſpared man, woman, or child, where-ever he came, but put all to fire and ſword.

(35) Ubi ſupr. c. 8.

But he was ſoon ſtirred up again to war upon Jeruſalem; he had not yet been the inſtrument of ſufficient judgment upon that diſtracted city. Wherefore towards the end of the ſame year, as we apprehend, he detached a party from his army to ſerve againſt that city, and to make good his firſt intentions on it. This party is expreſly remarked to have been very ſmall; but yet it prevailed againſt the great hoſt of Jehoaſh king of Judah, ſacked Jeruſalem, ſlew all the princes of the people there, and ſent their ſpoil to Hazael at Damaſcus (Z). And by this expedition did Hazael alſo make himſelf maſter of Elath on the red ſea, as appears, and as we ſhall endeavour to confirm hereafter, in the hiſtory of Rezin, the laſt king of Syria. Hazael having thus ſubdued, and tyrannized over the kingdoms of, Iſrael and Judah, died, and was deified (A).

Ben-hadad III. Year of the Flood, 2163. Year before Chriſt, 836.

He left behind him a ſon and a ſucceſſor, called Ben-hadad, who ſuffered a total reverſe of his father's fortune, e'er he had reigned long (B). Thrice was he defeated by Johoaſh,

(Z) Joſephus (36) makes but one expedition of theſe two. According to him, Hazael, having taken Gath, ſtrait beſieged Jeruſalem: whence he was prevailed on to depart, by the great bribes mentioned in ſcripture. But it is impoſſible, that what is ſaid of Hazael's war with Judah, as it is repreſented in the ſecond book of Kings (37), and in the book of Chronicles (38), ſhould have been otherwiſe than we have repreſented. Nothing is plainer, than that thoſe two books ſpeak of two very widely different events.

(A) It is no wonder, conſidering the blindneſs of the times, that they deified ſo fortunate and ſo great a prince as Hazael. He, as well as his predeceſſor Ben-hadad, adorned Damaſcus with temples, and their ſtatues were carried about in proceſſion in the days of Joſephus (39), the Syrians boaſting their antiquity. From hence there is room to imagine theſe two to have been their primary deities, and that the temples, they are famed for building, were no more than noble ſepulchres for themſelves (40); but we forbear to expatiate hereon, and, having given the hint, ſubmit it to better judgments.

(B) It is ſaid (41), *The anger of the Lord was kindled againſt Iſrael, and he delivered them into the hand of Hazael king of Syria, and Ben-hadad the ſon of Hazael, all their days.* Whence it might be imagined, that Ben-hadad kept Iſrael

(36) Ibid. (37) xii. 17, 18. (38) xxiv. 23, 24. (39) Ubi ſupr. c. 2. (40) See Sir Iſaac Newton's Chron. of anc. Kingd. amend. p. 222. See before in the notes p. 287. (41) 2 Kings xiii. 3.

Johoaſh, the ſon of Jehohaz king of Iſrael, whereby he loſt all that his father had wreſted from Iſrael. Nothing more is ſaid of this obſcure and unfortunate reign. However, nothing is more likely, than that this Ben-hadad was ſubdued to a tribute by Jeroboam, the ſon of Johoaſh, king of Iſrael, who kept Syria in the ſtricteſt ſubjection, during all his long reign.

THE Syrians recovered themſelves again, amidſt the diſorders which raged in the kingdom of Iſrael upon Jeroboam's death; but not ſo perfectly as to be quite a free people; for we are apt to think they were under conſiderable acknowledgments to the newly-erected empire of Aſſyria (C). But not to dwell on this uncertainty, Rezin Year of the Flood, 2257. Year before Chriſt, 742.

Iſrael under as long as he lived. But the word *their* is not in the original, and by what follows (42), it is evident, that the text means no ſuch thing, referring only to the days of Hazael himſelf. To ſolve this matter, however, it is likely, that Ben-hadad was taken into the government by his father as his colleague; and that, as long as they reigned together, they kept Iſrael under. St. Jerome (43) writes, that all the ſubſequent kings of Syria were called Ben-hadad from this prince, the third of the name according to ſcripture. This we take notice of, as it is apparently a great miſtake. This prince borrowed the name of Ben-hadad from the firſt race of the Damaſcene kings, to which his father was an alien. The names Hadad and Ben-hadad were affected, as it ſeems, by all the kings of Syria, from Hadadezer of Zobah downwards. Ben-hadad ſignifies only the ſon of Hadad. The father of the firſt prince of this name is called Tabrimon; but by his ſon's name it may to ſome appear, that he was alſo ſtiled Hadad (44). Joſephus calls him Adad, and we muſt deſire the reader once more to excuſe an omiſſion in the liſt of Damaſcene kings, according to that hiſtorian, and to write Adad under Hazael.

(C) This is a conjecture which we apprehend to have ſome tolerable foundation. The kingdom of Damaſcus had been broken and enervated by ſervitude under Iſrael; and when Pul, king of Aſſyria, was ſtirred againſt Menahem, the third that bore the title of king in Iſrael after Jeroboam, we cannot conceive, but he muſt have marched through Syria, and have made himſelf maſter there in the firſt place. It is plain, he was bent upon extending his dominion, and how he could think of reducing Iſrael before he had ſecured Syria, which lay between him and his projected conqueſt farther weſtward, is what we cannot conceive. It is likely, that Syria, invited him, ſubmitted to him, and joined him, and that it now firſt became a province of Aſſyria.

(42) ℣ 22. (43) Amos i. (44) See before, p. 309.

was their laſt king. Towards the latter end of his reign, he entered into a league with Pekah king of Iſrael, againſt Ahaz king of Judah. They were ſtirred up by heaven to puniſh Ahaz, and their deſign was to dethrone him, and make room for a ſtranger to David's line, called Tabael [b]. With this intent they beſieged Ahaz in Jeruſalem, but without effect. Rezin, however, that he might not be wholly a ſufferer by this diſappointment, marched his army into Edom, and, whatever elſe he did there, made himſelf maſter of Elath on the red ſea, which he annexed once more to the dominion of Syria (D), and there he planted a colony of his own (E), which ſubſiſted many years after the ſubverſion of the kingdom itſelf of Syria [c].

Year of the Flood, 2259. Year before Chriſt, 741.

THE next year, Rezin and Pekah proſecuted the war againſt Ahaz, and, to diſtract him the more, divided their power into three bodies, that they might invade him in three different places at once. Rezin, for his part, ſucceeded well by this diviſion; for he loaded his army with ſpoils, and led away multitudes of captives, wherewith his

[b] Iſa. vii. 1—6. [c] 2 Kings xvi. 5.

(D) Our verſion ſays, he recovered Elath to Syria; ſo, ſays the vulgate; *in tempore illo reſtituit Raſin, rex Syriæ, Ailam Syriæ.* Whence we gather, it muſt have been conquered to Syria by Hazael, when he ſent a part of his army againſt Jeruſalem (45). Ben-hadad II. his predeceſſor, had no war that we read of with any king of Judah, and after Hazael's death, Syria was unable to make her own cauſe good, and therefore but ill qualified to extend her dominion. Azariah king of Judah reſtored it to Judah (46), and drove out the Syrians (47), when they were ſubdued by Jeroboam king of Iſrael. Le Clerk in his verſion will have it, that he reſtored this noble emporium to the Edomites, taking on him, by a little too much preſumption, to alter the reading of the text from לארם Laaram, to לאדים Leedom. It had been but common juſtice in Rezin to have reſtored it to its natural lord; but we cannot enter into le Clerk's notion, that he did it, becauſe the place was too far out of his reach to keep. He was ſtronger than the king of Judah, and might upon that account have kept it long enough, had he lived.

(E) Both the LXX and the vulgate agree, that Rezin having ſubdued this place, the Edomites took poſſeſſion of it. But it is not to be imagined, that Rezin could ſo eaſily part with ſo fine an acquiſition. If any heed may be given to Joſephus (48), he agrees

(45) See before, p. 320. (46) 2 Kings xiv. 12. (47) See Patrick upon 2 Kings xvi. 6. (48) Ubi ſupr. c. 12.

his avarice being pretty well glutted, he returned to Damaſcus [d].

BUT this acquiſition proved fatal to Rezin and his kingdom: for Ahaz, grown deſperate and bent upon revenge, ſent all he had to Tiglath-pileſar, king of Aſſyria, therewith to bribe him againſt Rezin. Hence it was (F), that Rezin was invaded by Tiglath-pileſar, who ſlew him, and carried Damaſcus (G) away captive to Kir, whither they were tranſplanted [e]. Thus was the empire of the ancient Syrians aboliſhed according to the prophets; *Behold Damaſcus is taken away from being a city——and the kingdom ſhall ceaſe from Damaſcus, and the remnant of Syria* [f] —— *I will ſend a fire into the houſe of Hazael, which ſhall devour the palaces of Ben-hadad. I will——cut off——him that holdeth the ſcepter from the houſe of Eden: and the people of Syria ſhall go into captivity unto Kir, ſaith the* LORD [g]. Year of the Flood, 2259. Year before Chriſt 740.

The KINGS of HAMATH.

WE have but a very ſhort and imperfect account of theſe kings, whether as to their firſt ſetting up, or their continuance; and there is ſome doubt as to the ſituation of their city (H). They ſeem to have been raiſed by the

[d] See 2 Chron. xviii. 5—7. [e] 2 Kings ubi ſupr. ✱ 9.
[f] Iſa. xvii. 1, 3. [g] Amos i. 4, 5.

agrees with our reading and tranſlation, ſaying, that Rezin planted a colony of Syrians in Elath.

(F) Not for this reaſon only; there may have been another. We apprehend, that Rezin, being a turbulent enterprizing prince, gave umbrage to Tiglath-pileſar, to whom he was certainly tributary, or under ſome other obligation. For Tiglath-pileſar had warred in theſe parts before, with great ſucceſs againſt the Iſraelitiſh dominions (49). He may have been prompted to deſtroy Rezin, as he looked on him with a jealous eye, as well as to earn Ahaz's bribe, who promiſed to become his tributary into the bargain.

(G) Joſephus (50) makes but one action of this and the foregoing.

(H) This city was called Hamath, and ſometimes Hamath the great (51): whence ſome have conceived there were two Hamaths, or cities ſo diſtinguiſhed; but for the ſame reaſon they ought

(49) See 2 Kings xv. 29. (50) Ubi ſupr. (51) Amos vi. 2.

Syrians of the Canaanitiſh blood (I); at the ſame time the Syrians of Zobah, who we think were Aramites, erected their kingdom. And this they did perhaps to defend themſelves againſt the ambitious views of that new monarchy, and to keep themſelves in one diſtinct and entire body. But however this was, for we are perfectly in the dark concerning it, thus far is certain, that Toi (K), their firſt king we read of, was engaged in an unequal war with Hadadezer, the great king of Zobah; the ground of which we can apprehend to have been nothing elſe, but his refuſal to ſubmit to the power of that ambitious prince. In all probability, he was on the verge of ſubjection, when Hadadezer bowed under the ſuperior might of David, who had humbled the pride of Zobah. Toi beheld him in a double light, as his preſent deliverer, and his future protector. Toi therefore, to ſecure his people in their rights and himſelf on the throne, ſent his ſon Joram with a coſtly preſent in veſſels of gold, and ſilver, and braſs, there-

Year of the Flood, 1955. Year before Chriſt, 1044.

ought to think there were two Sidons, which was ſometimes called plain Sidon, and ſometimes Sidon the great (52). Joſephus (53) places Hamath to the north of the land of Canaan, and Abu'lfeda (54), who reigned in Hamath, and, who being ſo learned a prince as he was, ſhould know at leaſt, as well as any body, places Hamath upon the Orontes, between Hems and Apamea, that river ſurrounding it on the eaſt and north. There was a country of Hamath, ſurnamed Zobah, which lay to the eaſtward of the land of Canaan, about Palmyra, or Tadmor (55); ſo that here may have been another city of the name, whence, after all, may have been derived the diſtinction of Hamath the great.

(I) We have already offered ſomething from the orientals, in proof, that ſome of Canaan's deſcendants did ſettle themſelves in Syria (56); to which we will now add from Abu'lfeda (57), that this whole country was called Shâm, becauſe many of the ſons of Canaan تشاءموا Taſhâmu, or travelling towards the left hand in migrateing thither; for Syria lies to the left of the Caaba at Mecca. This is one way of accounting for the name of Shâm, there are others which may be remarked hereafter.

(K) Joſephus writes him Thœnus;

(52) Joſh. xi. 8. (53) Antiq. l. 9. c. 11. (54) Vid. Schult. Comment. Georg. in vit. Salad. ad voces Fulvius Orontes & Hamata, (55) See 2 Chron. viii. 3, 4. 1 Kings ix. 18. (56) See before in Note B. p. 285. (57) Vid. Schult. ubi ſupr. ad vocem Syria.

therewith to conciliate the fortunate conqueror, and to congratulate him on his ſucceſſes, and return him thanks for the deliverance he owed him [h]. All this, to our apprehenſion, implies, that Toi became thereafter the creature of David, and tributary to his throne.

WHOEVER ſucceeded Toi, whether his ſon Joram, or Hadoram, or any other, it is likely he cultivated a good intelligence with the kings at Jeruſalem, till Rezon, the founder of the Damaſcene kingdom, aroſe. At this time, it is likely, the king of Hamath ſubmitted to a new maſter, or protector. To conclude; this kingdom was moſt certainly ſubject to the king of Damaſcus, as was the reſt of Syria, till Jeroboam king of Jeruſalem prevailed againſt it [i], when he reduced Damaſcus. Upon the diſſolution and captivity of Damaſcus it may have lifted up its head a little [k]; but the Hamathites were in their turn conquered, and tranſplanted, by Sennacherib and Eſarhaddon [l], kings of Aſſyria. So ended the ancient kingdom of Hamath.

The KINGS of GESHUR.

THE kings of Geſhur, if compared with thoſe of Zobah, Damaſcus, and Hamath, were, it is likely, but petty princes (L). Perhaps they were far more conſiderable for the alliance David made with their family, than for the extent of their dominion. We take them to have been one of the royal families, which in ancient times divided the whole country of Syria between them. The firſt of them we meet with is called AMMIHUD, who being the father of Talmai [m], who is expreſly ſaid to have been king of this part, we venture to give him the ſame title.

TALMAI. He had a daughter named Maacha, who was wife to David [n], and the mother of Abſalom, whom he ſheltered three years [o], when he fled to him for the murder of his brother Amnon. To conclude; we cannot doubt, but that Geſhur bore the Damaſcene yoke, till they finally changed it for the Aſſyrian, and were tranſplanted, as were all the other Syrians. Year of the Flood, 1969. Year before Chriſt, 1030.

[h] 2 Sam. viii. 9, 10. [i] 2 Kings xix. 28. [k] 2 Kings xviii. 34. xix. 11, 13. [l] Compare Ezra iv. 2. with Kings xvii. 24.
[m] 2 Sam. xiii. 37. [n] Ibid. iii. 3. [o] Ibid. xiii. 37, 38. xvi. 8.

(L) Joſephus (59) does not allow them to have been kings, but only a family of note and figure in the country where they dwelt.

(59) Antiq. l. 7, c. 8.

CHAP. VI.

The History of the PHOENICIANS.

SECT. I.

The History of PHOENICE.

THE tract we commonly call Phœnicia is, more accurately, Phœnice; which being sufficiently known to the learned, we shall not multiply words about it, but hasten to what is more material.

WHENCE it borrowed this name of Phœnice is not determined. Some [a] derive it from one Phœnix: others [b], from the Greek word Phœnix, signifying a palm, or date; as if that tree remarkably abounded here: some again suppose, that Phœnice is originally a translation of the Hebrew word Edom, from the Edomites who fled hither [d] in the days of David. By the contraction of Canaan (for it was a part of that land) it was also called Chna [e]. Anciently it was also called Rhabbothin and Colpitis [f] (A). The Jews were wont to call it Canaan [g], though some part of it at least they knew by the name of Syrophœnice

[a] Syncell. p. 152. [b] Chron. Alex. p. 158. [c] Sir Isa. Newt. Chron. of anc. Kingd. amend. [d] See before, in Note U p. 266. [e] See before in the Notes, Vol. I. p. 358. [f] Steph. Byzan. ad vocem Φοινικὴ. [g] Vid. Matt. v. 1.

(A) This last name is a translation of the first: רבהוצן, Rabhotsen, is in Hebrew a great gulph or bay. From Rabhotsen, by changing the Hebrew T S into the Greek T, comes Rabhoten, and with a little variation Rhabbothin. Κόλπος, Colpos, is Greek also for a bay or gulph; whence it appears, that Colpitis, or Colpites, is a translation of Rhabbothin. Bochart (1) therefore is of opinion, that these names did not properly belong to the eastern Phœnice, or the country properly so called, but to the Phœnician colonies in Africa, whose principal cities stood upon great and deep gulphs or bays. However, he is not wholly unwilling to allow, that these names may have distinguished a part of the proper Phœnice near Libanus, as he expresses himself, because it had a deep gulph or bay, according to Mela. Tripoli stands on the deepest bay, at present, on this coast.

(1) Geogr. sacr. l. 2. c. 13. col. 746.

nice [h] (B). Theſe were the names peculiar to the ſmall country before us, though of them Phœnice was ſometimes extended to all the maritime countries of Syria and Judæa; and Canaan to the Philiſtines [i], and even the Amalekites (C). On the contrary, theſe two names, and the reſt, were moſt generally ſwallowed up by thoſe of Paleſtine [k] and Syria (D).

THE proper Phœnice, as preciſely as we can gather, lies between the thirty ſecond and thirty fifth degrees of north latitude. It took up no great ſpace of longitude; but whether more or leſs we ſhall paſs it over, being quite in the dark as to that. This, as near as we can gather, was the extent of this kingdom, and its ſituation. In general

[h] Vid. Mark vii. 27. [i] Zephan. xi. 5. [k] See before, p. 217, 263.

(B) Bochart (2) clears up this matter thus. He ſuppoſes, that the borderers, both upon the Phœnician and Syrian ſide, were called by the common name of Syrophœnicians, as partaking equally of both nations. Some (3) would have it, that the Phœnicians of Aſia in general were called Syrophœnicians diacritically to diſtinguiſh them from the African Phœnicians. Others (4) take the Syrophœnicians and Cœleſyrians for the ſame people.

(C) Accordingly Philo (5) includes the Amalekites under the denomination of Phœnicians.

(D) Or rather Phœnice, Paleſtine, and Syria, were promiſcuouſly uſed for each other, and particularly the two former. Phœnice and Paleſtine, ſays Stephanus Byzantinus (6), were the ſame. As for Syria, we have already obſerved, that in its largeſt extent (7), it ſometimes comprehended Phœnice and Cœleſyria. Herodotus plainly confounds theſe three names, we mean, uſes one for the other indifferently. Firſt, he ſays, the Phœnicians, coming into Syria from the red ſea, ſettled in the maritime parts of Syria, and that the Phœnicians dwelt in Syria (8). In the next place, he ſays, that Phœnice was a part of Paleſtine, which, according to him, ſtretched along the ſea ſhore quite to Peluſium in Egypt (9). Thirdly, he places Aſhdod, or Azotus, in Syria (10), and Aſcalon in the Paleſtine Syria; but yet its inhabitants he calls Phœnicians (11). In a word, we could wiſh, that the geography ſince Herodotus's time had been leſs indiſtinct than his in many caſes.

(2) Geogr. ſacr. p. 349. (3) Apud Bochart ubi ſupr. p. 350. (4) Vid. eund. ibid. (5) l. 1. p 636. (6) Ad vocem Ἰοπ̃η. (7) See before, p. 263. (8) Polyhymnia, c. 89. (9) Ibid. & Euterpe, c. 104. (10) Ibid. c. 157. (11) Clio. c. 105.

neral we may say, it was bounded by Syria on the north and the east; by Judah on the south; and by the mediterranean on the west.

This country was divided into two parts, the maritime and the mediterranean, or the coast and the country [l].

And these two general divisions were subdivided into districts depending upon the more remarkable towns and cities, and so on. We shall see hereafter, that this country was partitioned into several kingdoms.

On the coast are the famous cities of Sidon, Tyre, Aradus, Tripoli, Byblus, and Berytus. Sidon we may properly enough call the metropolis of Phœnice, since it seems to have been the eldest city of this part, borrowing its name from Sidon the eldest son of Canaan, by whom they [m] pretend it to have been built, and it is not unlikely. But all are not agreed in the derivation of that name from Sidon (E).

This city was seated on the sea-side, and is said to have had a summer and a winter harbour [n] (F), or one much more

[l] See before, p. 263. [m] Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. [n] Achill. Tat. apud Reland. Palest. Illustr.

(E) Trogus (12) derives the name from a Phœnician word, as he calls it, Sidon, signifying a fish. And this Bochart (13) gives into; for Seid, the name of this city at present, is, as we may render it, a fishing-place. The same Bochart (14) seems to doubt, whether or no Canaan's eldest son was called Sidon, as we read in the writings of Moses (15), which he interprets to be meant of the city itself, which is used instead of the name of the father of the Sidonians, or the founder of that city, whatsoever his name was: but why the name of the eldest son should be passed over, and the rest specified, is what we are not able to conceive. Others (16) again derive the name of this city from Sida, the daughter, as they pretend, of Belus.

(F) This we may imagine, because we find no mention made of a double harbour by any of the most accurate travellers and geographers; whereas, as we shall observe hereafter, there are still visible marks of this at Tyre. This city had a mole, till Faccardine, the Emir of the Druses, demolished it, to free himself from the visits of the Turkish gallies; so that now the shipping have no other shelter, than a small ledge of rocks, about a mile distant from the shore on the north side of the city (17).

(12) Just. l. 18. c. 3. (13) Geogr. sacr. p. 302. (14) Ibid. (15) See before, p. 181. (16) Vid. Sand. Trav. p. 163. (17) Maundr. Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. p. 45.

more land-locked or encloſed than the other, which we take to be a miſtake (G) in the relator, which how it came to paſs may be tolerably accounted for (H). It is now called Seyde.

TYRE, anciently Sor, (I), is commonly called the daughter of Sidon, and ſtood alſo upon the ſea, two hundred ſtades or furlongs to the ſouthward of Sidon. Tyre muſt be diſtinguiſhed into three different cities in order of time [q]: as Tyre on the continent, or Palæ-Tyrus [old Tyre], Tyre on the iſland, and Tyre on the Peninſula, after the iſland was joined to the main land (K). It had two havens (L), the one looking towards Sidon, and the other Tyre.

[q] Vid. Reland. Paleſt. Illuſtr. vol. 2. ad vocem Tyrus.

(G) It is obſerved, that Sidonian and Tyrian were ſynonimouſly uſed (18). Whether or no the ſeeming miſtake here noted may not have ariſen from ſome ſuch uſage; we leave the reader to judge.

(H) It is, at this day, pretty well ſtocked with inhabitants, but much ſhrunk from its ancient extent, and more from its ſplendor, as appears from the veſtiges of the ancient city that are left (19).

(I) From hence this city came to be called Sarra by the Latins, and not from Sara fiſh, as Servius upon Virgil intimates (20). From hence alſo, ſay they, is derived (21) Tyre, it being the Syrian way to convert the T S, or S, into T. So that the Syrians pronounced it Tor, Tur, Tyr; and hence the Greeks, adding their termination, formed Τύρος, in Latin Tyrus. Some pretend, that this city gave name to the whole country of Syria, and that Syria, Tyria, and Aſſyria, were indifferently uſurped for each other, (22); to which we cannot aſſent. This name ſignifies a rock (23); for it ſtood upon little better.

(K) There were four different places in Phœnice, which bore the celebrated name of Tyre (24).

(L) Theſe were formed by the Iſthmus, which joined the iſland to the main. Theſe harbours were called, the one Open, and the other Cloſe. The former looked towards Egypt; it was the ſouthermoſt of the two; and was accordingly called the Egyptian port (25). The Sharîff Edryſy ſays, that one of theſe ports had an

(18) Vid. Rel. Pal. il. p. 956. (19) Maund. ubi ſupr. (20) Vid. Bochart. ubi ſupr. p. 735. (21) Vid. Cell. Geogr. Antiq. Tom. 2. l. 3. c. 12. p. 277. (22) See Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronol. of anc. kingd. amend. (23) Vid. Bochart. ubi ſupr. (24) Vid. Scyl. Peripl. in minor. Hudſon, vol. 2. (25) Hiſt. Nat. l. 5. c. 17.

other towards Egypt [r]. This city, including Palæ Tyrus, was 19000 paces in circumference (M); but the city itſelf was only twenty two furlongs about, or not quite three of our miles [s], which is allowing it conſiderably too much, if our modern accounts may be relied on (N). However, it appears, that this famous emporium was never of very great bigneſs. It could ſpread out its walls no farther than the margin of the iſland. For this reaſon it muſt have been, that they built their houſes very lofty, and with more ſtories, as we are told, than the houſes had at Rome [t]. The buildings of this city in general were ſpacious and

[r] Strab. l. 16. p. 757. [s] Plin. Hiſtor. Natur. l. 5. c. 17. [t] Strabo ubi ſupr.

an arch over the entrance of it, through which the ſhipping paſſed, and that it was fortified with a chain, which run a-croſs it (26). Theſe bays, or ports, are ſtill pretty large, and in part defended from the ocean, each by a long ridge, reſembling a mole, ſtretching directly out on both ſides, from the head of the iſland; but whether theſe ridges are walls, or rocks, is uncertain (27); it is moſt likely, however, that they are walls.

(M) From hence it ſeems plain, that Tyre on the iſland and old Tyre on the main were conſidered as but one city, after the iſthmus was thrown up between them; and poſſibly they may have had buildings contiguous to each other. If Pliny's numbers are right, the old city muſt have been by much the moſt extenſive part of the whole, and eſpecially as the place appears at this Day. According to Pliny (28) the iſland was but ſeven hundred paces from the continent; according to Strabo (29) it was thirty ſtades, or ſomewhat better than three of our miles from Palæ-Tyrus; and according to the ſame geographer (30) Tyre was wholly an iſland, after the ſame manner as Aradus, excepting the artificial iſthmus, which formed it into a peninſula. Not to loſe time upon ſo obſcure a ſubject, as whether Tyre and the old town were joined by buildings a-croſs the iſthmus; we ſhall only repeat what we advanced at firſt, and which we ſhall endeavour to make out in the next note, that old Tyre was much larger, that is, ſtood upon more ground than the new, if Pliny's circumference be allowed of.

(N) By them it appears, that Tyre itſelf was but a ſmall city in extent, though it covered the whole iſland to the very waſh of the ſea; and

(26) L. 16. p. 758. (27) Ibid. p. 756. (28) Id ibid. p. 757. (29) Vid. Albert. Schult. Ind. Georg. in vit. Saladin. ad vocem Tyrus. (30) Maund. ubi ſupr.

and magnificent, and above the reſt appeared the temples built by Hiram to Jupiter, Hercules, and Aſtarte [t]. Its walls were one hundred and fifty foot high, and proportionably broad, and firmly built of large blocks of ſtone, bound together with white plaſter [x]. It is now called Sûr (O).

ARADUS (P) was not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, a city of Phœnice. Aradus. It was an iſland city like Tyre, and ſtood oppoſite to the ſouthern limits of the ſea coaſt of Syria [y]. That the Phœnicians,

[t] Menand. & Dius apud Joſeph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 2. & apud eund. contr. Ap. l. 2. [x] Arrian de Exped. Alex. Magn. l. 2. [y] Bochart. Phaleg. l. 4. c. 36. col. 305.

and the ſcantyneſs of their ground was doubtleſs, what induced them to raiſe their buildings ſo high as they did; a method they would otherwiſe have avoided for fear of earthquakes, which had threatened them with deſtruction (31). At preſent the iſland appears to have been, in its natural ſtate, of a circular form, hardly containing forty acres of ground, and the foundations of the wall which ſurrounded it, are ſtill to be ſeen at the utmoſt margin of the land (32). If then it be true, that the whole circuit of the old and new Tyre was nineteen thouſand paces, or nineteen Roman miles (33); and that they were diſtant from each other but thirty ſtades, or three of the ſame miles and three quarters (34); it muſt be evident, that the old city ſtood upon much more ground than the new. A good part of the iſland was made ground (35), as we call it.

(O) It is now a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there being no ſuch thing as one entire houſe left. Its preſent inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, who harbour themſelves in vaults, and ſubſiſt chiefly by fiſhing (36).

(P) Bochart (37) takes this, and that part of the continent oppoſite to it, to be the ſeat of the Canaanitiſh tribe, called Arvadites (38); and we are very much inclined to ſubſcribe to his judgment upon this head. The iſland of Aradus is about twenty ſtades, or two Roman miles and a half, from the ſhore, and about ſeven eighths of a Roman mile in circumference. The buildings were, like thoſe of Tyre, of many ſtories high (39). By the ſame

(31) Strabo ubi ſupr. (32) Maund. ubi ſupr. p. 50. (33) Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 5. c. 19. (34) Strab. ubi ſupr. p. 758. (35) Menand. & Dius, apud Joſeph. l. 8. c. 2. (36) Maund. ubi ſupr. p. 48. 49. De Bruyn. Voy. au. Lev. tom. 2. in 4. to p. 341. (37) Phaleg. l. 4. c. 36. col. 305. (38) See before, p. 181, and in the Notes, p. 199. (39) Strab. l. 16. p. 753, 754, &c.

nicians, however, reckoned this city as a part of themſelves, is plain by ſeveral good authors [x]. There are ſome remains of it extant (Q).

Tripoli. TRIPOLI, on the ſea-coaſt of the continent, derived its origin from the joint contribution of the three cities abovementioned, Sidon, Tyre, and Aradus. Accordingly it was at firſt three diſtinct cities at a furlong diſtant from each other, inhabited by three different draughts, or colonies, but all within one common encloſure or wall [y]. It is ſtill a conſiderable place (R), and it bears its old name.

Byblus. BYBLUS is reported to have been the firſt city built in this country [z]; but whether we are here to underſtand the Byblus which ſtood on the ſea, or the old Byblus, [Palæ-Byblus] which was farther up within land, may be a needleſs enquiry (S).

Berytus. BERYTUS muſt not have been much inferior to Byblus in antiquity, ſince it is ſaid to have been ſtanding in the days of Cronus [a]. It is now called Barût, or Beroot (T). Theſe were the chief cities of the maritime Phœnice [b].

WE

[x] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 5. c. 17. Pomp. Mel. l. 2. c. 7. Strab. l. 16. p. 753. Steph. Byzant. ad vocem Ἀραδος. Diod. Sic. l. 16. c. 41. Plin. ubi ſupra, &c. [z] See Vol. 1. p. 393. [a] See Vol. 1. p. 400. [b] See before, p. 330.

ſame pen we are told, as a very remarkable thing, that the Aradians, when beſieged, could by the help of long tubes, draw up freſh water from the bottom of the ſea (40).

(Q) It ſeems to the eye to be not above two or three furlongs in length; and is wholly filled up with tall buildings, like caſtles. The Turks call it Ru-ad (41).

(R) And there are ſome remains of the ancient city or cities, which you will, ſtill to be ſeen, in the fields near the ſhore; many heaps of ruins and pillars of granate (42).

(S) Byblus was the city and ſeat of the famous ſuperſtition, in memory of Adonis. It is pleaſantly ſituated; but at preſent it is but ſmall; though, ſmall as it is, its handful of inhabitants have room to ſpare (43).

(T) "At preſent it retains nothing of its ancient felicity, ex-"cept the ſituation; and in that particular it is indeed very happy. It

(40) Idem ibid. Vid. etiam Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 2. c. 103. l. 5. c. 31. (41) Maundr. ubi ſupr. p. 19. (42) Idem ibid. p. 31. (43) Idem ibid. p. 38.

midland Phœnice. Ptolemy reckons in it the following towns: Arca, Palæ-Byblus [old Byblus], Gabala, and Cæſarea Paniæ. This province was conſiderably extended in the times of Chriſtianity, when, being conſidered as a province of Syria, it included not only Damaſcus, but Palmyra alſo [c].

WE will not take on us to mark out the bounds of the Phœnicia Mediterranea.

THE ſoil of this country is good, and productive of many excellent neceſſaries for food and cloathing. The air is wholſome. The climate is of the beſt. It is plentifully watered by ſmall rivers, which, running down from mount Libanus, are ſubject to ſwell to an immoderate degree, either encreaſed by the melting of the ſnows on that mountain, or by heavy rains. Upon theſe occaſions they overflow the country, to the great danger and hindrance of the traveller, and damage of the country. Among theſe rivers is that of Adonis, which we ſhall have occaſion to mention, upon another occaſion, preſently.

Soil and Climate.

THE ſea on this coaſt formerly abounded with ſuch fiſh, as in an extraordinary manner redounded to the honour and profit of Tyre in particular. Therewith they died the choiceſt purple. And on the ſhore there was a ſand wherewith the firſt and beſt glaſs was made (U), a ſtaple manufacture of this ancient country. To theſe we ſhall add a remarkable property of the river Adonis. At certain ſeaſons, and upon certain occaſions, it appears bloody. Hence was continued, at leaſt, that extraordinary ſuperſtition in memory of Thammuz, or Adonis, yearly wounded. The cauſe of this red face of the river was anciently known, and declared by thoſe who were not ſo ſuperſtitious as the reſt of their contemporaries and countrymen, and who attributed it only to a kind of minium, or red earth, which this river

Natural Curioſities.

[c] Vide Reland Palæſt. Illuſt. p. 217.

" It is ſeated on the ſea-ſide, in a ſoil fertile and delightful, raiſed " only ſo high above the ſalt-water, as to be ſecure from its over- " flowings, and all other noxious and unwholſome effects of that " element. It has the benefit of good freſh ſprings, flowing down " to it from the adjacent hills (44).

(U) There anciently went a ſtory, that this ſand could be melted no where but at Sidon (45).

(44) Idem ibid. (45) Strabo ubi ſupr. p 758.

river brought away when it ſwelled to unuſual heights [d]. It is ſtill ſubject to the ſame appearances in the time of floods (W).

THERE are ſtill ſome few remains of the ancient ſplendor of this now deſolate land. Thevenot [e] tells us, there are fine antiquities to be beheld at Tyre, but does not ſpecify them. Sandys [f] could diſcover nothing there but a heap of ruins. The more modern travellers [g] are more particular. They take notice of the ruins of the metropolitan church there, near which is an extraordinary kind of a column, of unuſual dimenſions, which one [h] repreſents as a triple; another [i] as a double column only, or two joined together. This laſt [k] informs us, that it is of granate, of one block only, and fourſcore foot long. Beſides this, there are many columns entire, and many broken [l]. But nothing in, and about, this ruined city demands our attention more deſervedly, than a place the Turks call Roſelayne; where are ſeen, what are vulgarly called Solomon's ciſterns, or wells. The current tradition is, that they are filled from a ſubterraneous river, which that wiſe king, by his great ſagacity, knew to run under ground here; and which made him undertake ſo admirable a work. The country people ſay, that no-body ever could reach the bottom of theſe wells, though the thing has been attempted with great lengths of line; and one of our travellers pretends to give a reaſon for the fruitleſſneſs of theſe attempts, by ſuppoſing the current or ſpring to be ſo very ſtrong, at a certain depth, as to prevent the lead from taking ground [m]. All this is rejected, and confuted by another traveller [n]; who ſuppoſes theſe wells cannot have been built before the days of Alexander; becauſe the aqueduct which conveys the water from them

[d] Vide Luc. de Dea Syr. [e] Travels into the Lev. Part i. Book ii. c. 60. [f] l. 3. p. 168. [g] De Bruyn Voy. au Lev. tom. 2. 4to. p. 338, 339, &c. De la Roque Voy. de Syr. et M. Lib. tom. i. p. 17, 18, &c. Maundrell's Journ. from Aleppo to Jeruſ. p. 48, 49, &c. [h] De Bruyn ubi ſupr. [i] De la Roque ubi ſupr. [k] Ibid. [l] De Bruyn ubi ſupr. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Maundrel ubi ſupr.

(W) ... "We ſaw ..... the water [of the river Adonis] ... ſtained to a ſurprizing redneſs; and ... obſerved ... it had diſcoloured the ſea a great way into a reddiſh hue (46).

(46) Maund. ubi ſupr. p. 34.

them to Tyre is carried over the iſthmus, formed by that conqueror, when he made himſelf maſter of Tyre: and, as theſe ciſterns cannot be ſuppoſed to be ancienter than the aqueduct, ſo we may be ſure, ſays he, that the aqueduct is not older than the ground it ſtands upon. Of theſe ciſterns there are three entire at this day, one about a furlong and a half diſtant from the ſea, the other two a little farther up. The firſt is an octogon in form, twenty yards in diameter. On the ſouth ſide it is elevated nine yards above the ground, and on the north but ſix: and, as unfathomable as it is reported to be, ten yards of line confuted the opinion. Its wall is only of gravel and pebbles, but ſo firmly conſolidated with a ſtrong cement, that it ſeems to be an entire veſſel of rock. Upon the brink there is a walk round it, eight foot in breadth: from whence, deſcending by one ſtep on the ſouth ſide, and by two on the north, you land on another walk, twenty foot broad. All this ſtructure, though ſo very broad at top, is hollow, ſo that the water comes in underneath the walks; nor could the extremity of the cavity be reached with a long rod. The whole veſſel contains a vaſt body of excellent water, and is ſo plentifully ſupplied, that, though there iſſues from it a brook which drives four mills, it is always brim-full. On the eaſt ſide of this ciſtern was the ancient outlet of the water, by an aqueduct raiſed about ſix yards from the ground, and containing a channel one yard wide. This aqueduct (now dry) is carried eaſtward about one hundred and twenty paces, and then approaches the two other ciſterns, which are of a quadrilateral figure, the one twelve, the other twenty, yards ſquare. Theſe have each of them a channel, which communicates with the aqueduct; and the water of theſe three noble ſprings being thus joined ran together to Tyre. The aqueduct is now gone to decay, but may eaſily be traced out. It goes about an hour northward, and, then turning to the weſt, proceeds over the iſthmus into the city.

SOME footſteps of what Sidon once was, are to be ſeen among the gardens without the walls of the preſent city [o]; ſuch as beautiful columns, and other fragments of that kind. Here they pretend to ſhew a monument of high antiquity, no leſs than the tomb of Zebulun. It ſtands within a ſmall chappel in a garden [p], and is deeply revered by

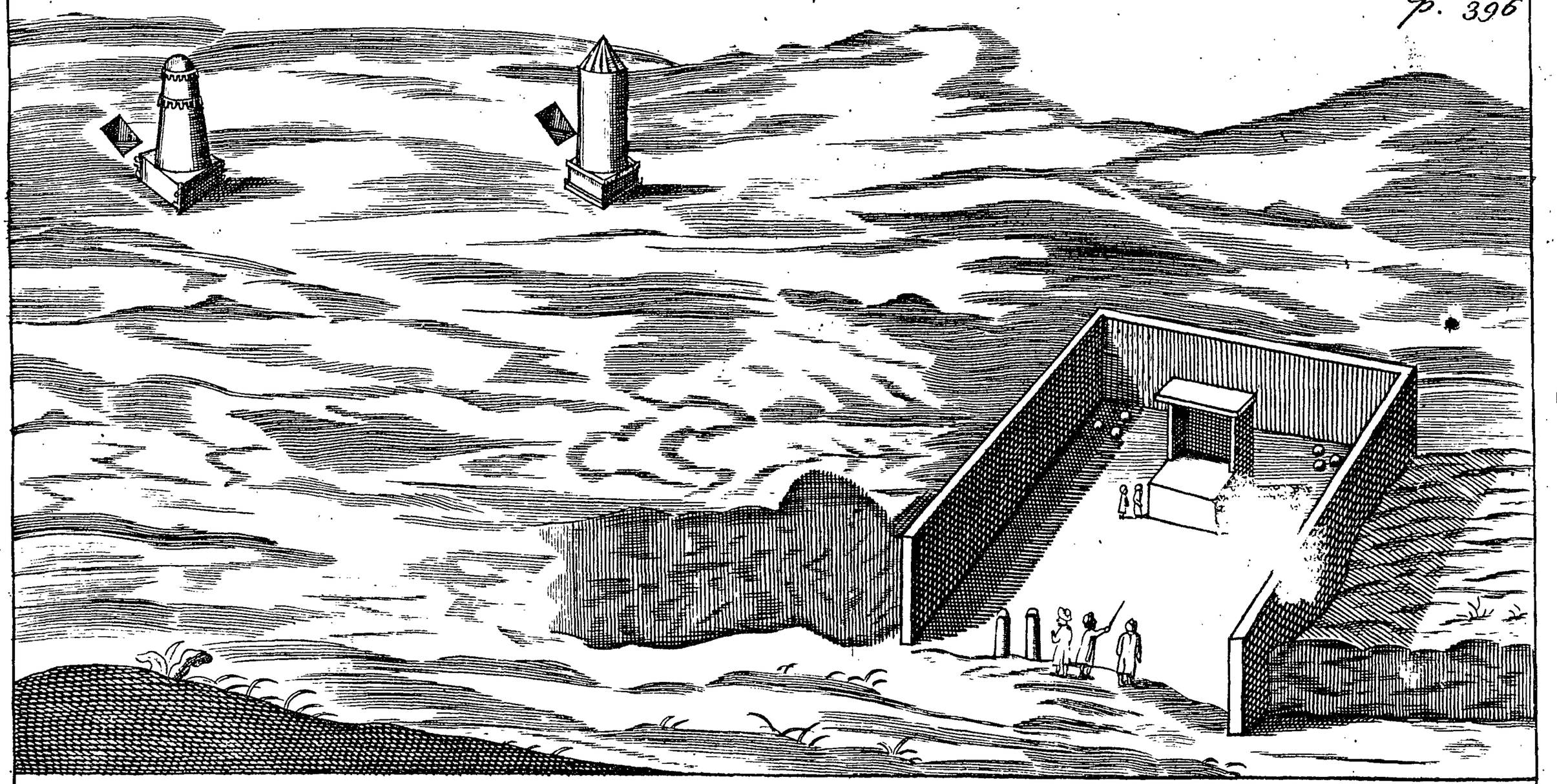
[o] Idem ibid. p. 44. Sandy's Trav. l. 3. p. 164. [p] Idem ibid. Theven. Voy. au Lev. part ii. l. 1. c. 3.

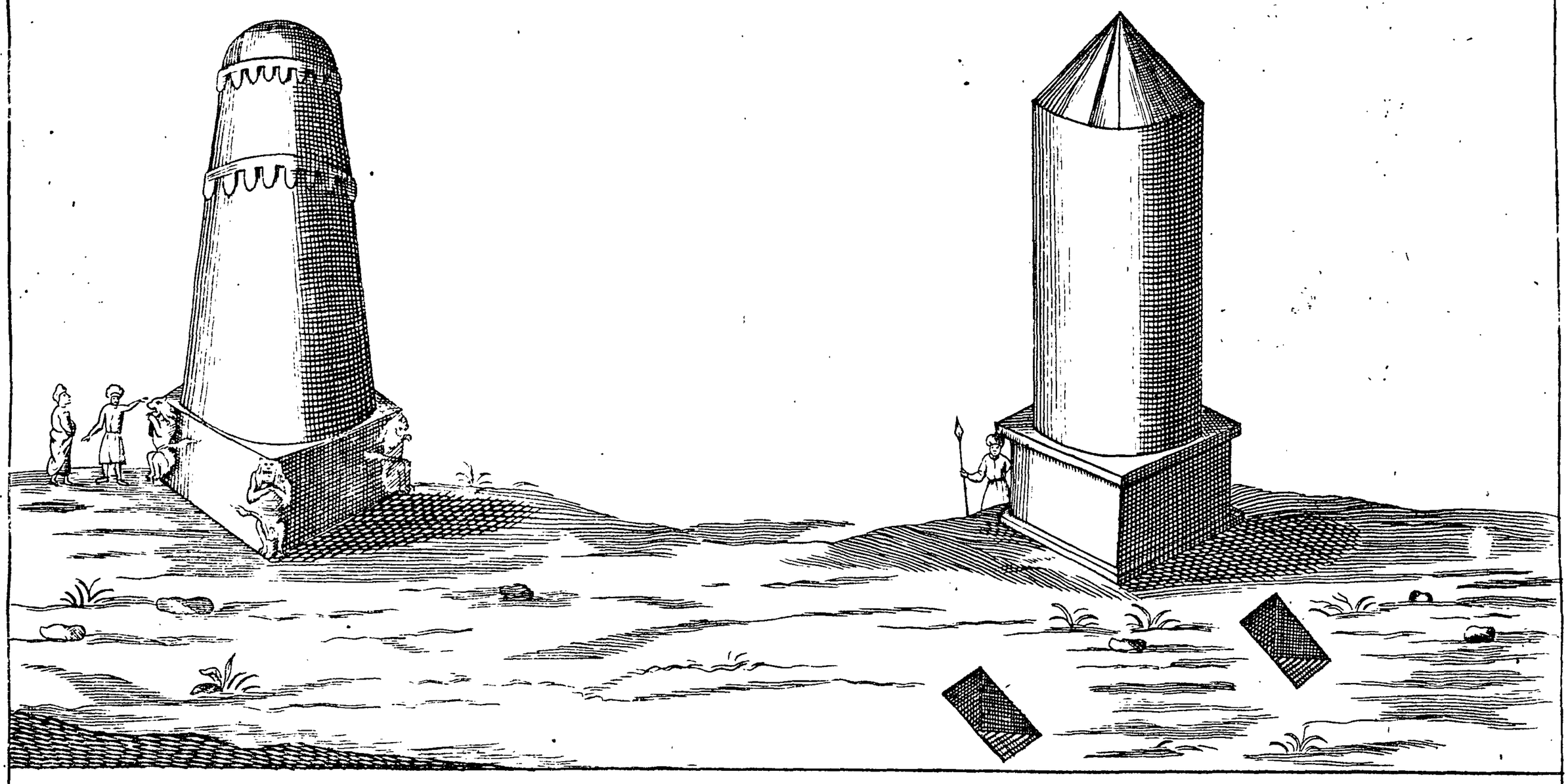
by the Jews [q]. This tomb is made of two ſtones only; the one ſuppoſed to be at the head, and the other at the feet, of the deceaſed. Their diſtance is better than ten of our feet, which they gave out to have been the ſtature of this patriarch [r].

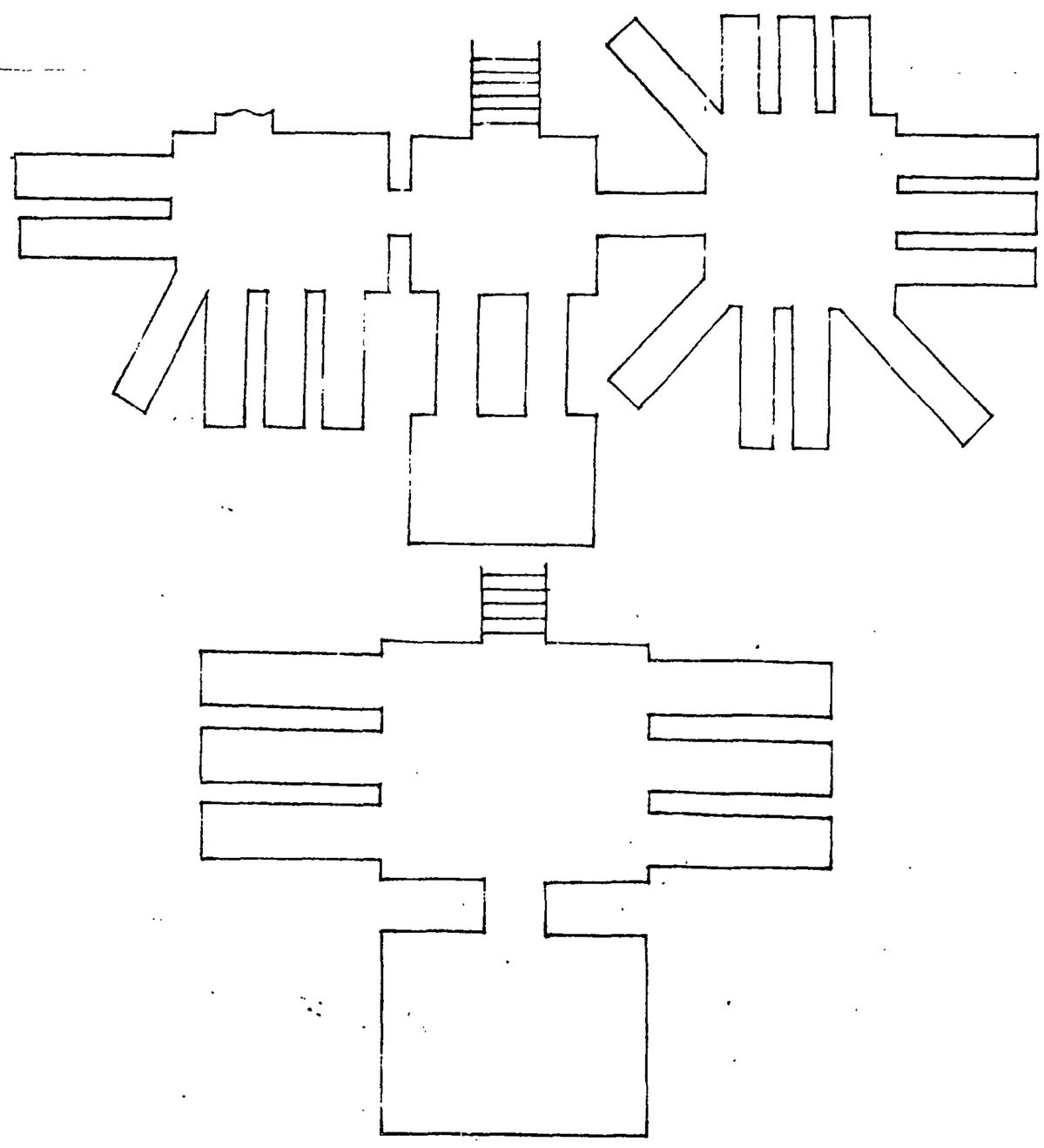
AT Byblus alſo are many heaps of ruins and fine pillars ſcattered up and down in the gardens near the preſent town [s]. Finally, on the continent, a little ſouthward of the iſle of Aradus, whereon the city of that name anciently ſtood, are ſeveral antiquities of a very extraordinary kind. The firſt is a dyke, thirty yards over at top, cut into the firm rock. Its ſides go ſloping down, with ſtairs cut out of the living rock, and deſcending gradually from top to bottom. This dyke ſtretches in a direct line, eaſt and weſt, more than a furlong, bearing continually the ſame figure of ſtairs running in right lines all along its ſides. It breaks off at laſt at a flat marſhy ground, extending about two furlongs between it and the ſea. Our obſerver thinks it hard to imagine, that the water ever flowed up thus high; and harder, without ſuppoſing that, to deviſe why all this pains was taken in cutting the rock after ſuch a faſhion. Secondly, A little to the ſouthward of this dyke, there is a court of fifty-five yards ſquare, cut alſo in the natural rock; the ſides of the rock ſtanding round it are about three yards high, and ſupply the place of walls. On three ſides it is thus encompaſſed; but to the northward it lies open. In the center of this area, a ſquare part of the rock is left ſtanding, being three yards high and five yards and a half ſquare. This ſerves for a pedeſtal to a throne erected upon it. The throne is compoſed of four large ſtones, two at the ſides, one at the back, and one at the top, in the manner of a tribunal or canopy. This whole ſtructure is about twenty foot high, and faces towards the open ſide of the court. The ſtone that forms the canopy is five yards and three quarters ſquare, and adorned with a handſome corniſh. At the two innermoſt angles of the court, and likewiſe at the open ſide, are left pillars of the natural rock, three at each of the former, and two at the latter.

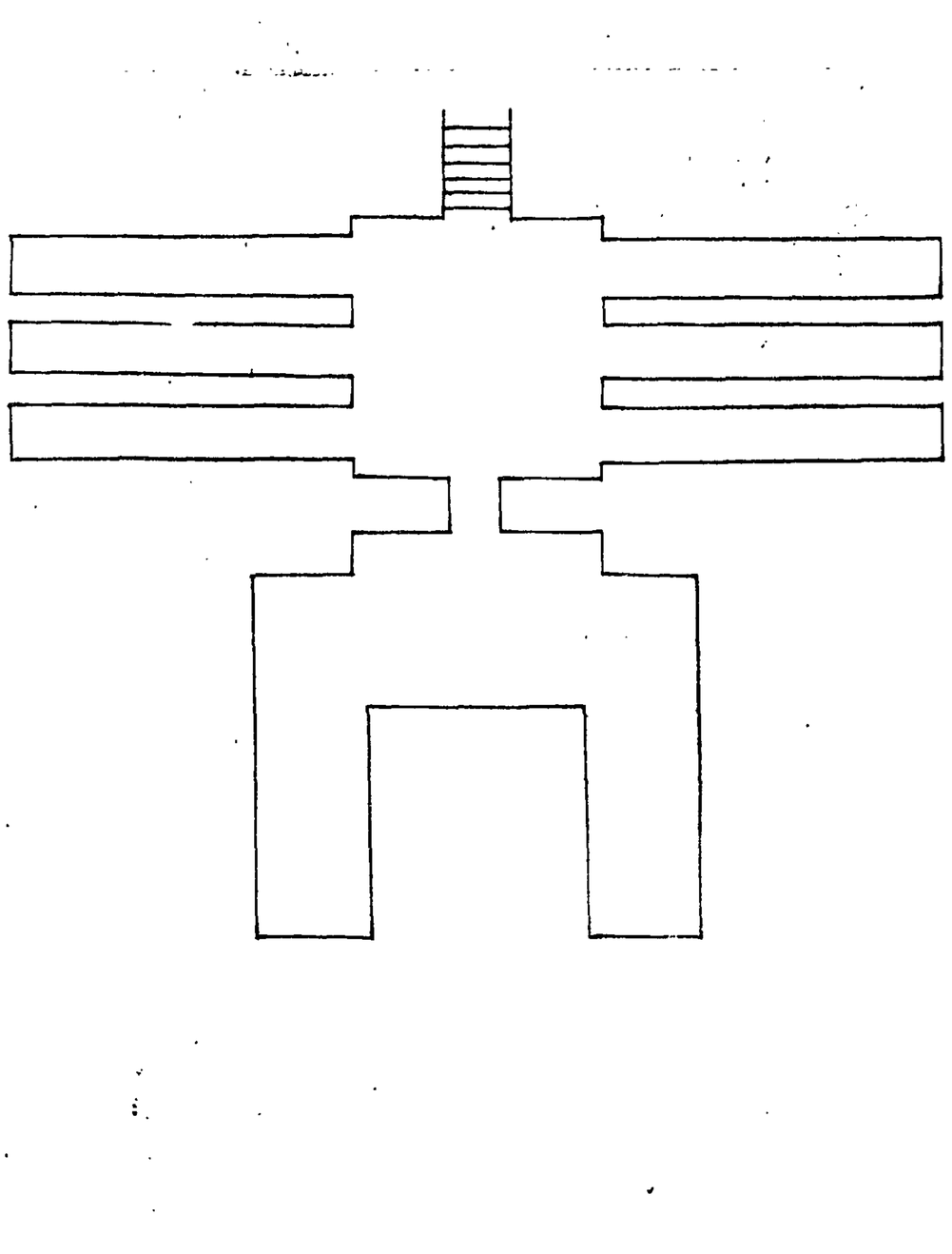
ABOUT half a mile to the ſouthward of this court and this throne, there are in view two towers. They are ſepulchral monuments, and ſtand over an ancient burying-place. They are about ten yards diſtant from each other. The one

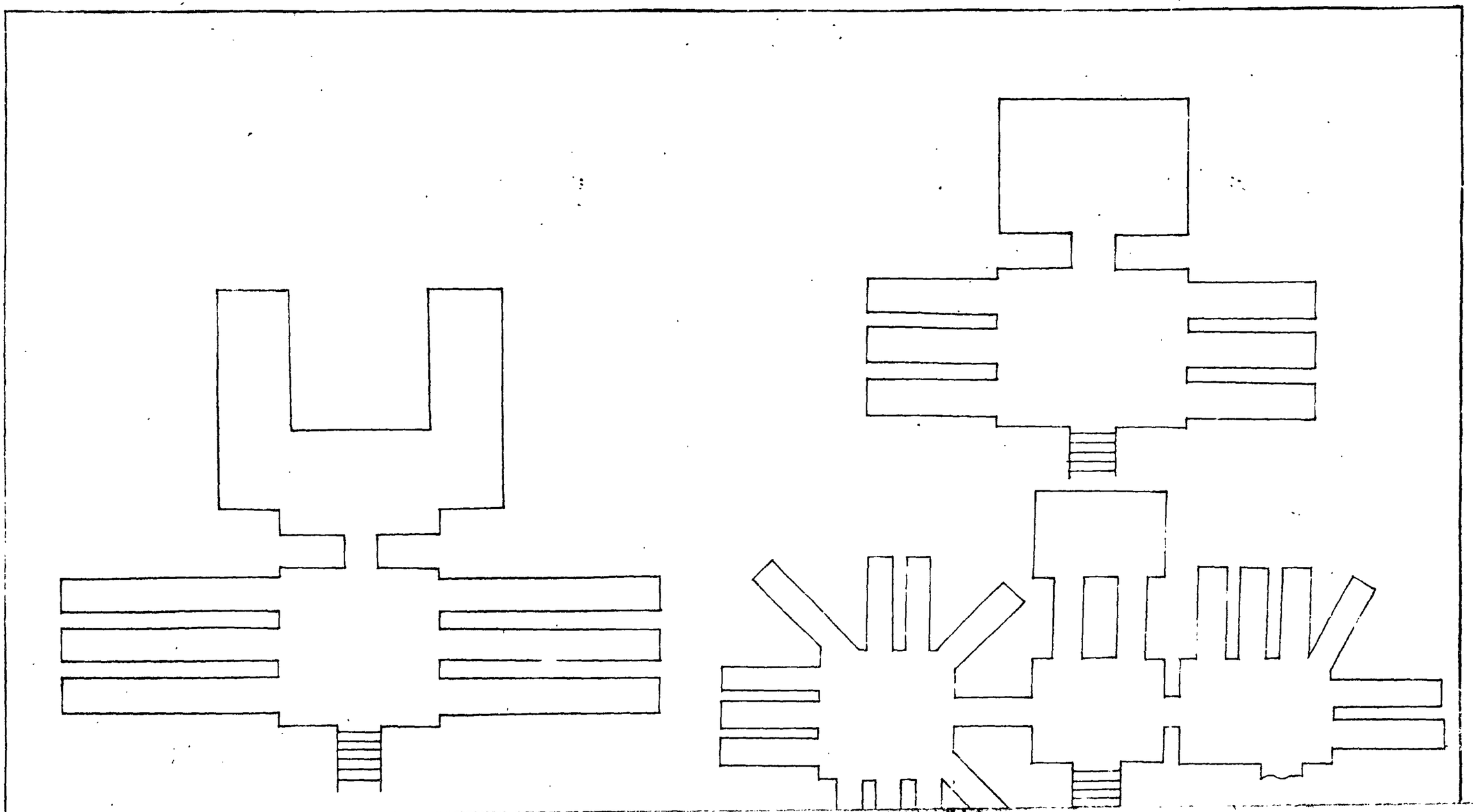
[q] Sandys ubi ſupr. [r] Theven. ubi ſupr. [s] Maund. ubi ſupr. p. 33.











one is in form, a cylinder, crowned by a multilateral pyramid, and is in all thirty-three foot high, including the pedeſtal, which is ten foot high, and fifteen ſquare. The other is a long cone diſcontinued at about the third part of its height; and, inſtead of ending in a point, is wrought into a hemiſpherical form. This is its general conſtruction. It ſtands upon a pedeſtal ſix foot high, and ſixteen foot ſix inches ſquare, adorned at each angle with the figure of a lion in a ſitting poſture, pretty much defaced; though at beſt the ſculpture of them appears to have been but bad. This is all that is viſible of theſe ſepulchres, as well as of a third and others near, above ground. But under ground there are ſquare chambers of convenient height for a man, and long cells branching out therefrom, variouſly diſpoſed, and of different lengths, wherein the dead bodies were depoſited. Theſe ſubterraneous chambers and cells are all cut out of the hard rock [a]: but becauſe a bare deſcription of them would communicate but an imperfect idea of them to the mind, by reaſon of the variety and irregularity of their diſpoſition, we ſhall inſiſt no farther on them; but refer you to the draught of them.

SECT. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Cuſtoms, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the ancient Phœnicians.

IT is univerſally allowed, that the Phœnicians were Canaanites (A) by deſcent; nothing is plainer, or leſs conteſted; and therefore it were time loſt to go about to Antiquity. prove

[a] Maundr. Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem.

(A) Bochart (1) inſinuates, that the Canaanites were aſhamed of their name, on account of the curſe denounced on their progenitor, and terrified by the wars ſo vigorouſly, and ſucceſsfully waged on them by the Iſraelites, purely becauſe they were Canaanites; and that therefore, to avoid the ignominy of the one, and the danger of the other, they abjured the old name, and changed it for Phœnicians, Syrians, Syrophœnicians, and Aſſyrians. Heidegger (2) conjectures alſo, that they were aſhamed of their

(1) Phaleg. l, 4. c. 34. col. 301. (2) Hiſt. Patriarch exerc. 23. § 2. p. 491.

prove it. We ſhall only add, that their blood muſt have been mixed with that of foreigners in proceſs of time, as happens in all trading places; and that many ſtrange families muſt have ſettled among them, who could conſequently lay no claim to this remote origin in this part, how much ſoever they may have been called Phœnicians, and reckoned of the ſame deſcent with the ancient proprietors.

Government. THE Phœnicians were governed by kings, and their territory, as ſmall a ſlip as it was, included ſeveral kingdoms, as thoſe of Sidon, Tyre, Aradus, Berytus, and Byblus. In this they imitated, and adhered to the primitive government of their fore-fathers, who, like the other Canaanites, were under many petty princes, to whom they allowed the ſovereign dignity, reſerving to themſelves the natural rights and liberties of mankind [a]. It may appear plain by their hiſtory, that even the kings of Sidon and Tyre, when in their zenith, were far from uncontrolable by the ſubject.

WE have no particular ſyſtem of their civil laws, and ſhall therefore paſs to their religion.

Religion. THE Phœnicians, being originally Canaanites, muſt once, as well as the reſt of their kindred, have had a knowledge of the true GOD, whom they, as is moſt likely, called Baal, or lord [b]. But by degrees degenerating to the deification, tranſlation, and worſhip of ſuch as, by their own confeſſion, were once mortals like themſelves, they became perverſe and blind idolaters. The chief of their deities in order, as we find them in their own records, are theſe. Beelſamen, which, in Phœnician, is Lord of heaven, thereby meaning the ſun [c]: Cronus, or Baal [d], who is likely to have been the Baal-berith, or the Cronus anciently worſhipped at Berytus [e]: Aſtarte [f], Cronus, or Baal the ſecond, Zeus Belus, or Baal (B), Apollo,

[a] See before, p. 189. [b] Vide Seld. de Di. Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 7. [c] See Vol. I. p. 259. [d] See Vol. I. in the Notes, p. 391. [e] Ibid. [f] See Vol. I. p. 394.

their anceſtor Canaan. We can think no ſuch thing. It ſeems unnatural. It may be combated by many ſolid objections; but becauſe they would draw us into two great a length, we forbear to make them.

(B) Here we have no leſs than three Baals, who are ſaid to have been once mortal men; which might fairly induce one to think, that the learned are miſtaken in ſuppoſing the Phœnician God

lo, Melicarthus, Melcartus, or Hercules [g]. Theſe are the gods of this people we ſhall chiefly take notice of here, the reſt we have treated of amply enough, in the antiquities and mythology of this people. We will only add one obſervation, which is; That it is almoſt certain the Phœnician idolatry and ſuperſtition is not all their own; and that their ſubjection to the Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Perſians, and Greeks, made great alterations in the whole ſyſtem of what was taught and practiſed among them in a religious way. We need only look back to what happened in Syria *, upon its being ſubdued, to be fully convinced of this.

How far they retained, or how far they loſt, a due ſenſe and notion of the true God in this their multifarious idolatry; and whether or no they might not, through theſe low diſguiſes and their frantic adoration, point intentionally at God himſelf, is hard to ſay. It is reported of the Egyptians, that, amidſt all their endleſs polytheiſm, they ſtill acknowledged one ſupreme God [i]: and ſince, as we ſhall ſee, the religion of the old Phœnicians was in ſubſtance hardly different from that of the Egyptians (C),

[g] See Vol. I. p. 395.
* See before, p. 288.
[h] See Vol. I. p. 259—265, 398—401.
[i] See Vol. I p. 550.

God Baal, of every ſort and denomination, was erected in honour of, and to repreſent, the ſun (3).

(C) Biſhop Cumberland (4) draws the following parallel between them, to ſhew how nearly they were related. "1. Plutarch (5) makes Oſiris the ſon of Rhea, a wife of Cronus: "ſo our author [Sanchoniatho] owns Rhea married to Cronus. "2. Plutarch makes Iſis to find, at Byblus, a king called Melcander, and that name is plainly derived from the Hebrew Melec, or Moloch; which title, the Biſhop thinks, was appropriated eminently to Cronus, or Ham, in old times. 3. The "Queen whom Iſis found at Byblus, Plutarch tells us, is by "ſome called Aſtarte, [or Aſparte, as it is in the Greek] which "is the name of one of Cronus's wives in Sanchoniatho. 4. Plutarch makes Typhon a contemporary with Cronus and his children; ſo doth Sanchoniatho." When the whole is weighed on each ſide, it muſt be allowed, that the ancient mythology of both was derived from the ſame ſource; but that the gods of the Phœnicians were ſo ancient as they made them, and as we commonly take them to be, is what we ſhall occaſionally diſpute hereafter.

(3) Vide Seld. de Di. Syr. Syntag. 2. c. & Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. (4) on Sanch. p. 107. (5) See before, p. 1.

as has been formerly obſerved [k]; it is very probable, that their theory and doctrine agreed together, as well as their practice and traditions.

How they pictured Beelſamen we no where find; but we apprehend, that they did not repreſent him at all: for, meaning by him, in a more eſpecial manner the ſun, whom they had ſo daily before their eyes in all his glory, it is likely, they made their addreſſes immediately to him, according to the ancient rite [l]. There were many Baals [m]. The Baal of Sidon was called Thalaſſius, or the Sea Baal [n]. There was Baal-berith (D), and others, each repreſented under proper attributes, we may ſuppoſe; but we know nothing

[k] See Vol. I. in the Notes, p. 261. [l] See before, p. 259.
[m] 1 Cor. viii. 5. [n] Heſych.

(D) This is a farther proof with us, that all the Baals of the Phœnicians were not intended for the ſun: we here ſee one denominated from the ſea. A Lord of the ſea, as well as a Lord of heaven; which ſeems to diſtinguiſh them into two very widely different deities. We cannot help thinking, that they had different genealogies for, and traditions of, all their Baals. This appears from what we have obſerved in the note above the laſt. We ſee they were procreated ſucceſſively from father to ſon; and it is hard to ſuppoſe, that they had the ſame ſtories of, and the ſame dependance on, them all: however, we will not anſwer for all the inconſiſtencies that may have crept into the minds of the idolatrous Phœnicians, nor examine into the pretences, that the partiſans of each idol may have broached in favour of its antiquity, or pre-eminence. After all, they may have each laid claim to the firſt honour, and, conſequently they might have each tranſlated their Baal into the ſun, or bright God of heaven; ſo that all their ſuperſtition may indeed have centered in him. We are very much inclined to think, the Sun and Moon were the two great objects of their worſhip; and theſe we take moſt generally to have been ſtiled Baal and Aſtarte; and that they ſometimes addreſſed themſelves immediately to thoſe great luminaries and rulers of the night and day, and ſometimes obliquely, by repairing to the images of their own fancy. For though they had tranſlated them into thoſe lights, yet they remembered perhaps, that they were once mortals and benefactors, and therefore may have adored them under their human form, as well as in their celeſtial dignity, being taught perhaps, or taking it into their heads, that their worſhip would be imperfect if they did not thus divide it.

nothing particular (E) of their idols. Baal is called ſometimes a god, and ſometimes a goddeſs; and reverſly, Aſtarte is ſometimes termed a goddeſs, and ſometimes a god (F): but by the Phœnician mythology ſhe was wholly a goddeſs; for there we find her mentioned as the mother of many children [o]. She is particularly called the goddeſs of the Sidonians, and in Hebrew Aſhtareth (G). Some [p] will

[o] See Vol. I. p. 391. [p] R. Cimch. apud Seld. de Di. Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 2.

(E) Fuller (6) ventures to picture Baal in general as a royal heroe, with armour and a mantle on his body, a diadem on his head, and a ſword in his hand, in act to ſtrike.

(F) The Hebrews knew no diſtinction of ſex in the gods; whence this aroſe. There are many inſtances to prove this; but we ſhall only produce one, where in one verſe only, with reference to Baal, he is both maſculine and feminine. Καὶ καλαλείψω ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν, πάντα γόνατα ἃ οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ Βαὰλ, καὶ πᾶν στόμα ὃ οὐ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ (7). In other copies, however, it is τῷ Βάαλ: but the ſame do in other places make him feminine, as well as here maſculine. Bochart (8) will have Baal-berith to have been a goddeſs, becauſe berith in Hebrew is feminine; but, as it is moſt likely, that thereby is meant no more than the Baal of Berytus (9), we do not ſee how this conjecture will ſtand. Aſtarte was called a god by the Hebrews, they having no name in their tongue for a goddeſs (10).

(G) Aſhtareth, which ſignifies flocks of ſheep or goats. It is conjectured, that men in ancient times being chiefly addicted to a paſtoral life, and delighting chiefly therein, drew their moſt favourite ſimilies of beauty from thence. This is ſuppoſed to have been the reaſon why Aſteroth, or Aſtarte, was ſo called (11). It was firſt ſtarted by Biſhop Cumberland (12), that her firſt name was Naamah. His lordſhip tells us, that he could not think of Plutarch's Nemanus, Cronus's wife, but Naamah came into his mind. A late author has taken up this, and puſhed it as far as it can poſſibly go. He finds, that Naamah ſignifies the fair one. He finds alſo, that ſhe was the wife of Ham. That he, carrying her about with him, "changed her name to one that in "another language had the ſame ſignification, and called her "Aſtarte, as it is in the Greek, or Aſhtaroth in the Hebrew; "which

(6) Piſgath-ſight. (7) Reg. xix. 18. (8) Canaan l. 2. c. 17. col. 775. (9) Vide Cumberland on Sanchon. p. 151. (10) Vide Boch. ubi ſupr. (11) Vide Bedford's Script. Chron. p. 234. 12 Ubi ſupr.

will have it, ſhe was ſo called becauſe ſhe was repreſented in the form of ſheep. But this is rejected as a meer notion. She was certainly repreſented as Iſis was [q], with cows horns on her head [r] (H), and for the ſame reaſon; that is, to repreſent the moon's increaſe and decreaſe; for ſhe

[q] See Vol. I. p. 551. [r] See Vol. I p. 398.

" which word ſignifies in Hebrew flocks of cattle, ſheep or " goats." According to theſe interpretations we do not perceive the exact ſimilitude of theſe two names, Naamah and Aſtarte. There is an alluſive one, if you will. A fair woman was a beauty, ſo was a flock of cattle in ancient days; ergo Naamah and Aſtarte are tranſlations of each other. However, our author brings us back again to his fair one; for Lucian, in his moſt inaccurate and unſatisfactory account of the Syrian goddeſs, happening to ſay a prieſt aſſured him, that Aſtarte was Europa, the ſiſter of Cadmus; it is ſufficient for our author to believe they really were but one; and ſo he comes round to Naamah his fair-faced one again: for Bochart, ſearching after the etymology of Europa, finds, that אור אפא Ur-appa, in the Phœnician tongue, is, in Greek, λευκοπρόσωπον, which may be aptly enough rendered fair of face; wherefore our author calls Bochart in to his aid, and diſcovers ſelf-evidently, that Europa is Aſtarte, and Aſtarte Naamah. Q E D. The inconnection and preſumption in all this are too glaring for us to animadvert upon them. Nor ſhould we have taken any notice at all of this paſſage, had it not been delivered as from the Tripos. Nor ſhould we have taken notice of this one, had it been the only piece of the kind in the work. As ſome of the Jews abſurdly derive her name from being repreſented under the form of ſheep (14): others (15) derive it from the numbers of victims offered up to her; as if they ſacrificed to her by whole flocks at a time.

(H) Aſtarte, we are told (16), put on a bull's head, as the mark of her ſovereignty; but Mercury claps on a bull's or ox's head upon Iſis to ſupply the place of her diadem, which the enraged Orus had torn off (17). We may ſee by both theſe ſtories, that the ox's head was eſteemed an enſign of ſupreme dignity; and that Aſtarte and Iſis were names for one perſon. Bochart (18) obſerves, that the word Aſtaroth may be extended to herds in general, and is not confined to the ſmaller cattle only; and inſinuates, that ſhe may be the Grecian Io turned into a cow. It is alſo

(13) Bedford's Script. Chron. ubi ſupr. (14) Vide Seld de Di. Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 2. (15) Scalig. apud eund. (16) See Vol. I. p. 398. (17) See before. p. 12. (18) Canaan l. 2. c. 2. col. 709.

ſhe was undoubtedly conſecrated into that planet [s], and adored under the ſtile of Queen of heaven (I). She was alſo the Phœnician Aphrodite, or Venus (K).

As

[s] See id. ibid.

alſo held that ſhe was the great Juno, as we ſhall ſee anon. Whence, by the way, we may ſeemingly account for the epithet Homer ſo often beſtows upon Juno, Βοῶπις Ἥρη, the ox-eyed Juno. Doctor Clark in his notes upon Homer (19), thinks, that nothing particular is alluded to thereby; that this epithet is uſed only to expreſs the majeſty of her countenance, and cites Libanius, who ſays as much, Ὁμηρος ἐνδείξασθαι βουλόμενος, ὡς εἶησαν ὀφθαλμοὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ καλοί τε μεγάλοιτε, "βοῶπιν" αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσε· which is, that Homer only underſtood ſhe had a large fine eye.

(I) There is all the reaſon in the world to believe this. It appears ſufficiently from her horned front. Lucian (20) took her for the Moon. Herodianus (21), miſtaken in her name, calling her Aſtroarche, ſays, that the Phœnicians would have her to be the Moon. Selden (22) thinks it indubitable, that ſhe was the Baliſama, corrupted from Baleth-Samain, the Queen of heaven, as alſo Baaltis. Some (23) ſay on the contrary, that ſhe was worſhipped in the ſtar called Lucifer; but the ſame conſider her under the name of Aphrodite, or Venus, which alſo ſhe bore; ſo that her attribute may have been altered or varied in this caſe, as well as her name. We ſhall have occaſion to reſume this again a little farther.

(K) Cicero (24) is very explicit upon this. Enumerating the ſeveral Venuſes, the fourth, ſays he, was a Syrian of Tyre, called Aſtarte; who, as the tradition goes, married Adonis. That ſhe was a Venus we underſtand from ſeveral other writers; but for the preſent ſhall content ourſelves with this one very plain teſtimony; upon which we beg leave to animadvert a little. Cicero places her the fourth in order, which we apprehend he does, as ſuppoſing the three, that precede her in his account, to be older than ſhe. Again, ſhe marries Adonis, who is univerſally allowed to be an Aſſyrian by deſcent. What are we to conclude from hence? Why, it ſeems apparent enough, that the ſuperſtition in honour of Adonis was introduced by the Aſſyrians when they conquered Phœnice, and that Aſtarte was his contemporary. This ſeems to take off conſiderably from her great antiquity. Sir Iſaac Newton (25) reckons, that the Baalim and Aſhtaroth came originally from the banks of the Tigris, whence they migrated into Phœnice.

(19) Il. ix. ℣ 441. (20) De Dea Syr. (21) Apud Seld. de Di. Syr. Syntag. 2. c. 2. (22) Ibid. (23) Theoph. apud Gerald. Hiſt. Deor. Syntag. 13. (24) De Nat. Deor. l. 3. (25) Chronol. of anc. Kingd. amended, p. 161.

As there were many Baals, ſo alſo there were many Aſtartes (L). She went under different names, and was doubtleſs very variouſly repreſented (M). She is ſaid to have conſecrated Phœnice. Hence he derives all the ſuperſtition and idolatry of the Phœnicians and Syrians: the Tyrian, Syrian, and the Aſſyrian Belus, ſays he *, were all one. If we might be allowed to declare our ſentiment on this head, we would add, that the greateſt part of what we know of the Phœnician religion is of Aſſyrian origin, and that it was impoſed on them together with the Aſſyrian yoke. This will bring down the antiquity of theſe fabulous deities very low. We know how the Syrians boaſted the antiquity of their great Adod, or Adad, the king of gods, as Sanchoniatho (26), in his Phœnician Antiquities, ſtiles him: we know alſo how vainly they did it, and how falſely (27). If then there be ſuch a flaw to be found in the pretended age of Adod, the ſame muſt affect Cronus and Aſtarte, his contemporaries and confederates (28). They are certainly of late date, in compariſon of what the learned have generally thought them.

(L) This we have ſufficiently inſinuated already. We have already ſeen her, Venus, Juno, and the Moon. The LXX more than once mention her in the plural number. A father of the church (29) obſerves, that Juno was undoubtedly the Aſtarte of the Pœni, and conſequently of the Phœnicians; and that ſhe was mentioned in the plural with regard had to the many ſtatues of her; and that as each ſtatue was called a Juno, thence came many Junos, or Aſtartes. To this we will add, that Aſtarte was poſitively the Grecian Io (30).

(M) We cannot doubt, but ſhe was pictured as variouſly as the characters ſhe bore, and the attributes beſtowed on her required. As much a Venus as ſhe was, it ſeems ſhe was pictured with arms, as the goddeſs of war (31). She was far otherwiſe repreſented in the temple on mount Libanus, where ſhe was mourning her loſt Adonis: her head was muffled up in a veil; her left hand, which was under her mantle, ſupported her head; and floods of tears ſtreamed down her cheeks (32). It muſt have been, we think, an Aſtarte that Lucian ſaw crowned with a tower, and with a ſiſtrum in her hand, and ſupported by lions; but we cannot pick out of him in what temple, or where, he ſaw this idol. It cannot be the Syrian goddeſs, as he calls her, of whom he gives a different deſcription

* Ibid. p. 279. (26) See Vol. I. p. 398. (27) See before, in the Notes, p. 288. (28) See Vol. I. p. 398. (29) Aug. ad Jud. 2. quæſt. 67. (30) Eurip. apud Seld. ubi ſupr. (31) Vide Bochart. Canaan. l. 1. c. 42. Col. 664. (32) Macrob. Saturn. l. 1. c. 27.

crated Tyre, by depoſiting a fallen ſtar there [t] (N). We have little or nothing to ſay of their Apollo (O). He is taken for the Phut of Moſes, and Put [u], whence the Pythius [w] of the Greeks; but as we have occaſionally conteſted the exorbitant antiquity of his kindred gods, we cannot allow his. Hercules, or Melcartus (P), was the great and ancient

[t] Suid. ad vocem Ἀσάξη. [u] See Vol. I. in the Notes, p. 396.
[w] Vide Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. l. 1. c. 3. col. 11.

deſcription (33). This laſt idol reſembles, in ſome particulars, certain images of Iſis (34); but to trace her out through all her forms is a taſk we are unequal to, for want of proper lights.

(N) Hence it was, we ſuppoſe, that ſhe was worſhipped as a a ſtar (35); and hence the notion of the ſtar, or globe of light, which at certain times darted down from the top of mount Libanus near her temple at Aphac, and plunged itſelf into the river Adonis below, and was thought to be Venus (36). Bochart (37) knows not what to make of this fallen ſtar, which Aſtarte is ſaid to have carried to Tyre. Inſtead of ἔυρεν ἀέροπετῆ ἀξέρα, he would read ἔυρεν ἀέροπέτη, vel ἀέροπετῆ, ἀετερίαν, Ælian acquainting us from Ariſtotle, that there was a kind of eagle called Aſteria; and therefore he would have it a bird inſtead of ſtar. But, by what precedes, it is moſt likely, that it was really a ſtar they meant. The practice ſquares very nicely with the doctrine, as does alſo the ſtory of the ſtar that was wont to fall from the top of Libanus into the river below.

(O) We only know, that he was in great repute among them; and that the Tyrians, when beſieged by Alexander, were ſo much afraid that he ſhould leave them, as they ſuperſtitiouſly dreaded, and go over to the enemy, that they chained him with golden chains (38) to the altar of Hercules (39).

(P) So called from מלך קרתא Melec-cartha, the king of the city, which Bochart (40) ſuppoſes to be Tyre. Sir Iſaac Newton (41) rejects this notion, and rather derives his name from his having been the founder, or governour, or prince of the city of Carteia in Spain. Heſychius (42) ſays, that the Amateuſians called Hercules by the name of Malic. Pliny (43) calls him, corruptly, Midacritus. He was a great navigator, and was the firſt that brought lead from the Caſſiterides, or iſlands of Britain. According

(33) See before, p. 288. (34) See Vol. I. p. 551. (35) See before p. 345. Note (I). (36) Vide Bochart. ubi ſupr. col. 749. (37) Ubi ſupr. col. 709. (38) Diod. Sic. l. 17. p. 584. (39) Plutarch in vit. Alex. (40) Canaan ubi ſupra col. 709. (41) Chronol. of anc. Kingd. amended, p. 111, 112. (42) Apud Bochart. ubi ſupr. (43) l. 7. c. 56.

ancient God of Tyre. They anciently represented him in no form. His temple had no images in it [x] (Q), a seemingly undeniable instance of his high antiquity (R). However, that they deviated from this laudable custom may, perhaps, appear, when we come to the siege of Tyre by Alexander [y]. Among their gods we may also place Adonis,

[x] See before, in the Notes, ubi supr. [y] See ibid.

cording to others (44) he invented the shell-purple, by an accidental remark of a dog's mouth stained therewith.

(Q) This is in part contradicted by Philostratus, in his life of Apollonius of Tyanea, who particularly dwells on the temple of Gadira, or Gades, which is (45) said to have had no images in it, and to have continued in that simple state to the time of Silius Italicus (46). In Philostratus we find indeed, that there were no statues erected either to the Egyptian or Theban Hercules; for both were worshipped in this same temple, as he informs us: there were only two plain brazen altars erected to the Egyptian Hercules. But though the gods were unrepresented, their temple was adorned with the twelve labours of Hercules (as they are commonly called) finely wrought, the Hydra, and Diomede's horses. In this temple were kept the golden belt of Teucer, and the golden olive of Pygmalion, bearing Smaragdine fruit, of wonderous workmanship (47). By this may be learned, that, at least, the Theban Hercules was the Tyrian Melcartus; for we need not say, that Pygmalion was king of Tyre.

(R) We have already given his genealogy in the Phœnician Antiquities (48). The Egyptians reckoned their Hercules to be seventeen thousand years older than their king Amasis (49). The Tyrians were more modest, and only reckoned their Hercules to be as old as their city, which was two thousand three hundred years *. The Tyrians paid as great a veneration to their hero as the Egyptians could do to theirs (50); but whether both their Herculeses were in reality one and the same, is what we pretend not to decide. Cicero (51) reckons the Tyrian Hercules the fourth of those he enumerates, and calls him the son of Jupiter and Asteria, the sister of Latona, and the father of Carthage. Lucian (52) says, that the Tyrian Hercules was not the Hercules celebrated by the Greeks, but another far more ancient, who was a Tyrian hero.

(44) Incertus apud Suid. ad vocem. (45) Ibid. (46) See before in the Notes, p. 397. (47) Philost. in vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. 5. c. 1. p. 211. (48) See Vol. 1. p. 397. (49) Herodot. l. 3. c. 43. * Idem ibid. (50) Vide Macrob. Saturn. l. 1. (51) De Nat. Deor. (52) De Dea Styr.

Adonis, Thammuz, or Oſiris, which you will (S); nor muſt we forget the Patæci (T) they carried about in the prows of their ſhips [z]. Other deities they had, which we know nothing of. The Cabiri will have their turn in the Grecian mythology [a].

WE

[z] Herodot. l. 3. c. 37. [a] See before in the notes, Vol. I. p. 390.

(S) They were certainly but one, or meant the ſame object. Whence the people of Amathus, an ancient city of Cyprus, conflated their Adonoſiris (53), which is a compound of both the names, Adonis and Oſiris; for the Phœnicians and Egyptians laid equal claim to him (54) under different appellations, though he was certainly an Egyptian (55). So then the beautiful Adonis, begotten by Cinyras an Aſſyrian (56), is in reality the Egyptian Oſiris. It is a very labyrinth we are in, to conſider theſe things as they are told us; but take the following parallel (57), between the ſolemnities and ceremonies ſacred to them both: they had both of them their ἀφανισμὸς, diſappearance or death; they both had their ζήτησις, or their ſearch after them with mourning; and they both had their ἕυρεσις, or invention, with joy and gladneſs. In reality they were but one. Both the nations in this caſe meant no other than the ſun; concerning whoſe approach and departure they framed ſuch fables as might beſt take with the people. The month of June was the ſeaſon when all this ſuperſtition was tranſacted both by the Phœnicians and Egyptians (58).

(T) They were ſmall ſtatues. Herodotus (59) likens them to pygmies. Heſychius (60) and Suidas will have them to have been placed in the poops of the ſhips. The faſhion was, for certain, changed in the great length of time between them and Herodotus. They were carried about for protection from diſaſters of the ſea. They were the tutelar gods of ſea-faring men (61). Thus the Spaniards at this day carry to ſea with them little images of the ſaints, that they may ſtand their friends in diſtreſs. They will perform you a nine days devotion to St. Francis Xavier for a fair wind and favourable weather when at ſea; and if the miracle

is

(53) Vide Steph. Byzant. de Urb. & Popul. ad vocem Ἀμαθοῦς. (54) Vid. eund. ibid. (55) Vid. eund. ibid. (56) Vide Apollod. Bibliot. l. 3. c. 13 & Cyril. in Iſ. l. 2. tom. iii. p. 274. (57) Vide Marſh. Can. Chron. Secul. 1 p. 31. (58) Vide eund. ibid. (59) l. 3. c. 37. (60) Ad vocem. Πάταικοι. (61) Vid. Seld. de Di. Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 16. Bochart. Canaan l. 2. c. 3. col. 712, 713.

We do not read, that the Phœnicians, how nearly soever they may have agreed with the Egyptians in the main points of their superstition, ever extended their worship, like them, to the inanimate creation. But since there was such a harmony between them in other respects, it is by no means unlikely, that they were tainted with some of the meanest, and most unaccountable superstitions of that fabulous and mysterious kingdom. But this is only a conjecture, which we leave to the readers determination.

Their priests, religious customs, &c.

Belsamen we have understood to have been in an especial manner the sun himself [b]; and to him they addressed themselves with stretched out arms, as we gather [c]. What else was practised, when they made their addresses to the sun only, we no where find.

Baal had his prophets and his priests in great numbers. We read of four hundred and fifty of them which were fed at Jezabel's table only [d]. They were wont to offer burnt-offerings and sacrifices to this their god or gods [e], and to dance and skip about the altar, with violent gesticulations (U); and having worked themselves to the height of frenzy, by this exercise, and a violent straining of their voices,

[b] See before, p. 340. [c] See before, Vol. I. p. 395.
[d] 1 Kings xviii. 19. [e] 2 Kings x. 24.

is not wrought as expected, vow never more to trouble the saint again. The next minute the captain will hang him up an image of our lady of Bethlem, and declare, that he will not take her down till she gives him a fair wind. If she will not do as he would have her, she must give place to our lady of mount Carmel, who upon nonperformance is changed for our lady of the Rosary; and if she prove deaf also, up goes our lady of Solitude instead of her; and she not hearing any more than the rest, our lady of Affliction takes her turn (62), and so on ad infinitum. These are Christian Patæci. Why should we wonder at the blind Phœnicians? This we thought worth the notice. It is a good parallel, and comes from a good Roman Catholic, who was an eye-witness of this practice.

(U) It is uncertain whether they danced round the altar, or leaped upon it, or jumped over it, or how this was: "Abarbanel thinks, this leaping or dancing was a rite used in the worship of the sun; which puts all things in motion (63).

(62) See Frezier's Voyage to the South-sea, p. 143 of the Eng. Transl. in 4to. (63) Patrick upon 1 Kings xviii. 26.

voices, they began to cut and ſlaſh their bodies with knives and lancets: this done, they betook themſelves to prophe-ſy [f], as it is called, or rather raved, as if poſſeſſed by ſome inviſible power [g]. Such was their barbarous way of worſhip (W); nor need we wonder at it, conſidering their more barbarous cuſtom, in earlier days, of ſacrificing even ſuch perſons as were moſt dear to them, to appeaſe or re-concile their imaginary gods, when they laboured under any public calamites. This is charged very home upon them, not only by the teſtimony of others [h], but by their own confeſſion [i]. This alſo they had in common with the Egyptians [k]. This cruel practice, however, was diſcon-tinued here, as well as in Egypt, pretty early; but at what time, and upon what motives of perſwaſion, we have not to ſay.

MANY prieſts or prophets attended alſo on the rites of Aſtarte. Jezabel had no fewer than four hundred of them to her ſhare [l]. Our verſion calls them, prophets of the groves: but Mr. Selden has proved, by comparing many paſſages of ſcripture together [m], that Aſtarte is meant by them; and ſome [n], who know not how to conteſt this in-terpretation, believe ſhe was worſhipped in a grove, which is very likely, ſuch places being for the moſt part account-ed ſacred to religious rites, in the firſt times [o]. We muſt not doubt, but ſhe was ſerved with much form, pomp, and myſtery; and women, particularly, are ſaid to have been employed to weave hangings, or tabernacles, for her [p]. When ſhe was adored as the Queen of heaven, or the moon itſelf, they offered up to her cakes, which were prepared for that ſervice with great ceremony: *The children gather-ed the wood, and the fathers kindled the fire, and the women kneaded the dough, to make cakes for the queen of heaven* [q].

They

[f] 1 Kings ubi ſupr. [g] Vide Patrick in loc. [h] Porphyr. περὶ ἀποχῆς, l. 2. § 56, &c. [i] See before, Vol. I. p. 399. [k] See before, p. 45. [l] 1 Kings ubi ſupr. ℣ 19. [m] Pa-trick in loc. [n] Cleric in loc. [o] See before, in the notes, p. 120. [p] 2 Kings xxiii. 7. [q] Jerem. vii. 18.

(W) Though all this was practiſed upon a particular occaſion, or when they took on them to perform a miracle, we are per-ſuaded there is nothing new in it. They are ſaid to have wound-ed their bodies after their uſual manner (64).

(64) 1 Kings xviii. 28.

They also burned incense to her, and poured out drink-offerings to her [r]. This Astarte, queen of heaven, was, as we have said, the moon itself [s]; for as they paid their homage immediately to the sun, the same, we may safely suppose, they did to the moon. It was an ancient custom. Those great lights were always considered together. The inimitable Job [t] says, If *I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand, this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judges.* Some [u] fancy, upon what authority does not at present occur to us, that her cakes were stamped with a crescent. At Byblus she was worshipped in a particular manner; for there she had a temple, as the Venus of Adonis [w]. And there, such women as would not conform to the custom of shaving their heads, at the annual time of lamenting Adonis, were bound to prostitute their bodies for one entire day, to all strangers, that would have them, for hire; and the money so got was presented to the goddess [x]. Her temple at Aphac on mount Libanus was a perfect sink of lewdness, a very school of the most beastly lust. The men there sunk into the most degenerate effeminacy to comfort the mournful goddess [y]. The most shameful commerce between the sexes was allowed within those prophane walls. And this was permitted and practised, as some conjecture, because in this place Venus first rushed herself into the arms of Adonis. Or, as others [a] say, because this was either the first, or the last, place where they enjoyed each other. Other temples she doubtless had, and other rites, which it were in vain for us to attempt either to distinguish or enumerate. What else may be said of her, or her worship, we may have occasion to resume hereafter. Though she is called the goddess of the Sidonians, her principal temple seems to have been that at Tyre, built by Hiram [b].

After what manner they worshipped their Apollo is uncertain; but to their Hercules they are said to have paid great honour. His worship was performed with great solemnity

[r] Idem xliv. 17, 18. [s] See before, p. 345. [t] xxxi. 26, 27, 28. [u] See Fuller's Pisgah-sight. [w] Lucian de Dea Syr. [x] Idem ibid. [y] See before, in the notes, p. 346. [z] Bochart. Canaan, l. 2. c. 14. col. 749. [a] Etymol. magn. apud eund. ibid. [b] Menand. & Dius apud Joseph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 2.

lemnity; the aſſiſtants were all clad alike, in Egyptian linen all. They offered the incenſe to him with a looſe flowing garment; the prieſtly veſt was adorned with broad ſtreaks, or ſtripes, of purple; their feet were bare; their heads were ſhaven; they were pure from any pollution, as it was thought, contracted from the other ſex; and the fire of the altar never went out. Women were not allowed to enter into the temple, and ſwine were carefully kept from approaching it [c]: ſuch were the ceremonies uſed, and cuſtoms obſerved, in the worſhip of the Tyrian Hercules. They paid him tythes. More might be ſaid concerning this Hercules's temples, and the honours done him, which we ſhall refer till we come to treat of Hercules in general.

We ſhall now cloſe up this account of their religious practices, cuſtoms, and ceremonies, with what they were wont to do in commemoration of Adonis, or Oſiris, or Adonoſiris, or Thammuz; for, as we have already obſerved [d], all theſe names centered in one object. His father, they pretend, was one Cinyras an Aſſyrian, who founded the city of Paphos in the iſland of Cyprus [e]. Some ſay his name was Gingris, or Gingras [f], among the Phœnicians. But whatever his name was, it is agreed, he was a moſt beautiful youth. On the one hand [g], it is reported, that Venus was enamoured of him from his infancy, and committed the care of his education to Proſerpine; that when Venus came to demand him of her, ſhe refuſed to deliver him to her; and that hence a diſpute aroſe between them, which was decided by Jupiter, who decreed, that the youth ſhould be one third of the year with Proſerpine, another third with Venus, and that dureing the laſt third, he ſhould diſpoſe of himſelf as he beſt liked. That in conſequence of this, Adonis, ſmitten with the charms of Venus, ſpent two thirds of his time with that fond goddeſs; whereat Diana taking offence, ſent a wild boar to put a miſerable end to his life. On the other hand [h], it is reported, that Adonis was the offspring of an inceſtuous embrace. That he was begot by his father Cinyras on his own daughter Myrrha. That to hide the guilt of ſo unlawful a commerce from the eyes of the world

[c] Silius Ital. l. 3. [d] See before, p. 349, and in the Note (S).
[e] Apollod. Biblioth. ubi ſupr. [f] Jul. Pol. l. 2. c. 4. l. 4. c. 14.
[g] Apollod. Biblioth. ubi ſupr. [h] Cyril. in Is. ubi ſupr.

world, he was expoſed on the mountains, where he was nurſed by the nymphs, and became a great ſportſman. That Venus, ſeeing him at his manly ſport, fell in love with him, and received him into an intimacy with her: and that Mars, conceiving a violent jealouſy thereat, turned himſelf into the ſhape of a wild boar, and ſlew the beauteous youth. That Venus, being unſpeakably grieved at the ſad news, followed him to the ſhades to demand him; but that Proſerpine, at firſt refuſing to deliver him, was at length brought to this agreement, That he ſhould be half the year with her, and half the year with Venus, who returned with joy to the earth again, and acquainted her followers with the ſucceſs of her deſcent, and ordained a feſtival to be celebrated in commemoration thereof. Whoever compares this with what is related of Iſis and Oſiris [i], will find it to be the very ſame ſtory in a different dreſs. In conſequence of this myſterious tradition, there was great grief among the women, at Byblus eſpecially, for the death of Adonis, which was ſucceeded by as great joy for his recovery.

But the Jewiſh writers have among them another ſtory concerning the origin of the rites of Thammuz or Adonis. Maimonides [k] relates, that the ancient Zabij held Thammuz to have been an idolatrous prophet, who preaching up to a certain king the doctrine of worſhipping the ſeven planets and the twelve ſigns, the king ordered him to be put to a cruel death. That on the very night of his death, all the idols, from the uttermoſt parts of the earth, met together in the temple of the golden ſtatue, or the ſun, at Babylon; and that he acquainted them with the tragical end of Thammuz. That hereupon the images wept and lamented all night for Thammuz, and that as ſoon as morn appeared they all flew back to their places. Hence, ſays he, was derived the cuſtom of mourning over Thammuz. Finally, it is ſaid he was the ſon of a heathen king, whoſe image the Jewiſh women adored with tears, nor refrained from offering ſacrifices to it [l].

Whoever he was, and whatever they meant by him, the ſuperſtition of mourning over him was a univerſal cuſtom of the women in thoſe parts. They began their lamentations at a ſtated time. They ſet up their outcries as ſoon as they perceived the river Adonis to run with a bloody face

[i] See before, p. 9. [k] In More Nebochim. [l] Philaſt. apud Seld. de Dei. Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 11.

face [m], as at certain times it did [n]. The lamentations of a mother for the loss of her only son could not be more piercing or extraordinary [o]. They then proceeded to their sacrifices of the dead, having first disciplined themselves with whipping; and on the morrow, pretending him to be revived, and ascended through the air to the upper regions, they shaved their heads, as the Egyptians did for the loss of Apis, and at Byblus at least, those who would not comply, were bound to prostitute themselves in the manner, and for the purposes above specified [p]. Some [q] relate, that on a certain night, while this solemnity lasted, they laid an image in a bed, and, having gone through a bed-roll of lamentations over it, light was brought in, and the priest anointing the mouths of the assistants, whispered to them that salvation was come--- that deliverance was brought to pass. Upon which their sorrow was turned into joy, and the image taken as its were out of its sepulchre; Or as other say [r]; the priests of Osiris in Egypt wrote to the women of Byblus signifying to them, That they had found that god. They sent this letter in an earthen pot, as some say, or in a small ark, or head as it is called [s], made of the papyrus, which came by sea of its own accord to Byblus. This voyage it performed in seven days [t], and it no sooner appeared in the port, but the women danced, feasted, and rejoiced as extravagantly as they had before wept, mourned, and lamented [u]. This custom had made so lasting an impression on the women of those parts, that it is visibly kept up by them of Aleppo to this day [w].

THERE are different ways of explaining away all this mystery. Adonis was the sun. The upper hemisphere of the earth, or that which we think so, was anciently called Venus, the under, Proserpine. Therefore when the sun was in the six inferior signs, they said he was with Proserpine; when he was in the six superior, with Venus. By the boar that slew Adonis they understood winter; for the boar they made, and not unaptly, the emblem of that rigid season [x]. Or by Adonis they meant the fruits of the

[m] Lucian de Dea Syr. [n] See before, p. 335. [o] Amm. Marcell. l. 19. [p] See before, p. 352. [q] Jul. Firm. apud Purch. Pilgr. l. 1. c. 17. p. 90. [r] Procop. & Cyril. in Isa. xviii. [s] Lucian. ubi supr. [t] Idem. ibid. [u] Procop. Cyril. ubi supr. [w] See Seller's History of Palmyra in the Preface. [x] Macrob. Saturn. l. 1, c. 21.

earth, which are for one while buried, but at length appear flouriſhing to the ſight. When therefore the ſeed was thrown into the ground, they ſaid Adonis was gone to Proſerpine; but when it ſprouted up, they ſaid, he had reviſited the light and Venus. And hence probably it was, that they ſowed corn, and made gardens for Adonis; for ſuch a cuſtom they alſo had [y]. We may ſafely ſuppoſe there was no ſmall variation among thoſe who received this piece of ſuperſtition, when they talked of what it meant, and why it was practiſed. Finally, Plutarch [z] takes Adonis to be Bacchus. Oſiris alſo the ſun [a], as we have ſeen, was Adonis [b]. To be brief, it was contended, that Oſiris was buried at Byblus [c]. Adonis is lord [d], ſo is Baal.

PLUTARCH [e] alſo informs us, that Iſis had a temple at Byblus, where they worſhipped the heath which had concealed Oſiris's coffin. This Byblian Iſis muſt certainly have been Aſtarte; ſo that we end with the Baalim and Aſteroth as we have began.

HERODOTUS [f] mentions the Phœnicians to have been circumciſed: but Joſephus [g] aſſerts, that none of the nations, included under the vague names of Paleſtine and Syria, uſed that rite, the Jews excepted; ſo that if the Phœnicians had anciently that cuſtom, they came in time to neglect it, and at length wholly laid it aſide. They abſtained from the fleſh of ſwine [h].

Their Arts and Learning.

MUCH is ſaid of the Phœnicians, their arts, ſciences, and manufactures. But as what we find concerning them is couched in general terms only, we have it not in our power to expatiate on particulars. The Sidonians, under which we comprehend all the Phœnicians in general, as was anciently a very uſual thing [i], were of a moſt happy genius and frame of mind, capable of any thing [k]. Arithmetic and aſtronomy either took riſe among them [l], or were brought by them to their perfection, and applied to mercantile, nautical, architectonical, and fabrical uſes. From them thoſe excellent ſciences flowed into Greece [m], together with their letters [n]. They were from the beginning, as it were, addicted to philoſophical exerciſes of the mind;

[y] Vide Vos. de Idololat. l. 2. c. 5. p. 167. [z] Sympoſ. l. 4. p. 671. [a] See before, p. 204. [b] See before, p. 349. [c] Luc. de Dea Syr. [d] See before, p. 340 De Iſid. & Oſirid. [e] l. 2. c 104. [g] Contr. Ap. b. 1. [h] Herodian l. 5. [i] Vide Bochart. Phaleg. l 4. c. 37. col. 301. [k] Idem ibid. col. 303. [l] Strabo. l. 16. p. 757. [m] Idem ibid. Herodot. l. c.

mind; inſomuch, that a Sidonian, by name Moſchus, taught the doctrine of atoms before the Trojan war [n], and Abdomenus of Tyre * undertook to grapple even with Solomon, by the ſubtle propoſitions he offered to that wiſeſt of earthly kings. Phœnice continued to be one of the ſeats of learning, and both Tyre and Sidon [o] produced their philoſophers of later ages, Boëthius and Diodatus of Sidon, Antipater of Tyre, and Apollonius of the ſame place, who wrote of the writings and diſciples of Zeno [p]. Their doctrine concerning the origin of the world, and the formation of things, we have already mentioned [q].

THEIR language was at leaſt a dialect of the Hebrew. It was that of the ancient Canaanites. Their letters or characters we take to have been the ſame with the Samaritan. But for our particular thoughts of both the one and the other, and for the conſtruction of both, we muſt crave the reader's patience, till we come to treat of the Hebrew tongue. Their Language.

How great ſoever they were for the ſciences, and for their diſcoveries and improvements in the learned way; it is far from being improbable, that they excelled much more in the labours of the hand than in thoſe of the head [r]. The glaſs of Sidon, the purple of Tyre, and the exceeding fine linen they wove, were of their own growth, and their ſtaple manufactures. Theſe are ſaid to have been their own inventions [s]. And for their extraordinary ſkill in working of metals, in hewing of timber and ſtone; in a word, for their perfect knowledge of what was ſolid, and great, and ornamental in architecture, we need only put the reader in mind of the large ſhare they had in erecting and decorating of the temple at Jeruſalem under their king Hiram; than which nothing is more known, nothing more certain, nor is there any thing that can more redound to their honour, or inſinuate a clearer or greater idea of what their own buildings muſt have been. Their fame was ſuch for their juſt taſte, fine deſign, and luxuriant invention, that whatever was elegant, great, or pleaſing, whether in apparel, or veſſels, or toys, was called, by way of excellence, Sidonian workmanſhip or contrivance [t]. Their Manufactures.

[n] Poſidonius apud Strabo ubi ſupr. * Menand & Dius apud Joſeph. l. 8. c. 2. & contr. Ap. l. 1. [o] Strabo ubi ſupr. [p] Idem ibid. [q] See before, p. 107. [r] Vide Bochart. Phaleg. l. 4. c. 35. col. 303. [s] Vide eund. ibid. [t] Vide eund. ibid.

Their Trade and Navigation.

THUS far we have conſidered them as learned men and artificers, improving themſelves, and cultivating their minds ſedately at home. It remains, that we mention them as merchants, navigators, and planters of endleſs colonies in foreign parts. As they were merchants, they may be ſaid to have engroſſed all the commerce of the weſtern world at leaſt. As navigators, they were the boldeſt, the moſt experienced, and greateſt diſcoverers of the ancient times; they had for many ages no rivals. And as they were planters of colonies, they did ſo much that way, that, when it is remembered, that their country was probably little more than the ſlip of ground between mount Libanus and the ſea, it is ſurprizing, how they could furniſh ſuch ſupplies of people, and not wholly depopulate their native ſeat. They were the moſt buſy, moſt enterprizing people, that can well be conceived.

WE have ſtarted a conjecture, that the Phœnicians were not a little induced to become forcign dealers by their neighbourhood with the Syrians, whom we have conſidered as the moſt ancient of thoſe who negotiated any thing conſiderably, and regularly, with the more eaſtern regions [u]. And we ſee no reaſon we have to depart from this poſition. For their own territory was but ſmall, and but little able to afford any conſiderable exports, if we except manufactures; but that their manufactures were any thing, to ſpeak of, till they began to turn all the channels of trade into their own country, is hard to believe. In Syria, which was a large country, they found ſtore of ſuperabundant productions of the natural growth of that country, and many choice, and precious, and uſeful commodities brought from the eaſt. Hereupon, having a ſafe coaſt and convenient harbours on the one ſide of them, and excellent materials for ſhip-building upon the mountains on the other, and perceiving by degrees how acceptable many commodities, that Syria furniſhed them with, would be in foreign parts; and being at the ſame time, perhaps, ſhewn the way by the Syrians themſelves, who may have navigated the Mediterranean; they turned all their thoughts to trade and navigation, and, by an uncommon application thereto, ſoon eclipſed the Syrians themſelves on the Mediterranean Sea. Nature herſelf pointed to them their advantages, and daily experience before their eyes, and a laudable ambition, may have prompted them to

[u] See before, p. 301.

to that, which brought them to be conſidered as the firſt of the earth for riches and ſplendor, if not for power.

It were in vain to talk of the Edomites, who fled hither in David's time [w]; or to enquire whence Herodotus derives the Phœnicians from the Red-ſea [x]. Their origin we have already ſeen [y]. That ſome of the Edomites fled into this country in the days of David we have already ſhewn. And that the Edomites were a trading people we have elſewhere noted [z]. What Improvements they brought with them into Phœnice is hard to ſay. And, by the way, it is as hard to ſpeak of their numbers, or to ſay, how it could be poſſible for a parcel of refugees to communicate their own name to the ancient proprietors, as is pretended [a]. It ſeems to be plain, that they brought with them a knowledge of the Red-ſea, and of the ſouth parts of Arabia, Egypt, and Ethiopia; and that by their inſtructions and lights, they made the Phœnicians acquainted with thoſe coaſts, which before they knew nothing of, and enabled them to undertake the voyages they did in thoſe parts for Solomon, and for Pharoah Necho king of Egypt. But we will dwell no longer on theſe particulars ſo hard to be aſcertained. We have only ſtarted them to exerciſe thoſe of our inquiſitive readers, who have leiſure and inclination to bend their thoughts this way; and ſhall only add, by way ſummary, That it is our opinion, the Phœnicians were both younger merchants and navigators than the Syrians, and that they reaped conſiderable advantages by the acceſs of the fugitive Edomites, that ſought for ſhelter among them in David's time.

Their whole thoughts were how to advance their trade. They affected no empire but that of the ſea. They ſought to enlarge no other dominion. They ſeem to have aimed at nothing but the peaceable enjoyment of their commerce. They traded to all the known parts they could reach, or knew the way to. The Britiſh iſles, commonly underſtood by the Caſſiterides, Spain, other places in the ocean, both to the north and ſouth of the ſtraits mouth, in general all the ports of the Mediterranean, the Black-ſea, and the lake Mæotis [b]; in all theſe parts they had ſettlements and correſpondents, from all which they drew what was uſeful to themſelves, or might be ſo to others reciprocally:

[w] See before, p. 165.
[x] See before, p. 166.
[y] See before, p. 339.
[z] See before, p. 156.
[a] See before, p. 328.
[b] Vide Huet. Hiſt. de la Comm. et de la Navig. des Anc.

and thus they exerciſed the three great branches of trade, as it is commonly divided, in importation, exportation, and tranſportation, in full latitude. Such was the extent of their ſea trade: as for their correſpondence by Land in Syria, and, by the way thereof, in Meſopotamia, Aſſyria, Babylonia, Perſia, Arabia, and even the Indies, not to carry the thing any farther; this may furniſh us with ſome adequate idea of what this people once was, how rich, and how unhyperbolically their merchants are mentioned in ſcripture as equal to princes [b]. Their country was at that time the great warehouſe where every thing, that might either adminiſter to the neceſſities or luxury of mankind, was to be found; which they diſtributed as they judged would be the beſt for their own intereſt, which they muſt have had the art of cheriſhing, as much as we have in our days. It would be in vain for us to undertake a detail of what they brought by ſea, or of what was ſent them over land from each particular place, or of what they ſent to the ſeveral countries they dealt with. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpecify the particulars, when we come to mention the ancient trade of each country. Their own principal commodities were the purple of Tyre, the glaſs of Sidon, and the exceeding fine linen made in this country [d]: theſe, and other fine pieces of art in metals and wood, ſeem to have been the chief, and almoſt only, commodities of Phœnice itſelf. Their country was ſo ſmall, that it is not to be imagined they could afford to export any of the fruits thereof. It is more likely, that they rather wanted, than abounded with, the fruits of the earth.

HAVING thus ſpoken in general terms of their trade, we ſhall now juſt touch upon their ſhipping, and ſome things remarkable in their navigation. Their larger embarkations were of two ſorts. They divided them into round ſhips, or Gauli, and long ſhips, gallies, or Triremes [e]. When they drew up in line of battle, the Gauli were at a ſmall diſtance off each other in the wings, or in the van, and the rear, and about; their Triremes were contracted together in the center [f]. If at any time their ſhips bound on a voyage obſerved, that a ſtranger kept them company, or followed them in their track, they were ſure to get rid of him if they could, or deceive him, if poſſible; in which they would go ſo far as to venture the loſs of their ſhips,

[c] Iſai. c. xxiii. ℣ 8. [d] See before, p. 357. [e] Vide Bochart. Canaan. l. 2. c. 11. col. 739. [f] Polyæn. l. 6.

and

and even their lives, ſo that they could but deſtroy, or diſappoint him [g]; ſo jealous were they of foreigners, and ſo tenaciouſly bent on keeping all to themſelves. And to add to the dangers of the ſeas, and to diſcourage other nations from truſting themſelves thereon, they affected piracy [h]; or to be at war with ſuch as they met when they thought themſelves ſtrongeſt. This was but a natural ſtroke of policy in a people who graſped at the whole commerce of the then known world. Talking of their navigation, we muſt not forget the famous fiſhery of Tyre, which ſo remarkably enriched the city of Tyre in particular. The fiſh they ſought after were thoſe wherewith they dyed purple, the richeſt dye in the world. They were always careful to take them alive. An ancient author [i] attributes the diſſoluteneſs of Tyre to the number of the dyers there; from whence we may gather they were a rich and a numerous body of people, proud and extravagant, vain and debauched. This fiſh is ſome how or other loſt (X), or thoſe on that coaſt at preſent know not how to catch it.

We might here ſpeak of the Phœnician voyages in the ſervice of Solomon, had we not a more proper place in our eye of expatiating thereon. The long voyage ſome of them undertook in the ſervice, and to ſatisfy the curioſity, of Necho king of Egypt, round Afric, going out of the Red-ſea, and returning by the way of the Straits-mouth, deſerves not to be paſſed over. They were three years about it (Y). The reader, we hope, will not be diſpleaſed

[g] Vide Strab. l. 3. p. 175. [h] Huet. ubi ſupr. c. 16. p. 70.
[i] Strab. l. 16.

(X) We are aſſured by an eye witneſs, who is too modeſt to allow us the uſe of his name, that they have a kind of fiſh on the rocks on the coaſt a little to the weſtward of Panama, with which the Indians dye a red purple. That they carry their yarn down to the ſea-ſide: that they bring it back dyed: and that their hands are always diſcoloured, like thoſe of our dyers.

(Y) We ſee then the Portugueſe were only the Re-diſcoverers of the Cape of Good-hope. Here we will beg leave to animadvert a little upon a celebrated author (65), who will have it, the Phœnicians made it a common practice to trade with India, by the way of the Cape of Good-hope, from the times of Solomon. This is incredible on many accounts. 1. The Phœnicians had no

(65) Huet Hiſtoire du Comm. & de la Navig. des Anc. chap. 8.

diſpleaſed that we have dwelt ſo long on this extraordinary people. He will perceive we might have ſaid ten times more; and that it was impoſſible for us to ſay leſs of them than we have ſaid, either to refreſh his memory, or give him information. Their colonies and ſettlements will be particularly remarked in the order they may occur.

SECT.

no ſuch temptation to undertake ſo long and dangerous a voyage as we have: the voyage to them muſt have been much longer than it is at preſent to us. 2. They are not above half ſo far from India as we are. 3. It is incredible, that the ſtructure and rigging of their ſhips were rightly adapted for ſo unfavourable a navigation; nor is it likely that they could at once furniſh themſelves with ſtores and proviſions ſufficient for their uſe and neceſſities, and at the ſame time have any great cargoe of goods on board. 4. Theſe diſadvantages conſidered it muſt appear, that they might have been ſupplied with all the eaſtern commodities in general, at a much cheaper rate, from the Egyptians and Edomites on the Arabian gulf, and from Syria on the Euphrates; and this certainly was a part of the trade they drove with Syria and Egypt (66). 5. It is not to be imagined, if the contrary practice had been uſual, that all memory of it would have been loſt; that the Romans, in Ovid's time. would have talked of the torrid zone as uninhabitable; and that Herodotus would have reckoned it as ſo noble a tranſaction of Necus's reign, that he ſent the moſt expert Phœnicians he could procure to explore the ſhores of Afric (67); or that the ſame, in other reſpects, moſt knowing hiſtorian, would have diſputed the credibility of what the ſailors reported on their return, that they had the ſun on the right hand of them (68); it being the ancient cuſtom, as we have ſomewhere read in Plutarch, to ſet the face to the weſtward; in which poſture the ſun muſt be on the right hand of him who is to the ſouthward of its courſe, which they muſt have been, over and over again, who doubled the Cape of Good-hope. In ſhort, the Indian commerce by that rout could have anſwered no manner of end to the Phœnicians, nor could they have been tempted to frequent it, ſituated as they were between Egypt and Syria, the two great magazines of whatever the eaſt afforded.

(66) See before, p. 302.
(67) See before, p. 62.
(68) Melpomen c. 42.

SECT. III.

The Chronology of the PHOENICIANS.

IT were labour in vain to dwell on this ſubject. In general we may ſay, that the hiſtory of the Phœnicians is no other than a continuation of that of Canaan; as is on all hands allowed (A). Their particular epochs it is impoſſible to diſcover. Their records, once ſo faithfully kept [a], are now no more. We will not therefore enter profeſſedly upon ſo dark a matter, but ſhall content ourſelves with touching thereon occaſionally hereafter. It is obſerved [b], that they boaſted an exceſſive antiquity, no leſs than thirty thouſand years; in which, however, they were far more reaſonable than ſome others, who certainly could claim very little, or nothing, beyond them in that particular. To adhere to the method we have laid down, we ſhall ſubjoin a ſeries of the kings of the different kingdoms of this country, ſo far as we can collect them.

KINGS of SIDON.

* * * * * * * * *

Agenor,
Phœnix,
Phalis,

* * * * * * * * *

An anonymous king,

* * * * * * * * *

Tetramneſtus,

* * * * * * * * *

Tennes,
Strato,
Ballonymus, Abdolominus, Abdolomius, or Alonymus.

KINGS

[a] Vid. Joſeph. contr. Ap. l. 1. [b] African. apud Syncell. p. 17.

(A) We have already given ſeveral proofs to evince this. We ſhall add, that the compiler of the Alexandrine Chronicle (1), ſpeaking of the Canaanites driven out by Joſhua, calls them, in part, Phœnicians.

(1) p. 183.

KINGS and JUDGES of TYRE.	According to MENAND. EPHES.	Reigned Accord. to THEOPHIL. ANTIOC.
* * * * * * * * *		
Abibal, or Abeimal,		
Hiram, Hierom, Hieromen, Irom, Chiram, or Suron,		
Baleaſtratus, or Bazor,	7 Years	17 Years
Abdaſtartus,	9	12
The eldeſt of the murderers of Abdaſtartus,	12	
Aſtartus,	12	
Aſtapimus, or Atharymus,	9	
Phelles, or Helles,	8 Months	
Ethbal, Ithobal, or Juthobal,	32 Years	12
Badezor, or Bazor	6	7
Badezor's ſon,		
Mettinus,	9	29

KINGS and JUDGES of TYRE.	Accord. to MENAND. EPHES.	Reigned. Accord. to THEO. PHIL. ANTIOC.
Pygmalion,	40 Years	
* * * * * * * *		
Elulæus,	36	
* * * * * * * * *		
Ithobal,		
Baal,	10	
Judges: Ecnibal,	2 Months	
Judges: Chelbis,	10	
Judges: Abbar, the High-prieſt,	3	
Judges: Myttonus and Geraſtus,	6	
Balator,	1	
Merbal,	4	
Irom,	20	
¶ Maſſen,		
¶ Strato,		
* * * * * * * * * * *		
Azelmic,		
* * * * * * * * * * *		
Marion.		

The

The KINGS of ARAD, or ARADUS.

* * * * * * * *

Arbal,
Narbal,
* * * * * * * *
Geroſtratus.

We need only refer the reader to the very unaccountable difference between Menander the Epheſian and Theophilus of Antioch, in their reigns of the Tyrian princes, to judge of the impoſſibility of fixing on any thing certain in the chronology of the even beſt and cleareſt times of the Phœnicians in general.

SECT. IV.

The Phœnician *Kings, from the ancient fabulous Hiſtory of the* Greeks.

BEFORE we enter upon the hiſtory of the Phœnician kings, we are, in ſome manner, obliged to inſert the following dark and fabulous account of the family of Agenor, the firſt king of Phœnice mentioned by the Greeks. Agenor.

Agenor and Belus were, according to Apollodorus [a], the ſons of Neptune by Lybia, daughter of Epaphus, who was king of a part of Egypt. Belus reigned in Egypt, and married Anchinæ daughter of Nilus, by whom he had Ægyptus and Danaus. Agenor paſſed from Egypt into Phœnice, where he ſettled, and became the father of a numerous race. He married Telephaſſa (Stephanus calls her Telephe) by whom he had Europa, Cadmus, Phœnix, Cilix [b], and, according to Pauſanias, Electra [c], and Thaſus [d]. Pherecydes, as quoted by the ſcholiaſt of Apollonius, gives him two wives, the one named Damno, by whom he had Phœnix, Iſæa, and Melia; the other called Argiope, who was mother to Cadmus and Europa. Plutarch mentions a fourth wife, called Diorippe, who brought forth Sipylus [e]. Antonius Liberalis a fifth, named Caſſiopea, who bore him a daughter, by name Carina. And Cedrenus a ſixth, whom he calls Tyrus, pretending, that the city

[a] l. 2. [b] Idem. l. 3. [c] Pauſan. in Boeot. [d] Idem in Eliac. [e] Plutarch. de Fluviis.

city of Tyre borrowed its name from her. Europa (whom ſome writers will have to be the daughter of Phœnix, and not of Agenor) was ſtolen by Jupiter, transformed into a bull, that is, in a ſhip named the bull; or bearing the figure of a bull in her ſtern, and carried into Crete. Agenor, being extremely grieved for the loſs of his daughter, ſent his ſon Cadmus with a great ſum of money in queſt of her: but he, not finding her, nor daring to return home without her, reſolved to go and ſettle elſewhere. With this deſign, having fitted out a ſmall fleet, he put to ſea, and landed in Thrace, where he had the good luck to diſcover a gold mine, in the mount Pangæus. Being enriched with that metal, and in a condition to purſue his deſign, he was adviſed by the oracle of Delphos to leave Thrace, and paſs into Bœotia, which he did accordingly; and having driven out the Hyantes, who oppoſed him, and allowed the Aones, who voluntarily ſubmitted to him, to live in the country mixed with his Phœnicians, he founded a new kingdom, and built a city; which, in derivation from his own name, he called Cadmea. That city was afterwards embelliſhed and enlarged by Amphion and Zethus, the two ſons of Antiope (for they invaded the throne, during the minority of Laius, the ſon of Labdacus, Cadmus's grand-ſon), and by them called Thebes, in honour of Thebe their aunt, by the mother's ſide [f] (A).

Isaea

[f] Pauſan. in Bœot.

(A) We find ſuch a diſagreement among authors, in the accounts they give of Agenor, and his deſcendants, that it is impoſſible to come at the truth of the matter; and therefore not worth our while to attempt the unravelling of ſo perplexed and intricate a ſubject. What moſt authors ſeem to agree upon is; I. That Agenor was by birth an Egyptian; that from Egypt, he paſſed (on what occaſion we know not) into Phœnice, where he ſettled, and became the father of a numerous race. II. All the Greek writers agree him to have been the firſt king of Phœnice, and the founder of the cities of Sidon and Tyre. But in the ſucceſſion of the kings, ſome of the Latines place Belus the elder before him; and moſt of the moderns, upon the authority of Joſephus (1), make Sidon, the eldeſt ſon of Canaan, founder of the city of Sidon, which was ſo called from him. And as to the city of Tyre, the ſame Joſephus tells us, that it was founded 240 years

(1) Joſeph. Antiq. l. 2. c. 6.

ISAEA and Melia, Agenor's two daughters, married Ægyptus and Danaus, their couſin germans. Cilix is ſaid, by

years before the building of Solomon's temple: from whence it is plain, if we follow Joſephus (whoſe authority, as to this particular, is far preferable to that of the Greeks), that theſe two cities were not built by one and the ſame perſon. Tyre was, without doubt, a colony of the Sidonians, it being called in ſcripture *the daughter of Sidon* (2). And Juſtin tells us, in expreſs terms, that the city of Tyre was built before the taking of Troy, by the Sidonians, who being driven out of their own country, by the king of the Aſcalonians, were forced to ſeek new ſeats (3).

III. It is agreed upon by moſt of the ancients, that Europa, Cadmus, Phœnix, and Cilix, were the children of Agenor; and that with them a great many Phœnicians and Syrians went into Aſia Minor, Crete, Greece, and Libya; and there introduced letters, muſic, poetry, and other arts, ſciences, and cuſtoms of the Phœnicians. It is pretended, that Europa being carried away by Taurus king of Crete, Agenor ſent her brother in queſt of her; who, on that occaſion, as they were enjoined not to return without her, founded ſeveral Phœnician colonies in Aſia Minor, Greece, and Libya; which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of hereafter. But Sir Iſaac Newton is of opinion, that theſe Phœnicians went not to ſeek Europa, but new ſeats, being driven out of Sidon by the Edomites, whom David had conquered and diſperſed. For, according to his computation, the conqueſt of the land of Edom by David, the coming of Cadmus into Greece, and the founding of Thebes in Bœotia, and other Phœnician colonies in other parts, happened much about the ſame time. The Edomites, ſays he, not being able to withſtand David, abandoned Edom, and fled, ſome into Egypt with their young king Hadad, others to the Perſian Gulph with their commander Oannes: and ſome from the Red Sea to the coaſt of the Mediterranean, where they fortified Azoth againſt David; and driving out the Sidonians, made themſelves maſters of their city, it being very convenient for the merchants, who fled from the Red Sea. The Sidonians, being thus expelled, went in great numbers under Cadmus and his brothers into Cilicia, Aſia Minor, and Greece; while others fled under other leaders to ſeek new ſeats in Libya, where they built, as we are told by Nonnus (4), many walled towns. Their leader was alſo there called Cadmus (which imports a man come from the eaſt), and his wife Sithonis a Sidonian. Sir Iſaac adds, that ſome of the Sidonians, who were driven out by the Edomites flying from David, laid the firſt foundations of the cities of Tyre and Arad, and made Abibalus, their leader, king of Tyre. So that

(2) Iſa. xxv. 12. (3) Juſtin l. 18. c. 3. (4) Dionyſiac. l. 13.

by Apollodorus [g], to have ſettled in Cilicia, and given his name to that country. He adds, that Thaſus built the city of Thaſos in Thrace, which is confirmed by Pauſanias [h]. All we know of Electra is, that one of the gates of Thebes borrowed its name from her [i]. Of Sipylus we read in Plutarch [k], that mount Sipylus was ſo called from him. We ſhall have occaſion to relate more at length, what we read of Cadmus in the ancient Greek writers, when we come to write the hiſtory of the Theban kings.

Phœnix. PHOENIX is ſuppoſed by the Greeks to have ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Phœnice, or rather of Sidon; which city, as likewiſe that of Tyre, they pretend to have been built by Agenor, wherein they are followed, among the Latins, by Q. Curtius [l]. That country, according to them, borrowing its name from Phœnix, was called Phœnice, and the inhabitants Phœnicians. Euſebius adds [m], that he was the firſt who found out the ſcarlet colour, which was therefore called at firſt Phœnicius, and afterwards, with a ſmall alteration, Puniceus, color.

THE

[g] Apollod. l. 3. [h] Pauſan. in Elia. [i] Idem in Bœot.
[k] Plutarch. de Fluviis. [l] Q. Curtius l. 4. [m] De præpar. evang.

that, according to his computation, Tyre was built in the time of David, and about the 16th year of his reign (5). But this is plainly contradicted by Joſephus, who tells us, that Tyre was built two hundred and forty years before the building of Solomon's temple (6); which work Solomon undertook in the eleventh year of the reign of Hiram, ſon and ſucceſſor to Abibal king of Tyre. It is therefore plain, both from Joſephus and the Tyrian annals, which he quotes, that Abibal was not the founder of Tyre, and that that city was built long before David's time.

Neither was Abibal the firſt king of Tyre, though he is the firſt we find mentioned in hiſtory; as appears from the ſame Joſephus, who, in ſpeaking of Menander's hiſtory, tells us; that Menander, after having given an account of the reigns of the other kings of Phœnice, comes at laſt to Hiram, who was aſſumed to the throne upon the death of his father Abibal (8), From which paſſage it is manifeſt (if we give credit to Joſephus and Menander), that Abibal was preceded by ſeveral other kings, whoſe reigns and actions Menander had deſcribed.

(5) Sir Iſaac Newton chronol. of anc. kingd. amend. (6) Joſeph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 2. (7) Idem ibid. (8) Joſeph. contr. Apion. l. 1.

THE next king of Sidon we meet with in hiſtory is PHALIS, who flouriſhed in the time of the Trojan war. He proved a faithful ally to the Greeks, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours, though in vain, to draw Sarpedon, king of Lycia, over to their ſide [n]. He is mentioned by Homer [o]. and honoured with the title of moſt illuſtrious. Phalis.

THESE are the kings of Sidon we find mentioned in the ancient Greek writers; but as their accounts are no ways to be depended upon, being interwoven and darkened with a thouſand fables, we have thought fit to treat of them apart, leſt we ſhould ſeem to confound what is fabulous with what is truly hiſtorical.

SECT. V.

The reigns of the kings of PHOENICE.

PHOENICE, as we have ſaid, was divided into ſeveral ſmall kingdoms; for beſides the kings of Sidon and Tyre, mentioned in ſcripture, we read in hiſtory of Elbaſus king of Berytus, to whom Sanchoniatho, according to Euſebius [a], dedicated his hiſtory of Erylus king of Byblus [b], and of other Phœnician kings [c], whoſe dominions were confined within the narrow bounds of one city, and its territory. Of all the kings of Phœnice, thoſe of Sidon, Tyre, and Arad, ſeem to have been the moſt powerful and wealthy, and make the beſt figure in hiſtory. But their ſucceſſions, and the years of their reſpective reigns, are over-caſt with ſuch a miſt, and interrupted with ſo many chaſms, that it is no eaſy matter to give any tolerable account of them. However, we ſhall here produce what occurs in hiſtory relating thereto, and ſeems chiefly to be depended upon. We will begin with Sidon, the moſt ancient city of Phœnice.

The KINGS of SIDON.

SIDON, the eldeſt ſon of Canaan, was, according to Joſephus [d], the founder, and, very likely, the firſt king of this city, or at leaſt, the father of the people. But as to his Sidon.

[n] Dictys l. 1. [o] Odyſſ. 8. [a] Euſeb. de præparat. evangeli. l. 1. c. 6. [b] Arrian. l. 2. [c] Strabo l. 16. [d] Joſeph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 7.

his actions, or the years of his reign, we are left quite in the dark. Neither are we better acquainted with the kings who ſucceeded him; for though the Sidonians are mentioned in the hiſtories of Moſes, Joſhua, and the Judges, yet we find not, in holy writ, expreſs mention made of their kings, till the time of the prophet Jeremiah, who ſpeaks of embaſſadors ſent (on what occaſion we know not) by the king of Sidon to Zedekiah, king of Judah [e].

Tetramneſtus.

THE next king we find mentioned in hiſtory, is TETRAMNESTUS, who aſſiſted Xerxes, in his expedition againſt Greece, with 300 Gallies, and is counted by Herodotus [f] among the chief commanders of the Perſian navy.

Tennes.

TENNES appears next: it is uncertain whom he ſucceeded. In his reign the Sidonians, and other Phœnicians, not being able to bear the haughty behaviour, and tyrannical proceedings of thoſe whom Darius Ochus, king of Perſia, had ſet over them, entered into a confederacy with Nectanebus king of Egypt [g], and roſe up in arms, with deſign to ſhake off the Perſian yoke, and recover their ancient liberty. As the Perſians were then making vaſt preparations to reclaim Egypt, which they could not well approach, but by marching through Phœnice, this revolt happened very opportunely for Nectanebus. Therefore, to encourage the Phœnicians to ſtand out in it, he ſent a body of four thouſand Greek mercenaries, under the command of Mentor the Rhodian, to their aſſiſtance, hoping thereby to make Phœnice a kind of barrier to Egypt, and carry on the war at a diſtance. On the other ſide, Tennes king of Sidon (which city then exceeded all the others of Phœnice in wealth) having fitted out with great expedition a powerful fleet, and raiſed a conſiderable army in his own dominions, took the field; and, being ſtrengthened by the Greek auxiliaries, engaged, and routed the governors of Syria and Cilicia, whom Ochus had ſent to reduce him, and drove the Perſians quite out of Phœnice. The Sidonians, on their firſt taking up of arms, had lain waſte a delicious garden belonging to the kings of Perſia, cutting down all the trees wherein they took great delight; ſeized, and burnt all the forage, which the Perſian governor had laid up for the ſubſiſtence of his cavalry; and, what is ſtill worſe, puniſhed, with the utmoſt ſeverity, ſuch of their Perſian oppreſſors as fell into their hands. Ochus was provoked to ſuch a degree at theſe proceedings of

[e] Jerem. c. xxvii. [f] Herodot. l. 6. [g] See before, p. 85.

of the Sidonians, eſpecially after news was brought him of his lieutenant's being defeated, and the Perſians driven out of Phœnice; that now he breathed nothing but revenge, threatening total deſtruction not only to the Sidonians, but to all the inhabitants of Phœnice. Being thus bent upon revenge, he drew together all the forces he could, and having muſtered them at Babylon, marched from thence into Phœnice, at the head of an army of three hundred thouſand foot and thirty thouſand horſe. Mentor, who was then in Sidon, being terrified at the approach of ſo powerful an army, ſent privately a truſty ſervant of his own, called Theſſalion, to the king of Perſia, offering not only to put him in poſſeſſion of Sidon, but likewiſe to aſſiſt him in the reducing of Egypt; where, as he was well acquainted with the country, he was capable of doing him good ſervice. Ochus, glad of this proffer, ſpared no promiſes to engage Mentor in his ſervice; who, having received ſuch aſſurances from the king of Perſia as he deſired, found means to draw Tennes king of Sidon into the ſame treaſon. In the mean time, the Sidonians, not miſtruſting Mentor, and much leſs their own king, were preparing for a vigorous defence. The city was furniſhed with arms and proviſions of all ſorts to hold out a long ſiege, and the citizens had drawn a treble trench and a high wall round them. Beſides the mercenaries, the place was gariſoned with a brave body of tall, handſome, and ſtout Sidonians, all well exerciſed, and trained up in martial diſcipline; and the ſea-coaſt was guarded with a fleet of an hundred large gallies. But all was to no purpoſe; for Tennes no ſooner heard, that the Perſian army was drawing near, but, feigning to go to the general aſſembly of the Phœnicians, he marched out with a body of five hundred men, and, taking along with him an hundred of the chief citizens to be created ſenators, as he pretended, went ſtrait to the enemy's camp, and delivered them up to Ochus, who received him as a friend, but cauſed all the citizens, as authors of the rebellion, to be immediately put to death. This ſeverity of Ochus, joined with the treachery of Tennes, ſtruck ſuch terror into the Sidonians, that five hundred more of the citizens, all men of rank, went out to throw themſelves at their enemy's feet, and implore his mercy with all the reſpect and ſubmiſſion imaginable. Ochus, on ſeeing them, aſked Tennes, whether it was in his power to put him in poſſeſſion of the city;

for he was unwilling to take it upon treaty, being bent on the utter ruin of the Sidonians, in hopes that ſuch an inſtance of ſeverity would make the other Phœnicians voluntarily ſubmit. Tennes aſſured him, he could deliver the city into his hands whenever he pleaſed: whereupon Ochus cauſed the five hundred citizens, though they were come out with olive-branches in their hands, as badges of ſubmiſſion, to be ſhot with darts upon the ſpot. After this Ochus and Tennes marched at the head of the Perſian army towards the city, and were admitted, without the leaſt oppoſition, by Mentor and the Greek mercenaries, to whom Tennes, in leaving the city, had delivered up one of the gates for that end. The Sidonians, on the approach of Ochus's army, had deſignedly burnt all their ſhips, to prevent any one's withdrawing himſelf from the defence of his country: and therefore finding themſelves thus betrayed, and the enemy within the walls, without any means leſt them to make their eſcape either by ſea or land, they ſhut themſelves up with their wives and children in their houſes, and, ſetting fire to them, conſumed themſelves, to the number of forty thouſand, and the moſt valuable things they had, in the flames. Tennes met with no better fate than his ſubjects; for Ochus, ſeeing he could do him no further ſervice, and deteſting in his heart the treachery of the man, cauſed his throat to be cut, leſt he ſhould out-live the ruin which he himſelf had brought upon his country. As Sidon was at that time in a very flouriſhing condition, and the moſt wealthy city of Phœnice; a vaſt quantity of gold and ſilver was melted down by the flames, and found in the aſhes, which Ochus ſold for great ſums of money. The ruin and total deſtruction of Sidon terrified the other cities of Phœnice to ſuch a degree, that they all voluntarily ſubmitted to the conqueror, each of them making peace with the king upon the beſt terms they could. Neither was Ochus unwilling to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from putting in execution the deſign he had upon Egypt. And thus all Phœnice was again brought under the Perſian yoke [h], and the prophecies of Iſaiah [i], Jeremiah [k], Ezekiel [l], and Zechariah [m], touching the deſtruction of Sidon, fulfilled.

Year of the Flood, 2648. Year before Chriſt, 351.

AFTER

[h] Diod. Sic. l. 16. [i] Iſa. xxiii. [k] Jerem. xlvii. [l] Ezek. xxviii. and xxxii. [m] Zech. ix.

AFTER Tennes reigned Strato; for ſuch of the Sidoni- Strato.
ans, as by being abſent on traffic at ſea, or on other occaſions, had eſcaped the maſſacre, returning home after Ochus was gone back into Perſia, rebuilt the city; but ever afterwards bore an immortal averſion to the Perſian name. No wonder then if, a few years after, they ſo readily ſubmitted to Alexander the Great, and ſo greedily embraced that opportunity of ſhaking off the yoke they groaned under. For the Sidonians are counted among the firſt in thoſe parts, who ſent embaſſadors to Alexander, as he marched through Phœnice, to make their ſubmiſſion to him. Strato, as it ſeems, did not approve of this reſolution, but could not prevent it, the citizens being obſtinately bent againſt the Perſians. For we are told, that Alexander deprived him of the crown, becauſe he ſubmitted at the inſtigation of the citizens, and not of his own accord [n]. Theopompus, as quoted by Athenaus [o], gives him the character of a moſt lewd and voluptuous prince, and tells us in particular, that in order to aſſemble the women, and have thereby an opportunity of chooſing the moſt beautiful for his own uſe, he inſtituted public ſports for them, conſiſting chiefly in dancing and ſinging, wherein ſuch as excelled the others were amply rewarded. Ælian [p] ſays, he died an unnatural death. Of one Strato, king of Sidon, S. Jerome [q] relates, that having adhered to the king of Egypt againſt the Perſians, and finding himſelf in danger of falling into the hands of an enemy, from whom he had no reaſon to expect any favour, he reſolved to prevent the impending calamity, by laying violent hands on himſelf; but fainting in the execution of his deſign, his wife, who was preſent, ſnatching, with a manly reſolution, the ſword out of his hand, freed him from that perplexity, by putting firſt him, and then herſelf, to death, without ſhewing the leaſt concern. But the circumſtances of this king's death, if true, plainly ſhew, that he was not the ſame perſon whom Alexander the Great ſtript of his dominions on account of his attachment to the Perſian intereſt. This Strato, king of Sidon, is alſo mentioned by Maximus Tyrius [r].

Year of the Flood, 2667. Year before Chriſt, 332.

STRATO was ſucceeded by BALLONYMUS, of whoſe Ballonymus.
aſſumption to the throne we have the following account from Diodorus [s]. Alexander, having depoſed Strato, gave

[n] Curt. l. 4. & Diod. Sicul. l. 17. [o] l. 12. c. 13. [p] l. 7. c. 2. [q] contra Jovian. l. 1. [r] Serm. 4. [s] Ubi ſupr.

Hephæſtio power to beſtow the crown of Sidon upon which of his friends he pleaſed. Whereupon Hephæſtio named to the royal dignity one of the chief citizens, in whoſe houſe he then lodged, and was ſplendidly entertained; deſiring him to accept of it as a pledge of his friendſhip, and an acknowledgment of the many favours he had received in his houſe. The citizen, not at all dazzled at the ſight of a crown, returned his generous gueſt a thouſand thanks, but at the ſame time earneſtly begged he would excuſe him from aſſuming a dignity, to which he had no title, as not being of the royal family. Hephæſtio was not a little ſurpriſed at this anſwer; but finding the Sidonian to be in earneſt, deſired he would name ſome one of the royal race to be inveſted with the dignity himſelf had refuſed. Upon this he named Ballonymus, a man of an unblemiſhed character, but ſo poor, that he was reduced to live in a very obſcure condition, and to maintain himſelf with his daily labour. However, his poverty and mean condition were no objection to Hephæſtio, who immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to him with the royal robes, and tidings of his elevation to the throne. The meſſenger found him all in rags, and working in a garden as a common labourer. He was actually employed in drawing water out of a well, when the meſſenger acquainted him with his aſſumption to the throne, and cloathed him with the royal robes. He accepted without more ado the new dignity, and proceeding, with the meſſenger, towards the city, was there received by Hephæſtio with all the marks of diſtinction due to his character, and by him introduced into the Forum, where, among the joyful ſhouts of the people who were extreamly pleaſed with this election, he was proclaimed king of Sidon [s]. The ſame occurence is related, with ſome ſmall variations of circumſtances, by Plutarch [t], Curtius [u], and Juſtin [x]. Plutarch makes this king Alonymus; Curtius calls him Abdolominus, and Juſtin Abdolomius. Plutarch makes him king of Paphus; and Diodorus both him and his predeceſſor kings of Tyre. But in this particular we have abandoned him to follow the current of moſt writers, who place both Strato and Ballonymus (as Diodorus calls him) among the kings of Sidon. All we know of his reign is, that to the laſt he proved faithful to the Macedonians, to whom he was indebted

[s] Diod. Sic ibid. [t] Plutarch. de fortuna Alexandri. [u] Curtius l. 4. [x] Juſtin. l. 11.

indebted for his crown. And now that we have brought the kings of Sidon down to the conqueſt of Phœnice by the Macedonians, let us turn back to the kings of Tyre.

KINGS of TYRE.

We are left quite in the dark as to the ſeries of the kings who reigned at Tyre before Abibal, with whom Joſephus and Theophilus Antiochenus begin the ſucceſſion they have furniſhed us with from Meander the Epheſian and Dius, both authors, as Joſephus calls them [y], of unqueſtionable credit. Dius, who was by birth a Phœnician, wrote the hiſtory of Tyre extracted from the public records, which were carefully preſerved in that city. And Menander compiled the lives and actions of princes, both Greek and Barbarian, as the ſame Joſephus tells us [z], from the public archives of the places he treats of.

THE firſt king of Tyre mentioned by theſe hiſtorians, as quoted by Joſephus and Theophilus, is ABIBAL, as Joſephus calls him [a], or Abeimal, as he is named by Theophilus [b]. As to his actions and years of his reign we are left quite in the dark. He was contemporary with David, and probably joined with the neighbouring nations againſt him, ſince David counts the inhabitants of Tyre among his enemies [c]. The Tyrian officers, who ſerved the Philiſtines againſt Samuel, as we are told by Syracides [d], might have been ſent by him. But theſe are, we own, bare conjectures, ſince neither Joſephus, nor Theophilus, make any mention of his friendſhip or enmity towards the Jews. Abibal.

ABIBAL was ſucceeded by his ſon HIRAM, whom Theophilus calls ſometimes Hieromus, and ſometimes Hieromenus, Joſephus, Hiram and Irom, Tatian and Zonaras, Chiramus. This prince maintained a ſtrict friendſhip with king David, to whom he ſent embaſſadors, probably to congratulate him upon his victory over the Jebuſites, whom he had juſt then driven from the ſtrong hold of Zion, and to conclude an alliance with him. He preſented him with cedar-trees, and ſent ſkilful workmen to build him a palace in Jeruſalem [e]. And hence he is ſaid in ſcripture to have been ever a lover of David [f]; Hiram. Year of the Flood, 1987. Year before Chriſt, 1012.

[y] Joſeph. contra Apion. l. 1. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Theophil. Antioch. l. 3. [c] Pſal. lxxxiii. 7. [d] Eccleſ. xlvi. [e] 2 Sam. v. 11. and 1 Chr. xiv. 1. [f] 1 Kings v. 1.

which ſhews, that he was not only a faithful ally, but a ſincere friend of David's. Upon the death of David and the ſucceſſion of Solomon to the throne, the affection Hiram had ever maintained for the father, prompted him to ſend a gratulatory embaſſy to the ſon, upon the news of his acceſſion to the government, expreſſing great joy to ſee it continued in the family. Upon the return of theſe embaſſadors, Solomon embraced the occaſion, and wrote a letter to Hiram in theſe terms.

King SOLOMON to king HIRAM, greeting.

" Be it known to thee, O king, that my father Da-
" vid had it a long time in his mind to erect a temple to
" the Lord; but being perpetually in war, and under a
" neceſſity of clearing his hands of his enemies, and make-
" ing them all his tributaries, before he could attend this
" great and holy work, he hath left it to me, in time of
" peace, both to begin, and to finiſh it, according to
" the direction, as well as the prediction, of Almighty
" God. Bleſſed be his great name for the preſent tran-
" quillity of my dominions! and by his gracious aſſiſtance,
" I ſhall now dedicate the beſt improvements of this li-
" berty and leiſure to his honour and worſhip. Where-
" fore I make it my requeſt, that you will let ſome of
" your people go along with ſome ſervants of mine to
" mount LIBANUS, to aſſiſt them in cutting down ma-
" terials towards this building; for the SIDONIANS under-
" ſtand it much better than we do. As for the work-
" mens reward, or wages, whatever you think reaſonable
" ſhall be punctually paid them."

HIRAM was much pleaſed with Solomon's letter, and returned him the following anſwer.

King HIRAM to king SOLOMON.

" NOTHING could have been more welcome to me,
" than to underſtand, that the government of your bleſſed
" father is devolved by God's providence into the hands
" of ſo excellent, ſo wiſe, and ſo virtuous a ſucceſſor;
" his holy name be praiſed for it! That which you write
" for, ſhall be done with all care and good will: for I
" will give order to cut down and export ſuch quantities
" of the faireſt cedars and cypreſs trees, as you ſhall have
" occaſion for. My people ſhall bring them to the ſea-
" ſide

" ſide for you, and from thence ſhip them away to what " part you pleaſe, where they may lie ready for your own " men to tranſport them to Jeruſalem. It would be a " great obligation, after all this, to allow us ſuch a provi- " ſion of corn in exchange, as may ſtand with your con- " venience; for that is the commodity we iſlanders want " moſt [g]."

JOSEPHUS aſſures us, that the originals of theſe letters were extant in his time, both in the Jewiſh and Tyrian records (B) [h]. And they are entirely agreeable with what is delivered in ſcripture upon the ſame ſubject [i]. Solomon was highly pleaſed with Hiram's anſwer, and, in return for his generous offers, ordered him a yearly preſent of twenty thouſand meaſures of wheat, and twenty meaſures of pure oil [k]. Beſides the cedar-wood, and other materials for the building of the temple, Hiram ſent to Solomon a man, who was very famous in Tyre for working in gold, ſilver, and other metals, to aſſiſt and direct him in that great undertaking [l]. Neither did Hiram's friendſhip and kindneſs towards Solomon ſtop here; for he not only furniſhed him with the choiceſt wood from mount Libanus, and able architects and workmen, but moreover advanced him 120 talents of gold for the finiſhing of the fabric [m]. And Solomon was not behind hand with him neither, in his acknowledgments and preſents; for, beſides the yearly ſupply of wheat and oil above-mentioned, he beſtowed upon him twenty cities in the land of Galilee [n], not far from Tyre; which Hiram upon a view of them (they not being much to his liking) fairly declined, with a reſpectful excuſe to Solomon, that he had no need of

[g] Joſeph. l. 8. c. 2. [h] Idem ibid. [i] 1 Kings v. 2. & ſeqq. [k] 1 Kings v. 11. [l] 1 Chron. ii. 13. [m] 1 Kings ix. 14. [n] 1 Kings ix. 11. & Joſeph. ubi ſupra.

(B) But it is pretty odd, that Euſebius (1), who calls this king Suron, ſhould give us this letter with ſo much variation from Joſephus as he does. He therein ſpecifies, that he had ſent to Solomon eighty thouſand Phœnicians and Tyrians . . . . That the architect he ſent him was a Tyrian by birth; but that by the mother's ſide he was deſcended of the tribe of David, and the like.

(1) De præpar. evang. l. 9. p. 449.

of thoſe cities. From this refuſal, that part of the country was called Cabul, that is, diſpleaſing [o].

HIRAM proved no leſs ſerviceable to Solomon in the building of his fleet, than in perfecting the grand work of the temple. For he no ſooner heard, that Solomon deſigned to build a fleet at Eloth and Ezion-geber, two ſea-port towns on the red ſea, in order to carry on a trade from thence to Ophir, but he generouſly furniſhed him with as many builders and ſhipwrights as he had occaſion for: and after having thus aſſiſted him in building, fitting, and rigging out of his navy, he ſent him expert pilots and ſkilful mariners, to conduct his fleets to the land of Ophir; the Tyrians being, in thoſe days and for many ages after, the moſt experienced of all men in ſea affairs [p].

DIUS, as quoted by Joſephus [q], tells us, that the love of wiſdom was the chief inducement to that tenderneſs of friendſhip betwixt Solomon and Hiram; that they interchanged certain riddles to be unfolded, upon condition, that he who failed of the ſolution, ſhould incur a forfeiture; and that Hiram, finding the queſtion too hard for him, paid the penalty. But one Abdemonus, a Tyrian, reſolved the ſaid queſtion, and propoſed new ones to Solomon, upon the penalty of paying ſo much to Hiram, if he did not uncypher them.

THE kingdom of Tyre was in a very flouriſhing condition under this prince. He repaired and improved diverſe cities in the eaſtern parts of his dominions; enlarged Tyre, and, by the help of a dam, joined it to the temple of the Olympian Jupiter ſtanding in an iſland. In this temple he dedicated a golden pillar to Jupiter. He built two temples, one to Hercules, another to Aſtarte, and beautified them with rich donatives. To Hercules he alſo erected a ſtatue, and is ſaid to have repaired the temples of other gods, and to have enriched them with offerings to a very great value [r]. Hiram, it ſeems, was rather a religious, than a warlike, prince; for the only military expedition we read of, during his reign, is, that which he undertook againſt the Lycians, who refuſed to pay him a cer-

tain

[o] 1 Kings ix. 13. & Joſeph. ubi ſupr. [p] 1 Kings ix. 27. and 2 Chron. viii. 18. & Joſeph. ubi ſupr. [q] Joſeph. ubi ſupr. & l. 1. contra Apion. [r] Menand. Epheſ. & Dius apud Joſeph. ubi ſupr.

tain tribute that was due to him, but were reduced in a very ſhort time.

It is related by Tatian, from Theodotus, Hyſicrates, and Mochus, three Phœnician hiſtorians, that king Hiram gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon: he adds, that by her Solomon was induced to worſhip Aſhtoreth, the goddeſs of the Sidonians [f]. Hiram lived 53 years, and reigned 34 [t].

He was ſucceeded by his ſon Baleazar, Baleas-tartus, or Bazor, as Theophilus calls him, who reigned ſeven years according to Joſephus, and ſeventeen according to Theophilus, and died in the forty third year of his age [u]. Baleazar.

Abdaſtartus, the ſon of Beleazar, ſucceeded his father, and died, according to Joſephus, in the twentieth year of his life, and the ninth of his reign. Theophilus ſays, he died at the age of fifty-four, after having reigned twelve years. This prince was murdered by his nurſe's four ſons, and the eldeſt of them uſurped the kingdom, and governed twelve years. Abdaſtartus.

Aſtartus, the brother of Abdaſtartus, recovered the throne to his family, lived ſixty ſix years, and reigned twelve. Aſtartus.

After him, came his brother Aſtarimus, who lived, if we believe Joſephus, fifty four years, and reigned twelve. Theophilus calls him Atharymus, and ſays, that he lived fifty eight years. He was murdered by his brother Phelles, who took the government upon him in the fiftieth year of his age. Aſtarimus.

Phelles, or, as Theophilus calls him, Helles, did not long enjoy the throne he had wreſted to himſelf, by ſo baſe and wicked an act, being murdered in the eighth month of his reign by Phelles.

Ithobal, whom Theophilus names Juthobal, ſon to Aſtarimus, and chief prieſt of the goddeſs Aſtarte; which dignity was next to that of the king. Ithobal lived to the age of ſixty eight years, and ruled thirty two, ſays Joſephus: but if we credit Theophilus, he lived but forty years, and reigned but twelve. He is called in ſcripture Eth-baal, and ſtiled king of the Sidonians [x]. Joſephus Ithobal.

gives

[f] Tatian. orat. contra Græcos. [t] Theoph. Antioch. l. 3.
[u] Joſeph. lib. 1. contra Apion. Joſeph. & Theoph. ubi ſupr.
[x] 1 Kings xvi. 31.

gives him the title of king of Tyre and Sidon [y]. Whence it is plain, that, in Eth-baal's time, Sidon was subject to Tyre. When that subjection began is uncertain, for even in king Hiram's time, the Tyrians were, in all probability, masters of Sidon; since Solomon, in the beginning of his reign, applied himself to Hiram for workmen of Sidon, who were famous for their skill in hewing of timber [z]. Ithobal built Botrys in Phœnice, and Auzates in Africa [a]. Jezebel, king Ahab's wife (whom we shall have occasion to mention hereafter), was daughter to this prince. Menander, as quoted by Josephus, tells us, that "in the "time of ETH-BAAL king of Tyre, there was an ex- "treme drought for want of rain, that lasted from the "month Hyperberetæus, till the same month next year. "There were prayers indeed, says he, put up for the "averting of the judgment, which were followed with "mighty claps of thunder [b]." This was undoubtedly the drought under Ahab, for it was in his reign that Eth-baal was king of Tyre.

Badezor. AFTER him his son BADEZOR (who is called by Theophilus BAZOR) reigned, according to Josephus, six years, and lived forty five. Theophilus says he reigned seven.

Mettinus. HIS son METTINUS succeeded him, and reigned nine years says Josephus, twenty nine says Theophilus. He died in the thirty second year of his age, leaving behind him two sons, Pygmalion and Barca, and as many daughters, Elisa and Anna.

Pygmalion. PYGMALION ascended the throne on the death of his father Mettinus, being at that time, as we are told by Justin [c], very young; that is, sixteen, according to the computation of Josephus, who supposes him to have lived fifty six years, and reigned forty [d]. It was in the seventh year of his reign that his sister Elisa, called also Dido, flying from Tyre, built Carthage in Afric. The occasion of her flight is commonly related thus. Pygmalion coveting the immense riches of his uncle Sichæus, who was a priest of Hercules, and had married his sister Elisa, determined by some means or other to make them his own. But as that could not be effected so long as Sichæus was alive, he invited him one day to hunt with him, and while those

[y] Joseph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 7. & l. 9. c. 6. [z] 1 Kings v. 6.
[a] Menand. Ephes. apud Joseph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 7. [b] Idem ubi supr. [c] Justin l. 18. [d] Joseph. contra Ap. l. 1.

thoſe who attended him were engaged in the purſuit of a wild boar, ran him through with his ſpear; and then throwing him down a precipice, gave out, that the fall had been the occaſion of his death. Juſtin and Virgil ſay, that Pygmalion barbarouſly murdered his uncle at the altar [c]. But, however that be, he reaped no fruit from his wicked attempt, being diſappointed, when he leaſt expected it, by the prudent and artful conduct of his ſiſter Eliſa; who, as ſhe was a woman of great ſagacity and penetration, well knew what had prompted him to the murder of her huſband; but at the ſame time, concealing her thoughts with an artful diſſimulation, ſhewed the ſame kindneſs and eſteem for him, as though ſhe had not entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of him. In the mean while, having formed a deſign of leaving Tyre, and ſaving both herſelf and the treaſures of her deceaſed huſband, from the cruel avarice of Pygmalion; under pretence of retiring to Charta, or Chartaca, a ſmall city between Sidon and Tyre, as if to live there with her brother Barca, ſhe deſired the king to furniſh her with men and ſhips to convey thither her effects. The covetous prince looked upon this as a fair opportunity of ſeizing at laſt what he had for ſo long a time ſo earneſtly deſired, though always in vain; becauſe Sichæus, who was thoroughly acquainted with his nephew's avaritious temper, had taken care to conceal his riches under ground. With this view Pygmalion willingly granted Eliſa her demands; which he ſoon repented; for as ſhe was aſſiſted by her brother Barca and ſeveral ſenators, who were privy to her true deſign, and engaged to follow her at all adventures; her treaſures were put on ſhip-board, and the fleet out of ſight, before Pygmalion was appriſed of her reſolution. We are told, that, ſeeing himſelf thus deluded by a woman, and the vaſt riches, which he deemed already ſecured in his own coffers, ſnatched, by ſuch a cunning device, out of his hands, he ordered a fleet to be fitted out with all poſſible expedition, in order to purſue the fugitives; but was prevented by the tears of his mother, and the threats of an oracle. The firſt place our adventurers put into was the iſle of Cyprus, from whence they carried off a great number of young women, a commodity they wanted moſt of all, ſince their deſign was to plant a new colony. From Cyprus they ſteered their courſe for the coaſts of Afric, where they

[c] Juſtin l. 11. Virg. 1 Æneid.

they put an end to their voyage; and, being kindly entertained by the inhabitants of Utica, a Tyrian colony, laid the foundations of Carthage; a city, which, in after-ages, became ſo powerful both by ſea and land, as to contend with Rome for the empire of the world[f]. From Barca ſprang the illuſtrious family of the Barcæ in Afric, which produced many celebrated heroes, and among others the great Hannibal. But of the Carthaginian affairs hereafter: Let us now return to Phœnice. Pygmalion is ſaid by Stephanus to have built the city of Carpaſia in the iſland of Cyprus. He ſent to the temple of Hercules, ſtanding in the iſland of Gades, a rich donative, being the figure of an olive tree of maſſive gold, and of moſt exquiſite and curious workmanſhip; its berries, which were of emerald, bearing a wondrous reſemblance with the natural fruit of that tree[g].

Elulæus. THE next king of Tyre, we find mentioned in hiſtory, is ELULÆUS, who reigned in the time of Shalmaneſer king of Aſſyria. This prince, ſeeing the Philiſtines brought low by the war, which Hezekiah had made upon them, laid hold of the opportunity of reducing Gath, which had ſome time before revolted from the Tyrians. Whereupon the Gittites, applying themſelves to Shalmaneſer, engaged him in their cauſe; ſo that he marched at the head of a powerful army into Phœnice; but upon the concluſion of a peace between him and Elulæus, he withdrew his troops, and retired. Not long after Sidon, Arce, Palæ-Tyrus, and ſeveral other maritime towns of Phœnice, revolting from the Tyrians, proclaimed Shalmaneſer their king. Upon this, a new war being kindled between the Tyrians and Aſſyrians, Shalmaneſer, who could not abide to ſee, that the Tyrians were the only people in Phœnice that diſputed his power and authority, reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours towards the reducing of their city: and therefore, beſides his land forces, he ordered a fleet of ſixty ſail to be fitted out againſt them. But the fleet was encountered and diſperſed by the Tyrians with only twelve veſſels, and five hundred of the rowers were taken priſoners. This

Year of the Flood, 2282. Year before Chriſt, 717.

[f] Juſtin. l. 18. Euſtath. in Dionyſ. Velleius, vol. 2. Oroſius l. 4. c. 2. Appianus de Bell. Pun. Liv. decad. 4. l. 4. Servius in 4 Æneid. Virg. Æneid. Joſeph. ubi ſupra, &c. [g] Philoſtrat. in vita Apolloni i. l. 5. c. 1.

This victory gained the Tyrians ſuch a reputation for naval affairs, that Shalmaneſer, dreading to engage them a ſecond time at ſea, turned the war into a ſiege, and leaving the army to block up the city, returned into Aſſyria. The forces he left behind him reduced the place to great ſtraits, by ſtopping the aquæducts, placing guards by the ſprings, and cutting off all the conveyances of water. However, by digging of wells within the city they found ſome relief in their diſtreſs, which enabled them to hold out for the ſpace of five years; at the end of which, Shalmaneſer dying, the ſiege was raiſed [h]. Elulæus reigned thirty years.

Ithobal II. Ithobal II. reigned in the time of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, who laid ſiege to the city of Tyre, which kept that mighty monarch, *that king of kings*, as the prophet Ezekiel ſtiles him, employed for thirteen years together [k]: ſuch was the power of the Tyrians at that time. We have the deſcription of the ſiege in Ezekiel [l], who mentions a fort raiſed againſt the place, a mount caſt up, and engines of war erected to batter down its walls. At laſt Nebuchadnezzar, after a ſiege of thirteen years continuance, made himſelf maſter of the city; but as moſt part of the citizens had retired with all their effects elſewhere before he entered the city, he had nothing but an empty town for his pains, as is plain from the ſcripture, where it is ſaid, *Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon cauſed his army to ſerve a great ſervice againſt Tyrus....yet had he no wages, nor his army, for Tyrus.* Therefore finding himſelf thus diſappointed, he vented his rage upon the buildings, and the few inhabitants who were left, raſing the town to the ground, and putting all he found in it to the ſword. To this deplorable condition was Tyre reduced by the Babylonians, and the ſevere prophecies, foretelling the overthrow of that city, plainly fulfilled [m]. Ithobal, in whoſe reign happened the deſtruction of Tyre, was, according to the character the prophet gives him [n], a moſt proud, arrogant, and aſſuming prince: pretended to know all ſecrets,

Year of the Flood, 2414. Year before Chriſt, 385.

Year of the Flood, 2427. Year before Chriſt, 572.

to

[h] Joſeph. Antiquit. l. 9. c. 14. [i] Ezek. xxvi, 7. [k] Philoſtratus apud Joſeph. Antiquit. l. 10. c. 11. [l] Ezek. xxvi. 8. & ſeqq. [m] Jerem. xxix. 22. xxvii. 3. xlvii. 4. Ezek. xxvi. 3. Amos ii. 9. 10. Joel. iii. 4. [n] Ezek. xxviii. 3, 4.

to be as wiſe as Daniel, and even went ſo far as to rank himſelf among the gods; which brought that heavy judgement upon him, *becauſe thou haſt ſet thine heart as the heart of* GOD; *behold therefore, I will bring ſtrangers upon thee——they ſhall bring thee down to the pit, and thou ſhalt die the death of them that are ſlain in the midſt of the ſeas* [o]. From whence we may conclude, that in this war he was ſlain by the Aſſyrians.

As it is plain from ſcripture, that Nebuchadnezzar utterly deſtroyed the city of Tyre, which he found empty; and as, on the other hand, we are told by the Phœnician hiſtorians, that Ithobal was ſucceeded in the kingdom of Tyre by Baal, and Baal by ſeveral temporary magiſtrates; it is very probable, that the inhabitants of Tyre retreated with their effects, before Nebuchadnezzar got poſſeſſion of the city, to an iſland about half a mile diſtant from the ſhore, where they built themſelves a new city; which, after the deſtruction of the old town, ſubmitted to Nebuchadnezzar, who thereupon appointed Baal to be king under himſelf; but upon Baal's death, in order to make the government more dependent on the Aſſyrians, changed the royal dignity into that of temporary magiſtrates, called Suffetes (C) or Judges; a name well known among the Carthaginians, who were originally Tyrians, and whoſe chief magiſtrates were called Suffetes [p].

Baal.

Tyre governed by Judges.

BAAL reigned ten years, and upon his death the following judges had the government of the city, viz. Ecnibal, the ſon of Baſbech, two months; Chelbes, the ſon of Abdæus, ten months; the high-prieſt Abbar, three months; Mytgonus, or Myttonus, and Geraſtus, the ſons of Abdelimus, ſix years. After Tyre had been thus governed for ſome years by judges, the royal dignity was reſtored, and Balator created king; but both he and his ſucceſſors were entirely dependant

Balator king.

[o] Idem ibid. ẏ 6, 7, 8. [p] Liv. l. 18. 30. & 34.

"(C) Suffetes . . . had its derivation from the Hebrew word "Sophetim, i. e. Judges, which was the very name, whereby "the chief governors of Iſrael were called for ſeveral generations, "before they had kings (1)."

(1) Prideaux's connect. vol. i. p. 92.

dependant of, and tributaries to, the Aſſyrians, for the ſpace of ſeventy years; which being expired, they recovered, according to the prophecy of Iſaiah [q], their antient liberty and former privileges, of which in its proper place. Balator reigned but one year.

Upon his death the Tyrians invited Merbal from Baby- Merbal.
lon, who reigned four years.

Merbal was ſucceeded by his brother Irom, who Irom.
reigned twenty years. In the fourteenth year of Irom's reign, Cyrus, according to the Phœnician annals, made himſelf maſter of the Perſian empire [r].

After Merbal reigned Mapen, the ſon of Siron. He ſerved in Xerxes's navy againſt the Greeks; and, with the other commanders, adviſed him to engage the Grecian fleet at Salamis [s]. The Tyrians, as well as the other Phœnicians, were, at this time, as may be gathered from Herodotus, tributaries to the Perſians, though under a king of their own; being greatly favoured by the Perſian monarchs, in conſideration of the ſervices they rendered them in their naval expeditions.

About this time reigned Strato, whoſe acceſſion to the Strato.
throne is related by Juſtin thus. The ſlaves, who were then very numerous at Tyre, having formed a conſpiracy againſt their maſters, murdered them all in one night (except Strato, whom his ſlave ſecretly ſaved), and, taking poſſeſſion of the city, married their miſtreſſes, and put all the others to the ſword, who were not of their own race. Having thus not only recovered their liberty, but made themſelves abſolute lords of the ſtate, they reſolve to create a king out of their own body, and unanimouſly agree, that he ſhould be raiſed to that dignity, as being the moſt acceptable to the gods, who the next morning ſhould firſt ſee the riſing ſun. In purſuance of this reſolution and agreement, they appointed to meet about midnight in an open field, lying on the eaſt ſide of the city, and there, with one accord, beſtow the crown upon the perſon to whom the ſun ſhould ſhew himſelf firſt. In the mean time, Strato's ſlave having imparted the whole matter to his maſter, whom he kept carefully concealed, was by him inſtructed to

[q] Iſai. xxiii. 15, 17. [r] Joſeph. l. 1. contra Apion.
[s] Herod. l. 8. [t] Idem l. 3.

to turn himself, not to the east, as the others would probably do; but to the west, and there keep his eyes fixed on the top of the highest tower of the city. The slave obeyed his master's directions, and was therefore looked upon by the whole multitude as no better than a mad-man; it seeming to them very strange; that a man should look for the rising sun in the west. But they were soon made sensible of their error; for while the others stood gazing towards the east, in expectation of seeing the sun appear, Strato's slave shewed them the high edifices of the city already illuminated with his rays: whereupon he was highly applauded by his companions, and eagerly pressed to name the person to whom he was indebted for such a wise thought; which they could not ascribe to him, or any other slave. He refused at first to gratify their curiosity; but at last, upon promise of impunity for himself and the person he should name, he owned, that, out of compassion and gratitude toward his master, who had always treated him with great humanity and kindness, he had saved both him and his son in the common massacre, and acted in the affair, they were so inquisitive about, according to his directions. The multitude hearing this, not only pardoned the slave, but looked upon the master as one preserved by a particular providence of the gods, immediately proclaimed him their king. This is all we know of Strato.

Upon his death, his son was placed on the throne; and the kingdom of Tyre was enjoyed by his descendants [x], among whom, the only one we find mentioned in history
Azelmic. is Azelmic, in whose reign happened the memorable siege and reduction of that city by Alexander the great [y]. We may judge of its flourishing condition at that time, from the stand it made against that victorious prince, since it stopped the course of his whole army full seven months. As the conqueror approached the territories of Tyre, the Tyrians sent out embassadors to meet him (amongst whom was the king's own son), with presents for himself, and provisions for his army: but when he desired to enter the city under pretence of offering sacrifice to Hercules, they refused him admittance; which provoked Alexander, now flushed with so many victories, to such a degree, that he resolved to storm the city, and enter it by force. On the other hand, the Tyrians not at all terrified by Alexander's threats,

[w] Justin. l. 11. c. 3. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Arrianus. l. 2.

threats, determined to ſtand it out to the laſt. What encouraged them to this reſolution was the ſtrength of the place, and the confidence they had in the Carthaginians their allies. The city then ſtood on an iſland, half a mile diſtant from the ſhore; was ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall an hundred and fifty foot high, and was ſtored with great plenty of proviſions, and all ſorts of warlike machines: beſides, the Carthaginians, who were a powerful ſtate, and then maſters of the ſeas, had promiſed to ſend them ſuccours during the war. What animated the Tyrians to ſtand a ſiege gave Alexander no ſmall uneaſineſs, in the undertaking and carrying it on. For he could no otherwiſe make his approaches to it, than by carrying a mole or cauſey from the continent to the iſland, on which the city ſtood. This grand work he undertook, and as he was reſolved at any rate to reduce the city, he accompliſhed it at laſt, maugre the innumerable, and almoſt inſurmountable difficulties he met with in ſo bold an attempt. He was aſſiſted in raiſing the mole (which was two hundred feet in breadth) by the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities, who were all called in on this occaſion; and ſupplied with ſtones from the ruins of old Tyre, and with timber from mount Libanus. The Tyrians at firſt looked upon this undertaking as a raſh and deſperate attempt, which could never be attended with any ſucceſs: and therefore from their ſhips laughing at the king, aſked him, whether he believed himſelf to be greater than Neptune? But ſeeing the mole, contrary to their expectation, beginning to appear above water, they reſolved, for fear of the worſt, to ſend their wives and children, and ſuch as were not fit for ſervice, to Carthage; but were prevented by the arrival of Alexander's fleet from Cyprus. Neither could the Carthaginians aſſiſt them with the promiſed ſuccours, being detained at home by domeſtic troubles. However, the Tyrians fainted not in the reſolution of ſtanding to their defence; firſt from their ſhips, and afterwards, as the mole was brought nearer the city, from the walls, with ſhowers of arrows, darts, ſtones, &c. wherewith they made a moſt dreadful havock of the Macedonians, who were employed in the work, and expoſed without any defence. But what moſt of all diſheartened the Macedonians was, a violent ſtorm, which, ariſing all on a ſudden, carried away, in great part, the cauſey, after it had been, with unwearied labour and great loſs of men, brought near the walls of the city. This

Flood, 2667. Year before Chriſt, 332.

unlucky accident perplexed Alexander to ſuch a degree, that he began to repent he had undertaken the ſiege, and would have ſent embaſſadors to the Tyrians with terms of peace, had he believed they would have hearkened to them. But as they had thrown head-long into the ſea the embaſſadors, who before the ſiege had, in his name, ſummoned them to ſurrender; he was afraid, thoſe, he ſhould ſend now, might meet with ſuch like, or more ſevere, treatment. Being therefore diverted, by this apprehenſion, from all thoughts of making up matters by way of treaty, and fully apprized that his reputation, and the future progreſs of his arms, entirely depended on the ſucceſs of the preſent undertaking, he re-aſſumed, with ſeeming chearfulneſs, the work; repaired, with incredible expedition, the breach which the ſea had made in the mole; and having brought it again almoſt home to the city, began to batter it with all ſorts of warlike engines: while the archers and ſlingers haraſſed, without interruption, thoſe who defended it, in order to drive them from their poſts. But the Tyrians ſtood their ground, and by means of a new contrivance of wheels with many ſpokes, which, being whirled about with an engine, either ſhattered in pieces the enemy's darts and arrows, or broke their force, covered themſelves againſt the aggreſſors, and killed great numbers of them, without ſuffering any conſiderable loſs on their own ſide. But, in the mean time, the wall began to yield to the violence of the rams, that battered it night and day without interruption. Whereupon the beſieged, ſetting all hands to work, raiſed, in a very ſhort time, a new wall, ten cubits broad, and five cubits diſtant from the former; and by filling up the empty ſpace between the two walls with earth and ſtones, kept the Macedonians a long while employed, 'ere they could make, with all their engines, the leaſt impreſſion on this new piece of fortification. However, Alexander, having joined many of his ſhips together, and mounted upon them a vaſt number of battering engines, beſides thoſe he had already placed on the mole, ſucceeded at laſt in the attempt, and made a breach an hundred feet wide. But when he came to the aſſault, in hopes of breaking into the city over the ruins, the Macedonians, though encouraged with the preſence of their king, were forced to give ground, and retire with great loſs to their ſhips. Alexander deſigned to renew the attack next morning; but the breach having been repaired by the Tyrians,

Tyrians, during the night, he perceived himſelf no further advanced than when he firſt began to batter the walls. Hereupon the Macedonian reſolved to change his meaſures, and, having firſt of all brought the mole home to the wall, cauſed ſeveral towers to be built equal in height to the battlements. Theſe towers he filled with the moſt brave and reſolute men of his army; who, purſuant to his directions, having formed a bridge, with large planks, reſting with one end on the towers, and with the other on the top of the rampart, endeavoured, ſword in hand, to gain the wall, but could not prevail, being oppoſed by the Tyrians with unparalleled bravery, and weapons, which the Macedonians were altogether unacquainted with. Theſe were three forked hooks, faſtened with a cord (one end whereof they held themſelves), which, being thrown at a little diſtance, ſtuck in the enemies targets, and gave the Tyrians an opportunity, either of plucking their targets out of their hands, and by that mean expoſing them, without defence, to ſhowers of darts and arrows: or, if they were unwilling to part with their ſhields, of pulling them headlong out of the towers: ſome, by throwing a kind of fiſhing nets upon the Macedonians that were engaged on the bridges, entangled their hands; ſo that they could neither defend themſelves, or offend the enemy. Others, with long poles armed with iron hooks, drew them off of the bridges, and daſhed their brains out againſt the wall, or on the cauſey. In the mean time, a great many engines placed on the walls, played inceſſantly upon the aggreſſors, with maſſy pieces of red-hot iron, which ſwept away entire ranks at once. But what moſt of all diſheartened the Macedonians in the attack, and forced them at laſt to give it over, was, the ſcorching ſand, which the Tyrians, by a new contrivance, ſhowered upon them. For this ſand (which was thrown in red-hot ſhields of iron, or braſs), getting within their breaſt-plates and coats of mail, tormented them to ſuch a degree, that many, finding no other relief, threw themſelves headlong into the ſea; and others, dying in the anguiſh of inexpreſſible torments, ſtruck, with their deſperate cries, a terror into all thoſe who heard them. This occaſioned unſpeakable confuſion among the aggreſſors; which gave new courage to the Tyrians, who, now leaving the walls, charged the enemy hand to hand, on his own bridges, with ſuch reſolution, that Alexander, ſeeing his men give ground, thought fit to

ſound the retreat, and by that means ſave, in ſome degree, the reputation of his Macedonians. Such deſperate attacks were frequently renewed by the aggreſſors, and always ſuſtained with the ſame unbroken and undaunted courage by the beſieged. And now Alexander began to entertain ſome thoughts of abandoning the enterpriſe, and continuing his march into Egypt: but again, conſidering the dangerous conſequences that muſt unavoidably attend ſuch a reſolution, he determined to go on with the ſiege at all adventures; though of all his captains none was found, but Amyntas, who approved of that determination. Having therefore exhorted the diſheartened Macedonians to ſtand by him, and infuſed into them all the courage he could, he ſurrounded the city with his fleet, and began to batter it on all ſides. In the mean time, a fancy taking the Tyrians, upon a dream ſome of them had, that Apollo deſigned to forſake them and go over to Alexander, they faſtened his ſtatue with golden chains to the altar of Hercules (D). This ſtatue, or coloſſus (for it was of an extraordinary ſize), belonged formerly to the city of Gela in Sicily, and was ſent from thence by the Carthaginians, when they took Gela, to Tyre their mother city [z]. In this Apollo the Tyrians greatly confided; and therefore, upon the rumour that he was to abandon them, had recourſe even to chains, in order to prevent his departure. But, their utter ruin being already decreed by the true God, and foretold by his Prophets [a], the confidence they placed in their idols could not avert the impending judgment. They were deſtined to deſtruction; and deſtruction was their fate: for Alexander, having at laſt battered down the walls, and taken the town by ſtorm after ſeven months ſiege,

[z] Diod. Sic. l. 13. [a] Iſa. xxiii. Ezek. xxvi, xxvii, xxviii.

(D) We have already (2) ſeen, that there were only altars erected to Hercules, and that the Egyptian, in his temple at Gades; but we read (3) that Hiram erected a ſtatue to Hercules at Tyre; whence we may infer, that he was either worſhipped with other rites at Tyre, than in his temple at Gades, or that the antient form of worſhip was corrupted. This we promiſed (4) to take notice of.

(2) See before in notes, p. 348. (3) See before, p. 378. (4) See before, p. 348.

ſiege, fully executed the ſentence, which the Tyrians had, by their pride and other vices, drawn down upon themſelves and their country. The city was burnt down to the ground, and the inhabitants (excepting thoſe whom the Sidonians ſecretly conveyed away in their ſhips) were either deſtroyed or enſlaved by the conqueror, who, upon his firſt entering the city, put eight thouſand to the ſword, cauſed two thouſand of thoſe he took priſoners to be crucified, and ſold the reſt, to the number of thirty thouſand, ſays Arrian, for ſlaves. His cruelty towards the two thouſand that were crucified was highly unbecoming a generous conqueror. Alexander treated them thus for no other reaſon, than becauſe they had fought with ſuch bravery and reſolution in defence of their country. But, to palliate the true cauſe of ſo baſe an action, gave out, that he did it to revenge upon the preſent Tyrians the crime which their forefathers committed, when they murdered their maſters, as we have related above; and that, being ſlaves by origin, crucifixion was the puniſhment due to them. To make this look the more plauſible, he ſaved all the deſcendants of Strato, as not being involved in that guilt, and among them king Azelmic, who in the beginning of the ſiege was out with his fleet upon a naval expedition, in conjunction with Autophradates, the Perſian admiral; but had haſtened home as ſoon as he was acquainted with the danger of his country. After the city was taken, he took ſanctuary in the temple of Hercules; and was not only ſpared by the conqueror, but reſtored to the throne after Alexander had re-peopled the place. For, having thus cleared it of its former inhabitants, he planted it anew, with colonies drawn from the neighbouring places, and thenceforth ſtiled himſelf the founder of Tyre, a city which he had moſt ungenerouſly deſtroyed. Upon taking the city, he unchained Apollo, returning him thanks for his intention of coming over to the Macedonians; offered ſacrifice to Hercules, and, after performing many other ſuperſtitious follies, continued his march into Egypt [b]. Year of the Flood, 2667. Year before Chriſt, 332.

How Marion came to rule over Tyre, will be more regularly told hereafter.

The

[b] Diod. Sic. l. 17. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius l. 4. Arrian. l. 2. Juſtin. l. 11. Joſeph. Antiquit. l. 11. c. 8.

The Kings of ARAD.

Arad, or Aradus, had its kings as well as Sidon, Tyre, and, perhaps, moſt other cities of Phœnice. We find mention but of three of its kings that we are ſure of.

Arbal, the father of Narbal [d], who accompanied Xerxes in his great expedition.

Narbal, the ſon of Arbal, who ſerved under Xerxes [e], as we have ſaid.

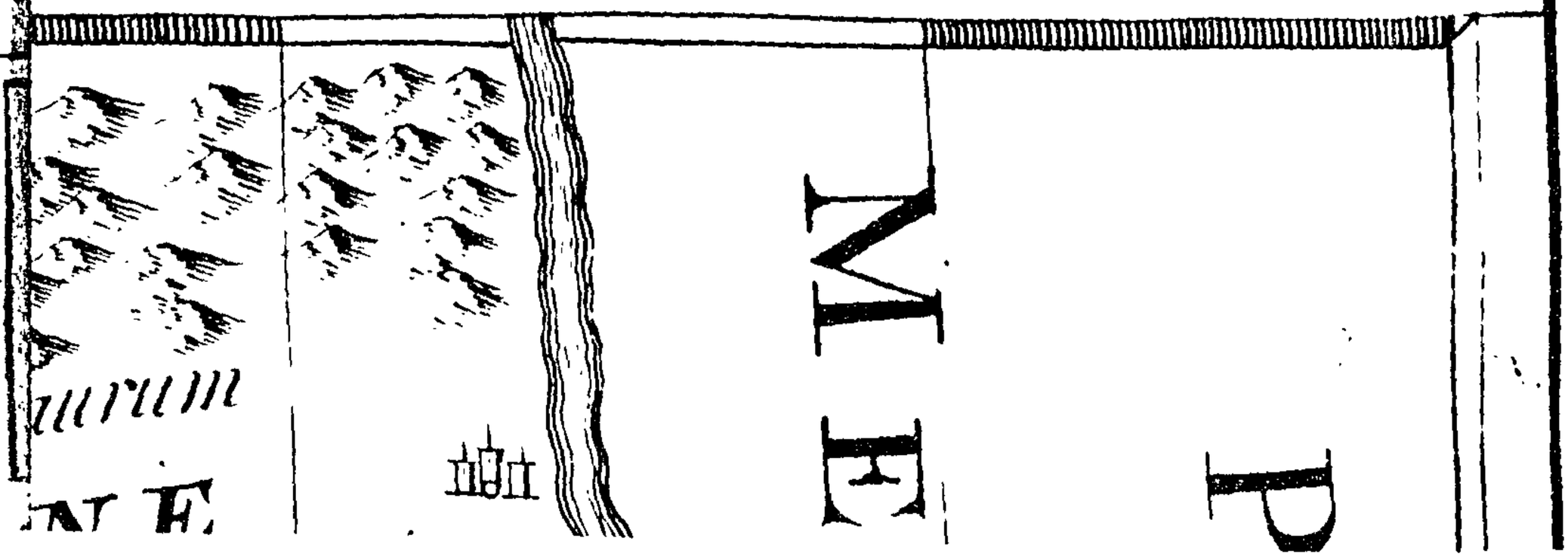
Many years after this, reigned one Geroſtratus, who whether he deſcended from the two former kings or no, we have not to ſay. He ſerved Darius againſt Alexander, joining the Perſian fleet, as other Phœnician and Cypriot princes did, till hearing his ſon Strato had put a crown of gold upon the head of Alexander, and given up to him the iſland city of Aradus, the city of Marathus on the main land over-againſt it, as alſo the city of Mariammia, or Mariama, and whatever elſe belonged to the Aradian dominion; he thought it moſt for his intereſt to approve, ſeemingly at leaſt, of what his ſon had done, and to make his ſubmiſſion to Alexander [f].

[d] Herodot. l. 7. c. 98. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Arrian de Exped. Alex. Magn. l. 2.

CHAP.

Vol. 2. Place this Map opposite page 420.

ng to this History.



A MAP of SYRIA and PHŒNICE, according to this History.

M. Taurus

M. Taurus

THE PLAIN CILICIA

M. Amanus

Antioch ad Taurum

COMMAGENE

Samosata

PART OF MESOPOTAMIA

Germanica

Curhus or Cyrus

Cyrrhestica

Alexandria

Sinus Issicus

Pieria

Berrhœa or Berœa

Bambyce or Hierapolis

PART OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

SELEUCIS

R. Orontes

Seleucia

Antioch

ANTIOCHENE

Chalcis

Chalcidene

Laodicea

Orontes R.

R. Marsyas

Casiotis

Apamene

Chalybonitis

Chalybon

Palmyrene

Palmyra or Tadmor

I. Aradus

SYRIA Proper

supposed the Antient Hamath

Orontes

COAST of PHŒNICE

Tripolis

Theuprosopon

Botrys

R. Adonis

Byblus

Porphyreon Byblus

Aphaca

Heliopolis

Baalbek

M. Libanus

CŒLESYRIA

Berytus

Damascus

M. Anti-Libanus

PART OF ARABIA THE DESART

Sidon

Tyre

PART OF PALESTINE

M. Carmel

S. Wheatley Sculpt.

CHAP. VII.

The Hiſtory of the Jews to the Babyloniſh Captivity.

SECT. I.

The Jewiſh Hiſtory, from ABRAHAM to MOSES.

IT was the Jewiſh Lawgiver's main ſcope to prepoſſeſs the Iſraelites with a firm perſwaſion of the certainty of God's promiſes made to their anceſtor (which he obſerved they were not over forward to credit), that their poſterity ſhould in due time inherit the land of Canaan, and to prevent their natural impatience and deſpondency, during their forty years wandering in the wilderneſs, or even after their entrance into the promiſed land, which they were not to conquer but by ſlow degrees. To this end he is very particular in reminding them how God had promiſed it, even with an oath, to Abraham and his ſeed, above four hundred years before they were to be put in actual poſſeſſion of it. He doth not ſtop here, but goes on, and ſets before them the manifold trials and difficulties, through which the divine providence had led them from Chaldea into Egypt, during the long interval. That they could not but be ſenſible how wonderfully they were increaſed, even in the midſt of their ſlavery and oppreſſion; ſo that they were now more than ſufficient to atchieve the promiſed conqueſt. That if therefore his promiſes were not ſo ſpeedily fulfilled, as their ſanguine temper might expect, they ſhould patiently wait his time, and not provoke him by their ungrateful miſtruſt, after ſo many wonders wrought in their favour, to put off the accompliſhment of them, till a more hopeful generation ſprang up [a]. But now, ſince it

The Deſign of the Book of Geneſis.

[a] Exod. xvii. 2, 7. Num. xiv. 22. Hebr. iii. 19 & ſeq.

it was his pleasure to call them to the glorious work, they should act like men fully assured of his assistance and protection. This was doubtless the reason, why Moses gave them a fuller history of Abraham and his posterity, than he had done of his progenitors In conformity to which method, we shall begin ours with Abraham, the father and founder of the Jewish nation (A).

Year of the World, 1077 Year before Christ, 19. 1.

Abraham was the son of Terah, and the tenth in a lineal descent from Shem, the son of Noah, to whom the right of primo-geniture belonged. [b] He was born in Ur of the Chaldees [c], and was about seventy-four years of age when his father and he came from thence into Haran [d], where they had not been seated long, before Terah died in the two hundred and fifth year of his age (B). His funeral

[b] Gen. ix. 25 & seq. vid. sup. ch. ii § 1 & 2. and vol. 1. p. 347. & seq. [c] Gen. xi. 31. [d] Vid. vol. 1. p. 384. Notes (Y) pag. 385.

(A) We have ventured to call them by that name in compliance with custom, though it was not given them till after the Babylonish captivity, when the tribe of Judah became the most considerable, if not almost the whole of what was left of Israel. The first name, that was given to Abraham and his children, was that of Hebrews, which some derive from Heber, the fifth in descent from Noah (1) But is hardly probable, that Abraham would call himself by his name, rather than by that of any of his ten predecessors We rather think, as has been hinted before, that it was given him by the Canaanites, because he came thither from the other side of the Euphrates; the word עבר, Heber, signifying in the original, the other side, whether of a river, sea, or any other thing: in which sense some people are called transmarine, transalpine, and the like. What seems to confirm this etymology is, that we don't find, that he was called by that name, till word was brought him of his nephew Lot's misfortune (2); so that it is likely the messenger, enquiring for Abraham, of the inhabitants, might describe him by the word עברי, Hibri, or one that came from the other side of the river. However, after Jacob had received the great name of Israel, they preferred that of Israelites to that of Hebrews, though the neighbouring nations, did still call them by the latter (3).

(B) There seems to be an insurmountable difficulty in this account of Terah's age: for if he was but seventy when he begot Abraham,

(1) Gen. x. 24. D. Kimki. (2) Gen. xiv. 32. (3) Vid. vol. 1. p. 376.

funeral was ſcarce over, when Abraham, who in all likelihood deſigned to ſettle there, was commanded by God to depart thence into a land which he ſhould ſhew to him, and aſſured him, that he would bleſs, protect, and multiply him in an extraordinary manner; and that in his ſeed all the nations of the earth ſhould be bleſſed [e]: He readily obeyed, being doubtleſs well acquainted with the call, and, taking Sarah his wife and Lot his brother's ſon, with all his ſervants and cattle, went into the land of Canaan, Abraham's Call.

[e] Gen. xiii. 12 & ſeq.

Abraham, and died in Haran, in the two hundred and fifth year of his age; and Abraham left Haran in the ſeventy fifth of his, it will follow, either that Terah muſt have lived ſixty years in Haran, whereas it doth not appear by the Text that he lived there above one or two; or that Abraham muſt have lived ſixty years longer than the text expreſly ſays he did. We ſhall not trouble the reader with the ways which ſome antient fathers and Jewiſh rabbies have taken to ſolve this difficulty. Some moderns think with Willet and Tremellius, that though Terah was but ſeventy years old when he began to have children, yet he was near an hundred and thirty when he begot Abraham, and that thoſe that were born before him are purpoſely omitted by Moſes, that Abraham might have the honour of the primogeniture, for the excellency of his faith (4). Others with Calmet chooſe rather to give him Adar, or Azar, for his father, and Terah for his grandfather, according to the Arabian hiſtory of that patriarch; and to fill up the chaſm ſuppoſe, that Adar begot Abraham in the ſixtieth year of his age (5); but beſides the ſmall reliance we can have on that hiſtory, the thing ſeems quite oppoſite to the text. Others therefore more reaſonably ſuppoſe with Norton Knatchbull (6), that there is an error crept into the original; and that Terah was either a hundred and thirty years old when he begot Abraham, or that if he was then but ſeventy years old, he died in the hundred and fifty fifth, and not in the two hundred and fifth year of his age: for the text ſays, that Abraham was ſeventy five years old when he left Haran, and that his father died but a little time before it.

It maynot be improper to take notice here, that though Haran, the land ſo called, and Haran the ſon of Terah, be ſpelt with the ſame letters in ours, and other verſions, from which ſome have concluded, that the latter gave his name to the country; yet in the original they are differently writ; viz. the former with a ח Cheth, equivalent to the Greek χ, and might be more properly ſpelt Charan; whereas Terah's ſon's name begins only with a ה He, which anſwers to our H.

(4) Idem loc. Villet. ch. ii. quæſt. 19. (5) Calm. hiſt. vi. D'Herbelot. Bibliot. orient. p. 12. 13. (6) Vid. Eſſay on a new verſ.

Canaan, and pitched his tents near the city of Sichem [f] (C), then inhabited by the Canaanites, where he built an altar to the Lord. Here God was pleased to appear again unto him, to confirm all his former promises, and to assure him, that he would one day give that land to his posterity. Soon after this, Abraham fearing, perhaps, an inundation in that low country, betook himself to a mountain, which had Bethel (D) on the west, and the town of Hai on the east; where he reared a new altar to the Lord; but a famine, which happened soon after in those parts, forced him to remove into Egypt, which was then the only place where he might hope to find provision for his numerous family, and great multitude of cattle. However, the fear he was in upon the account of Sarah his wife, who, though she was past the sixty fifth year of her age, retained beauty enough to endanger the man's life who should pass for her husband, made him resolve, after some hesitation, that she should pass for his sister, and not for his wife in every place they came to. He proposed it to her, and having gained her consent, he committed her honour and chastity to the care of that providence which had hitherto protected him, and set out upon the journey. From this descent into Egypt the generality of the chronologers compute the space of four hundred and thirty years, mentioned

Goes into Egypt.

[f] Ibid. vid. pag. 93 & seq. [g] Usher's Ann. p. 5. Villet. & al.

(C) If we may credit Nicholas of Damascus, Abraham came with an army from Chaldæa, stopt, and reigned some time in the country of Damascus, before he went to Sichem (7), and his name was still famous there. Josephus seems to have quoted his very words, which are to this effect; Abraham, though a stranger, reigned in Damascus, whither he came with a great number of followers, from a country beyond Babylon, called Chaldea. But the people after some time conspired against him; whereupon he and his followers removed southward into Canaan, since called Judæa; where he fixed his abode, and became the father of a numerous off-spring. Thus far Damascen; to which Josephus adds, that Abraham's name was still to that day in great veneration in that country, and that there was still a village which bore the name of Abraham's habitation. However, it is plain, that the scripture says nothing of this imaginary reign.

(D) Bethel is here called so proleptically, for it did not receive that name till some time after, as will be seen in the sequel.

(7) Ap. Joseph. l. 1. c. 8. Euseb. de præp. ev. l. 9. c. 16.

mentioned by St. Paul [h] agreeably to what Moſes ſays in another place [i], that Iſrael dwelt in Egyt four hundred and thirty years; that is, as the ſeventy interpret it, that from the firſt coming of Abraham thither to the Exodus, ſhould be four hundred and thirty years (E). We ſhall have occaſion to reſume this point in its proper place. Abraham had not been long in Egypt before Sarah charmed the Egyptians, and in the end captivated Pharaoh himſelf, who, upon the fame of her beauty, ſent for her, and became ſo ſmitten with it, that for her ſake he ſhewed extraordinary favours to her pretended brother. In a ſhort time Abraham ſaw himſelf poſſeſſed of vaſt numbers of ſheep,

Year of the Flood, 1079. Year before Chriſt, 1919

[h] Galat. iii. 17. [i] Exod. xii. 40.

(E) This account is contradicted by a learned Romiſh chronologer (8), who pretends, that from Abraham's going into Egypt to the Exodus, there elapſed ſix hundred years, and that the four hundred and thirty years mentioned by St Paul (9) have no relation to theſe epochs. We beg leave to ſhew his error, by comparing the number of years from the one to the other. 1ſt, Then, that from Abraham's arrival into Canaan, to Jacob's deſcent into Egypt, are but two hundred and fifteen years, is thus proved. From the time of the promiſe made to him in Haran, to the birth of Iſaac, are about twenty five years; thence to the birth of Jacob are ſixty more, and he was an hundred and thirty years old when he ſtood before Pharaoh; all which make but two hundred and fifteen years. 2dly, That the Iſraelites ſojourned but two hundred and fifteen more in Egypt, is not only generally agreed on, but ſhall be farther proved in its due place. Again, that by the promiſe mentioned by St. Paul, as made to Abraham and his ſeed, is not meant that which God made to him when he was going to offer up Iſaac, is plain, becauſe there are twenty five years between the firſt promiſe and the birth of Iſaac; and if we ſuppoſe him to have been twenty five years old, as Joſephus thinks (10), there will be fifty years wanting of the four hundred and thirty; and if he has thirty three as ſome, or thirty ſeven as others, have ſuppoſed (11), the difference will ſtill be the greater, and lengthen the ſpace of their abode in Egypt, to fill up that of ſix hundred years; the contrary of which we have promiſed to prove hereafter.

(8) Genebr. chronol. 1. loc.
(9) Galat. iii. 17.
(10) Antiq. l. 1. c. 14.
(11) Bereſh. Rab. 1. loc. Rab. ſal. & al.

Year of the Flood, 1079 Year before Christ, 1919

sheep, oxen, camels, asses, men and maid-servants, besides gold, silver, and other precious things, which Pharaoh heaped upon him, though all too mean to recompense him for the loss of his wife: at length God was pleased to interpose on his behalf, and to deliver Sarah from the imminent danger she was in. Pharaoh and his house were infested with such plagues, as plainly convinced them on whose account they suffered. The king then sent for Abraham, and, having sharply rebuked him, for deceiving him in a matter of such consequence, delivered up his wife to him as free from any stain of disloyalty as he had received her, and, without staying for an answer, went out, and gave orders, that they might safely depart his dominions with all the wealth they had.

Returns to Bethel.

Perhaps it may not be unacceptable to observe here, that Pharaoh was not the name of this particular king, but an appellation common to all the kings of Egypt (F). They had also other particular names, as So, Necho, Shishac, &c. but under which of the kings of Egypt this event happened is impossible to determine, not only because his particular name is not mentioned by Moses, but likewise by reason of the great confusion we have observed in their chronology,

(F) It will not be needful, we hope, here to remind the reader of what has been said before, concerning the name of Pharaoh (12), seeing all the etymologies of it are so very uncertain. The most probable ones are these that follow. Bochart thinks the word Pharaoh signifies properly a Crocodile (13); and that Ezekiel alludes to it in these words, —— *Behold I am against thee Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of the river* (14). —— Another critick fancies, that the Arabic word Pharaoh, to be raised on high, or to be superior to, is the true root of the name (15). Kircher doth indeed derive the word from the same root, but will have it to signify, to deliver, or be free; and that Pharaoh signifies one who is free from, or above, the laws (16). Lastly, and to name no more, the learned Renaudot thinks that Pharaoh is the same as the Egyptian Pourro, or Pooro, which signifies a king (17).

(12) Vol. 2. p. 90. (13) Hieroz. p. 2. l. 5. c. 17. (14) Ezek. xxix. 3. (15) Le Clerc in Gen. xii. (16) Kircher Oedip. Egypt. l. 1. c. 76. (17) Renaudot. Differt. de ling. Coptica, p. 127. Ap. Calm. sub. voc. Pharaoh.

nology, and ſucceſſion of their kings [k]; however, A. B. Year of the Flood, 1079 Year before Chriſt, 1919
Uſher ventures to call him Apophis [l].

ABRAHAM made no ſtay in Egypt after this; the famine being ceaſed in the place which he had left, he returned thither by the ſame way, and on the altar he had built before, offered a ſacrifice of thanks for his happy eſcape and ſafe return [m]. In the mean time, the herds of Lot, as well as his own, being grown too numerous for the land they lived in, ſuch contentions aroſe between their ſhepherds, that Abraham reſolved in a friendly manner to ſeparate from Lot, and having given his choice of the whole country that lay before him, Lot choſe the fertile plains of Sodom and Gomorrah, which he ſaw watered by the river of Jordan, and parted from his uncle [n]. Abraham was no ſooner ſeparated from him, but God, who ſeems to have been the ſole conductor of this ſcene, that the promiſed bleſſings might fall on him alone, bid him caſt his eye round the horizon, and promiſed to give all that land he beheld to him and his poſterity. Abraham ſoon after left Bethel, and went to dwell in the land of Moreh (G), which is in Hebron, and there built an altar unto

Separates from Lot.

[k] Vid. vol. 1. p. 601. & ſeqq. [l] Annal. p. 5. [m] Gen. xii. paſſ. & xiii. iv. [n] Ibid. v. 7, 8, & ſeqq. Vid. ſupr. pag. 93, 192.

(G) It is ſurprizing, that ſo many verſions, ſuch as the Chaldee, Vulgate, Geneva, Munſter, Caſtalio, and others, ſhould render the word אלון Elon a plain, ſince it always ſignifies an oak. The Syriac, Arabic, and St. Jerom's among the old, beſides ſome of the modern ones, render it by that word; and our Engliſh doth the ſame in ſome other places (18). And were it to have any other ſignification, that of valley would ſuit it much better than that of plain, becauſe Sichem is ſaid to be ſituate in the valley of Aulon, or Elon (19). As for the name of Moreh, which in the original ſignifies illuſtrious or conſpicuous, it ſeems to have been given to the oak, not from any place near it, but rather by reaſon of its largeneſs, or the eminence of the place on which it ſtood; or more probably, perhaps, becauſe it became famous upon ſo many accounts; ſuch as Abraham's dwelling under it, Jacob's burying his wife, nurſe, and ſtrange gods under it. The reader may obſerve the ſame fault committed

(18) Gen. xxxv. 4. Joſhua xxiv. 26. & alib. (19) Vid. Euſeb. Jerom. Onamaſt. in Αυλών.

unto God, and soon after contracted a friendship with three of the greatest men of that place, viz. Mamre, Aner, and Eshcol; the first of whom communicated his name to all the country. This alliance proved very serviceable to Abraham in process of time, and was the cause of his living peaceably near ten years among them: but a misfor-

committed in these versions, with respect to the oak of Mamre, mentioned Gen. xviii. 1. where the word Elon is translated a plain instead of an oak. Sozomen tells us, that this oak, in Constantine's time, was famous for pilgrimages and annual feasts: That it was but six miles distant from Hebron; and that some of the cottages, which Abraham built, were still standing near it; as likewise a well of his digging, where Jews, Christians, and Heathens resorted, either out of devotion, or trade. Brochard doth further assure us, that he had seen it, and that he brought away some of the fruit and wood. He observes, that its leaves are somewhat larger than those of the mastick tree, but its fruit is like an acorn (20).

As for Hebron, it is plain, that it was a very antient city. Some authors (21), after Josephus, think, that it was built ninety years after the flood, and that it claimed the precedency even of Memphis. Some antient rabbies make it still older, pretending, that Ham built it as soon as he was settled in that country 22): however, it is certain that it was seven years older than Zoan in Egypt (23), which is not Memphis, but Tanis, the antient seat of the kings of Egypt (24). Hebron was afterwards called Arba (25), or Kirjah Arbah, which signifies four cities, or rather the city of Four. The antient Jews will have it to be so called, because Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were buried there, with Eve, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah; but it seems more probable, that it had its name from the great Arbah, the father of the Anakims (26). As to the city of Hebron, or rather Chebron, חברין, it is not likely, that it took its name from Hebron, the grandson of Caleb, as some authors imagine (27), but rather from the verb חור Chavar, to couple or join; because those married couples, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, and Jacoba nd Leah, are buried there (28).

(20) Essay on a New Translat. (21) Villet. ch. 13. quæst. 15. (22) R. Sal. & al. il. Num. xiii. 33. (23) Chald. Paraphr. lxx. & al. (24) Gen. xxiii. 2. Josh. xiv. 15. (25) Ibid. (26) 1 Chron. ii. 42. (27) Jerom. Muscul, Ap. Villet. ubi supr. Oric. Ap. eund. & al. (28) Gen. xix. 10.

misfortune which befel Lot about this time, who was taken captive by Chedorlaomer and his allies ° * ; forced him to muſter up all his forces and his courage to reſcue him out of their hands. This diſaſter no ſooner reached Abraham's ears, than he communicated the news of it to his three friends, Mamre, Aner, and Eſhcol. He readily obtained their aſſiſtance, joining three hundred of his men to it, they marched in purſuit of the conquerors, and came upon them at Dan, in the night, routed, and purſued them as far as Hoba, on the left of Damaſcus, and happily reſcued Lot with all his family, ſervants, and cattle, and brought him back to his old habitation. The king of Sodom, who was probably the ſon of him who had periſhed in the ſlime-pits (H), hearing of Abraham's ſucceſs, came out to congratulate him upon it, and would have offered him all the booty which he had retaken, the men and women excepted, but the patriarch nobly refuſed to accept of even the leaſt ſhare of it. Here Melchizedec met and bleſſed him, and he preſented that high-prieſt with the tythes of all the ſpoil P †.

Lot taken Priſoner.

and reſcued by Abraham.

AFTER this Abraham removed to Mamre, or Hebron, where God was pleaſed to appear to him a fifth time in a viſion, to give him freſh aſſurances of his ſpecial favour, adding, that he would be his exceeding great reward. Abraham, who had hitherto hearkened to God's promiſes without any expreſſion of diſtruſt, ventured now for the firſt time to expoſtulate with him, not knowing how they could poſſibly be fulfilled, whilſt himſelf continued childleſs, and, to all appearance, muſt leave all his ſubſtance to Eliezer of Damaſcus, overſeer of his houſhold. This was indeed a modeſt way to try whether God deſigned to bleſs him with a child, and God did not leave him long in ſuſpence,

Removes to Hebron.

° Ibid. c. xiv. paſſ. * Vid, ſup. ibid. P Ibid. ver. 18. † Sup. ib.

(H) As the text tells us, the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fell into ſome of the ſlime-pits, with which the valley of Siddim abounds (29), and takes no notice of their coming out of them; we think it more probable that they periſhed there, than that Abraham ſtayed to take them out, as the Jews vainly imagined (30), contrary to the ſenſe of the text (31).

(29) Gen. xiv. 10. (30) Bereſh. Rab. Rambam, & al. (31). Gen. ubi ſup.

pence, but assured him, that not Eliezer, but a son of his own should be his heir; then, commanding him to lift up his eyes to heaven, promised to make his posterity more numerous than the stars thereof. Abraham was now eighty five years old, and Sarah, turned of seventy four, was thought barren. All these had been sufficient to stagger a faith less firm than his; but the scripture says, that he believed in God, and that it was imputed unto him for righteousness [r]; God, was pleased moreover to repeat his former promises, that he would infallibly give that land to his posterity, assuring him, that it was for that very end that he had brought him thither out of Chaldea. Here Abraham could not forbear desiring of God to give him some certain token, whereby he might be assured, that his seed should possess that land, and God was pleased to comply with his request. He bid him to take a heifer of three years, a goat of three years, and a ram of three years (I), with a pidgeon, and a turtle-dove, and offer them up. Abraham immediately took them, killed the four-footed beasts, clove them in the midst, and joined the pieces one to the other, laid the birds on the top of them, whilst himself stayed to drive away the fowls from the sacrifice. As soon as the sun began to set, a deep-sleep fell upon him, followed by a horror of great darkness; during which, it was revealed to him from God, that his posterity should sojourn, and be afflicted in a strange land four hundred years [s] (K): at the expiration of which, God would punish their

[r] Gen. xv. 12 & seq. [s] Ibid. ver. 6. Rom. iv. 3. &. alib.

(I) The word, which we translate three years old, in the original is משלשת Meshulesheth, which doth rather signify triplicated, or thrice told, being the Paul in the conjugation Piel, as the grammarians speak. Accordingly Onkelos (32) translates it three heifers, three goats, and three rams; wherein he is followed by other Jewish commentators. One of them tells us (33), that Abraham was then representing the three future sacrifices; namely, burnt offerings, sacrifice for sin, and peace-offering, but doth not allow, that there were three of each kind.

(K) Expositors have given into various opinions, in order to make out these four hundred years, Genebrard, mentioned in a former

(32) Vid. Mercer. Villet. Rab. Sal. & al. in loc. (33) Mos. Gerund. ap. Munst. in Gen. xix. sub. not. d.

their oppreſſors, and bring his children out of the land which he had promiſed him, whilſt himſelf ſhould be gathered

former note †, has affirmed that the Iſraelites dwelt in Egypt, the full number of four hundred years (34), whoſe error may be eaſily confuted by the lives of Kohath, the ſon of Levi, who went down with Jacob (35), and died in Egypt in the hundred and thirty third year of his age (36): of his ſon Amram, the father of Moſes, who lived one hundred and thirty ſeven years (37); and of Moſes, who was eighty years old when he brought Iſrael out of Egypt; all which ſeveral numbers make but three hundred and fifty years, out of which we muſt ſubſtract thoſe which Kohath had attained when he went down into Egypt, and likewiſe the time the fathers lived with their children. This has made ſome reduce the number to leſs than two hundred; whereas we ſhall endeavour to prove, that they remained there two hundred and fifteen years. St. Paul reckons from the firſt promiſe made to Abraham to the promulgation of the law in the firſt year after the Exodus, four hundred and thirty years (39): Of which two hundred and fifteen were already expired, when Iſrael came into Egypt, as we have already proved ‡. The laſt remaining two hundred and fifteen may be thus reckoned; Kohath came down with Jacob, and, according to Euſebius, begot Amram in his ſeventieth year, and Amram begot Moſes much about the ſame age; to which if we add the eighty years of Moſes's age when he led them out, the whole will make two hundred and twenty, from which may be ſubſtracted five years, the ſuppoſed age of Kohath, when Jacob left Canaan, and the remainder will be the time of their abode in Egypt, namely, two hundred and fifteen years (40).

Hence it is plain, that the four hundred years of Abraham's ſeed ſojourning in a ſtrange land, muſt be reckoned, not from their coming into Egypt, but from the birth of Iſaac. For all the time of their ſojourning in the land of Canaan, Gerar, or any other, was ſtill in a ſtrange land, in which they had not a foot of ground, if we except the cave of Macphelah. As to what is added, that they ſhall likewiſe ſerve, and be ill treated, it is commonly underſtood to be ſpoken circumſtantially, and might be put in a parentheſis, thus, they ſhall ſojourn and be ſtrangers and likewiſe ſerve and be oppreſſed) during the ſpace of four hundred years, as St. Auſtin and others have fully proved (41). Accordingly we find

† Vid. ſup. pag. 397. ſub. not. E. (34) Id. ibid. (35) Gen. xlvi. 11. (36) Exod. vi. 18. (37) Ibid. v. 20. (38) Chryſoſt. homil. 1. 1 Nic. Lyr. in loc. (39) Galat. iii. 17. ‡ Vid. ſup. p. 397. not. E. (40) Vid. Merc. Villet. Munſt. & al. (41) Aug. quæſt. in Exod. vi. 47. Merc. Jun. Munſt. Villet. c. 159. 15. Le Clerc. in l. & al.

thered to his fathers in a good old age. After this, Abraham saw a smoaking furnace, and a burning lamp pass between the victims, which in all probability consumed them. Thus was this new and glorious covenant ratified between God and Abraham, who, highly pleased with all these promises, went to impart his joy to his beloved wife [t].

Sarah, not dreaming that she was to be the happy mother of the promised child, and having moreover all the convincing proofs that a woman can have, of her being past all possibility of having any of her own, resolved to be at least a mother by proxy, according to the custom of that age and country. To this end she persuaded her husband to take her hand-maid Hagar to him, that if he had a child by her, she might bring it forth upon her knees, which was all the happiness she could expect from the promise. Abraham did easily acquiesce, and Hagar no sooner found herself pregnant, than she became haughty and insolent towards her mistress. Sarah, impatient to see herself insulted by a slave, whom her kindness had raised to that height of happiness, could not forbear breaking out into bitter complaints against them both; and Abraham willing to shew his resentment against

[t] Ibid. ver. 9 ad fin.

find Isaac oppressed in Gerar, his wells filled up by its inhabitants, and himself forced still further from them * ; and Jacob served, and was oppressed by Laban near twenty years, yet neither of them laboured under a continual oppression. The Egyptian servitude did not commence till after Joseph and all his brethren were dead (42), before that the Israelites lived in peace and plenty. Allowing therefore, that Levi was forty four years of age at his first coming into Egypt, which is the most that can be supposed, he must have lived ninety three years in Egypt, because the text tells us, that he died in the hundred and thirty seventh year of his age (43). And these ninety three years being substracted from two hundred and fifteen, the time of their abode there, there will remain but an hundred twenty two years of thraldom, even supposeing it to have began immediately after his death. The natural sense therefore of this prophecy to Abraham can be only this, that his seed, from Isaac on, should be strangers in the land that was not theirs, during the space of four hundred years, during some part of which they should be oppressed, afflicted, and at length brought under bondage; which term being expired, they should find a happy deliverance.

* Vid. sup. 235. (42) Ibid. (43) Exod. i. 6. v. 16.

againſt her maid, and to convince his wife that he loved her as much as ever, left it to her, to do herſelf juſtice in what way ſhe ſhould think fit; which ſhe accordingly did, but with ſuch ſeverity, that Hagar, not able to bear it, ſtole away from her, and went, and ſat down by a fountain on the road to Sur, leading to Egypt. Here the angel of the Lord met her, perſwaded her to return, and ſubmit herſelf to her miſtreſs; aſſuring her, that ſhe would be ſoon delivered of a ſon, whom ſhe ſhould call Iſhmael (L); that his poſterity would multiply exceedingly, and that both he and they ſhall prove fierce and warlike, that their hand ſhould be againſt every man, and every man's againſt them (M); and that they ſhould dwell in the face of all their brethren [u]. Hagar hearing this comfortable news, was ſoon perſuaded to take the angel's advice, and, in memory of this ſurpriſing viſion, ſhe called the well Beer-lahai-roi, which ſignifies, the well of him that lives and ſees me (N). This well was between Cadeſh and Barneah [w]. Soon after her return ſhe brought forth the promiſed ſon, and called him Iſhmael, according to the angel's word. Abraham was now eighty ſix years of age, and did not expect another ſon, but brought this up as the heir of all ſubſtance, and of all God's promiſes. Hagar indeed could eaſily have undeceived him, but thought it more prudent to conceal what the angel had revealed to her; and it was not till almoſt thirten years after, that God plainly promiſed him a ſon by Sarah his wife.

Hagar is forced to fly from her miſtreſs.

Is perſuaded by an angel to return and ſubmit.

By this time Abraham had attained to the ninety ninth year of his age, when God was pleaſed to ratify his former covenant

Abram's name changed into Abraham.

[u] Gen. xvi. 12. [w] Ibid. ver. 14.

(L) Iſhmael is compounded of the words ישמע add אל jiſh-magh, and El, the Lord hath, or will, hear. The reaſon of which name is immediatly ſubjoined by the angel, namely, becauſe the Lord had heard her complaint.

(M) This prediction has been exactly verified in the ſeveral tribes of the Arabs, Iſhmael's deſcendants, who are generally cruel, warlike, and given to rapine; and whoſe habitation is in tents within the neighbourhood of Judea and Idumea.

(N) Theſe words are no leſs obſcure than the reaſon Hagar gives for calling the well by that name. They are both variouſly interpreted; but we chooſe to adhere to our Engliſh verſion, becauſe it ſeems to us the moſt literal and neareſt to the ſenſe of the original.

covenant with him, by changing his name from Abram to Abraham (O); and by assuring him, that he would make him the father of many nations; that kings should come out of him, and that his posterity should surely possess the land wherein he was a stranger. And, as a token, or rather trial, of his faith and obedience, God commands him to circumcise all the males in his family, with a further injunction, that for the future all the males that should be born of him, or in his family, whether bond or free, none excepted, should be circumcised on the eighth day after they were born; and that if any male remained uncircumcised, that soul should be cut off, as a despiser of God's covenant, from having any share in the promised blessings designed for him and his posterity. Lastly, and to compleat his happiness, God was pleased to assure him, that Sarah, his wife, should bear him a son, on whom all these blessings were to be conferred; and therefore, that her name should be no longer Sarai, but Sarah (P). Here Abraham

(O) We have already taken notice †, that Abram is compounded of two Hebrew words אב and רום Ab and Rom, which signify high father, and that Abraham is commonly derived from three, namely, אב רב המון Ab Rab Hamon, the father of a great multitude: but this last is somewhat forced and ungrammatical, having nothing to support it, but the reason which God gives in the text, for changing Abram into Abraham, namely, because he was to make him the father of many nations.

(P) Sarai שרי in Hebrew signifies my princess, and שרה Sarah, the name now given her, princess.

It is farther observable, that God, in the beginning of this 17th chapter (44), calls himself the first time, אל שדי El Shaddai, which our version rightly translates Almighty God. Others have understood it otherwise, by deriving the word Shaddai, from Shad, which signifies the breast of a woman, to express God's tenderness towards his servants, others deriving it from the verb שדד Shaddad, which signifies to spoil, lay waste, overcome, by Shaddai, the irresistibility of God's power, who, they think, doth here assume that name, because he is going to invert the order of nature, and cause the old and barren to become fruitful; but the most genuine etymology is from ש used instead of אשר, for the pronoun qui, who, and די Dai, sufficient, or self-sufficient

† Vid. vol. i. p. 436. sub. not. K.

(44) ver. 1.

raham falling on his face, probably to conceal his laughing, which either the ſtrangeneſs or improbability of what he heard had forced from him, began to intercede for the life and preſervation of Iſhmael, beyond which he thought it unreaſonable to aſk or wiſh for any thing; but the Almighty ſoon aſſured him, that theſe great bleſſings were not deſigned for Iſhmael, but for a ſon to be born of the hitherto barren Sarah, whom he ſhould therefore name Iſaac (Q). That as to the ſon of Hagar, he would indeed bleſs him with a numerous poſterity; but that Iſaac alone, whom Sarah ſhould bear in a year from that very day, was alone to be entitled to the covenant and promiſe, that in his ſeed all nations of the earth ſhould be bleſſed [x].

GOD was no ſooner departed, than Abraham took his ſon Iſhmael, and all the males in his family, and circumciſed them, as well as himſelf, without any regard either to his own age, which was almoſt one hundred years, or to the tenderneſs of his ſon, who was not above thirteen. All ſubmitted alike to the operation, and to God's command; on the ſame day (R); and it was not long before his obedience was

Year of the Flood, 1101. Year before Chriſt, 1898 Abraham and his family circumciſed.

[x] Gen. xvii.

ſufficient, an expreſſion very fit and proper to aſſure Abraham and Sarah of the certainty of his promiſe to them, which none but an all-ſufficient power could fulfil (45).

(Q) Iſaac, or according to the Hebrew יצחק Iſchack, ſignifies he has, or ſhall, laugh.

(R) Whether this ceremony of circumciſion was firſt introduced into the world by the Hebrews or Egyptians, has been much conteſted by antient and modern hiſtorians, criticks, and others. Herodotus, who declares he had received all his knowledge of the affairs of Egypt from their prieſts, gives it indeed for the Egyptians; but he ſeems in ſome meaſure to retract, if not to contradict himſelf, in this very point, when he affirms, that no nation practiſed it, but what received it firſt from the Egyptians, and a little after owns, that he did not know whether of the two had it firſt, the Egyptians or Ethiopians, though he is inclined to believe the former (46). As for the reſt of the ancients, who are on that ſide of the queſtion, as they have blindly followed Herodotus, all their authority centers in him. However, it is certain, that

(45) Oleaſt. & al. diſſert. de circumciſ.

(46) Herodot, l. 1. c. xlvi. vid. Calm.

was rewarded with a seventh and more remarkable visit from God. Abraham, who dwelt still at Mamre, was sitting one

that neither they, nor any other nation we know of, the Jewish excepted, did practise it universally. The priests were indeed obliged to be circumcised, but the rest of the people were left wholly at their liberty. Neither doth it appear, that they practised it upon a religious account, as the Jews did: Philo (47) has given us the reasons why those nations used circumcision; namely, first, in order to avoid a distemper called a carbuncle, to which they who were not circumcised were often subject. Secondly, for the sake of cleanliness, by cutting off whatever was apt to harbour any filth; and for this reason it was that they shaved their bodies all over. The third is symbolical, and foreign to our subject. The last is, that circumcision is a help to fertility, and that those who are circumcised are apter for procreation, than those who are not. Now for the modern, we mean the Christian writers. Those do not indeed affirm absolutely, that Abraham learned it from the Egyptians, but that it is possible he might have seen it in Egypt, and be so much taken with it, that God in compassion to his infirmity, whose faith could not sustain itself without some outward and visible symbol, might sanctify this Egyptian ceremony, by retrenching all that was superstitious in it, and give it to him and his posterity, as a sensible token of his alliance with them (48).

Only le Clerc (49) subjoins an argument, which, in his opinion, turns the scale very much on the Egyptian side; for, says he, Abraham's family, at his first coming into Egypt, was so inconsiderable, and his posterity afterwards so hated and despised by the Egyptians, that it is by no means probable that proud nation should have received such a ceremony from them. But might not this be the very motive that determined them in favour of it? was it not natural for the Egyptians, no less superstitious than haughty, to infer, that since it procured such great and valuable blessings to that despised people, it could not fail of proving more successful to them, if once they admitted it amongst them? might not Joseph's time have been a proper crisis to recommend it to them? and were not those motives we have mentioned out of Philo, of its being reputed a promoter of fertility, cleanliness, and health, sufficient to recommend it, especially to a people that were governed by their wives? and lastly, might not this be the very reason which made the Egyptian women use it as well as the men? however that be, the notion of the Hebrews having

(47) Phil. de circumcis. pag. 810. ap. eund. (48) Spenc de leg. ritual. Jud. Le Clerc. in loc. (49) Id. Bibl. A. M. p. 2. p. 250. & al.

one day at the door of his tent under a tree, when he beheld afar off three men, whom he took to be ſtrangers; he went

ing received it from them ſeems ſo contrary to the care and conduct of God, to preſerve them from the ſuperſtitions of other nations, that it meets with but few advocates; and indeed it ſeems more reaſonable to think, that the Egyptians had it from ſome other nation, whether the Arabs, (as Bochart thinks, by reaſon of the difference there was between the Jewiſh and Egyptian circumciſion) or from any other of their neighbours, or even that they might ſtumble upon that ceremony, without knowing, or having it from any, than to ſuppoſe, that one muſt have it from the other, and that therefore the Jews might as well have it from the Egyptians. As for the reaſon of its being enjoined on the eighth day after the child's birth, the beſt we have met with is that of Cunœus (50), that children were not thought ſufficiently clean or perfect during the firſt ſeven days, being ſtill full of the corruption they brought from the womb. And this ſeems to be the reaſon of God's ordaining, that no beaſt that was offered to him ſhould be leſs than eight days old (51). Circumciſion therefore being a kind of ſolemn offering of a child to God, it ſeems highly reaſonable, that the ſame law ſhould be obſerved in it, as was enjoined concerning victims. But as to the eighth day being choſen rather than any other afterwards, without ſeeking for myſteries in that number, as ſome are fond of doing, it will be ſufficient to ſay, that the child being reckoned perfect and fit at that age, and there being a neceſſity of fixing a day for it, and not to leave it to the choice of the parents, no time could be fitter than that, becauſe the child is then leaſt ſenſible of the ſmart of, and leaſt in danger of being hurt by, it.

The laſt enquiry we need make upon this ſubject of circumciſion is, the reaſons of its inſtitution: and here we ſhall only mention one or two of thoſe that are thought moſt conſiderable. The firſt is topical; becauſe the heat of the climate required it, for the reaſons mentioned above. Secondly, political; in order to diſtinguiſh thoſe who were in the covenant of God, from other nations. Thirdly, moral; to imply the circumciſion of the heart, and the mortification of carnal appetites. Fourthly, religious; in that it was, firſt, the ſymbol and ſeal of the covenant made between God and Abraham, and his ſeed, and figurative of the faith which was to be in Chriſt (52). To theſe reaſons we ſhall ſubjoin one more out of a modern author (53), which the reader will

(50) Cun. apud Baſnag. Rep. Hebr. p. 351. (51) Levit. xxii. 27. (52) Targ. Onkel. Hieron. Pagnin. Munſt. Mercer, Villet, & al. (53) Saurin Diſc. Hiſt. du V. Teſt.

went to meet them, and in the moſt civil and reſpectful manner invited them to come and take a ſmall refreſhment

will hardly meet with elſewhere: he writes thus: we reckon circumciſion amongſt the trials of Abraham's faith. It is eaſy to obſerve, by very many circumſtances of that patriarch's life, that he was deſigned as a pattern to all the faithful. The more his faith was tried, the more conſpicuous it became; the more difficulties he obſerved in the accompliſhment of God's promiſes, the more he ſhewed the great idea he had of him that had made them, by overcoming thoſe obſtacles. —Why did not God give him Iſaac till the laws of nature ſeemed to exclude all hopes of his ever being a father? it was to try his faith.—Why did God command him to ſacrifice that very ſon to whom ſo many bleſſings belonged, but to the ſame purpoſe? Why did God ſet ſo long an interval between the promiſe of a ſon and the accompliſhment of that promiſe, that Sarah, thinking it impoſſible ſhe ſhould be the mother of him, did give him her maid Hagar? Why was Iſhmael born ſo many years before Iſaac, &c., but to make ſtill freſh trials of his faith? why might not then God have the ſame views in enjoining him to be circumciſed? he not only makes him wait for this ſon near twenty years, though promiſed in ſo ſolemn a manner, but when that time is elapſed, and Abraham thinks himſelf on the eve of receiving the reward of his faith, he croſſes his hopes a-freſh, and commands him to undergo an operation that ſeemed wholly to put an end to them. Abraham could not but look upon circumciſion as dangerous in that hot country, even to young men, much more to one of his years; and conſequently, that it muſt put him quite out of condition of ever being a father. The command of his having the covenant in his fleſh ſeemed as oppoſite to the promiſe of his having a ſon, as that of his ſacrificing that ſon was to the promiſe of his being the father of many nations. Notwithſtanding which, Abraham's faith triumphed over this obſtacle alſo—being fully perſuaded, that God could not only renew the ſtrength of an old man, but likewiſe make him fruitful after his having undergone an operation which ſeemed ſo contrary to it. It is to extol this triumph that the ſcripture obſerves, he was ninety nine years old, when he was circumciſed; and it was to preſerve the memory of it, that God enjoined that ceremony to all his poſterity, &c. (54).

All that needs be added under the head of circumciſion is, that the Iſraelites did not afterwards underſtand the curſe pronounced againſt thoſe who had it not, ſo ſtrictly as to cut them off, or drive them

(54) Gen. xvii. 24.

ment with him, and, having obtained their conſent, ordered a feaſt to be got ready for them (S). As ſoon as it was over, one of the gueſts enquiring after Sarah, and being told that ſhe was in the tent, he then addreſſed himſelf to Abraham, and aſſured him, that he would viſit him again at the end of a year, by which time Sarah would have a ſon. Sarah, who was liſtening at the tent door, and thought herſelf paſt child-bearing, burſt out into a laughter, and the ſtranger aſked the reaſon of it in ſuch a ſerious tone, as ſtruck her with a terrible fright. She would fain have denied it, but it was to no purpoſe, that ſhe endeavoured to hide any thing from the perſon that ſpoke to her, who diſmiſs'd her with this gentle reproof, that ſhe was highly in the wrong to miſtruſt what he had ſaid to her, ſince nothing was impoſſible with God. The three heavenly gueſts, for ſuch they were, roſe up in order to proceed on their journey, and Abraham courteouſly accompanied them ſome part of the way. At length one of them, whom

Abraham entertains three angels.

them out from among them, provided they kept the law of nature, worſhipped the only true God, and abſtained from blood; but if they became circumciſed, they were looked upon as children of Abraham, and were bound to keep the law of Moſes. Theſe were called by the Jews, proſelytes of righteouſneſs, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of habitation, who were uncircumciſed, and only obſerved the laws of Noah, and were therefore called alſo Noachidæ. Theſe two ſorts of proſelytes became ſo numerous, that, in Solomon's time, there were an hundred and fifty thouſand and ſix hundred of them in his kingdom (55).

(S) This feaſt was a whole fatted calf, three meaſures, or pecks, of fine flower, beſides cream and milk, by which, and that of two kids, which Rebecca prepared for her huſband (56), when ſhe was already grown dim with age, if we may gueſs at their ſtomachs, we ſhall be apt to conclude, that they were not of the ſmalleſt. Neither do the patriarchs differ much in this reſpect from Homer's heroes, ſince he tells us, that when Cumæus entertained Ulyſſes, he dreſſed a whole hog, that was five years old, for him and four more (57). However, if we conſider their laborious life, and their enjoying a perfect ſtate of health, we need not wonder at their extraordinary appetite and good digeſtion.

(55) 1 Chron. xi. 17. (56) Gen. xxvii. 9, 10. (57) Odyſſ. 14.

whom the original calls the Lord (T), as a further mark of his favour, began to reveal a moſt dreadful ſecret to him, which was, that the cry of Sodom and Gomorrah was gone up to heaven; and that he was going down fully reſolved to deſtroy them utterly, if, upon enquiry, he found their wickedneſs equal to the cry of it; whether the remembrance that Lot was in one of thoſe cities, or rather his natural compaſſion, gave Abraham freſh courage to intercede for thoſe righteous men that might be found among the wicked, Abraham did not ceaſe expoſtulating with him, till he had obtained a promiſe, that if there were but ten righteous men found in the place, he would ſpare it for their ſakes: Upon which, the Lord departed from him. The fate of thoſe cities, and Lot's deliverance, have been already related †: as for Abraham, he ſaw the next morning the thick ſmoak of thoſe unfortunate cities, aſcending like that of a furnace [y].

Abraham pleads for Sodom.

Not long after, Abraham, leaving the plains of Mamre, probably to be out of the ſtench of the vale of Siddim, went and dwelt in the country of the Philiſtines ‡ between Cadeſh and Shur (U); where the ſame adventure happened to

† Supr. 94. [y] Geneſ. xix. ‡ Vid. ſup. p. 230.

(T) The name Jehovah יהוה, by which Moſes calls the ſtranger, that talked to Abraham, being looked upon by the generality of Jews and Chriſtians, to be the incommunicable name of God, it is believed by the far greateſt part of the latter, that it was the Son of God who appeared in that form: however, others, particularly ſome modern ones (58), maintain, that it was but an angel who ſpoke to him in the perſon of God. But it is not probable, either that Moſes ſhould call an angel by that name, or that Abraham ſhould intercede with him as he doth, when he ſays, *that be far from thee to deſtroy the good with the wicked; ſhall not the judge of the world do right?* or laſtly, that an angel ſhould peremptorily ſay, if I find forty, thirty, or twenty righteous men in the place, I will ſpare it for their ſakes. It is therefore more probable, that it was Chriſt himſelf, who is emphatically called the judge of all the world.

(U) Cadeſh and Shur were the names of two deſarts, the laſt of which the Iſraelites entered after the paſſing of the Red-Sea (59) and is the ſame which is afterwards called Ethan (60). Abraham dwelling ſome conſiderable time here, called the place Beerſhebah (61). Here it was that Iſaac was born, and Abraham liked

(58) Le Clerc. con. in loc. & al. (59) Exod. xv. 22. (60) Numb. xxxiii. 8. vid Toſtat. contr. Nic. de Lyr. (61) Gen. xxi. 31. Vid. Jun. in loc.

to him which he had met with in Egypt. Sarah, whom neither her pregnancy nor advanced age (ſhe being now ninety years old) had deprived of her beauty, was again deſired by Abraham to paſs for his ſiſter; Abimelech, king of that country, ſtill ſaw charms enough in her to invite her to his bed; but the Lord appeared to him in a dream, and threatened him with immediate death, if he did not reſtore her untouched to her huſband, who was a prophet very dear to him; in conſequence of which, Abraham had his wife returned to him, with conſiderable preſents (W) [z]. Abimelech takes Sarah. Is threatened by God, and reſtores her.

THE time apointed being come, ſoon after their leaving the court, Sarah brought forth the long expected ſon, and called his name Iſaac. And Abraham failed not to circumciſe him on the eighth day. They were now in the zenith of their happineſs. Sarah ſuckled the child herſelf, and weaned him at the uſual time (X); and Abraham made a feaſt Iſaac born. Year of the Flood, 1101. Year before Chriſt, 1898

[z] Geneſ. xx. p. tot.

liked the ſituation and people ſo well, that he continued in it upwards of twenty five years: from this place likewiſe he went to offer up his ſon in the land of Moriah (62).

(W) There ſeems to be a double miſtake in our tranſlation, in Abimelech's ſpeech to Sarah, which runs thus: *Behold I have given thy brother a thouſand pieces of ſilver: behold he is to thee a covering of thy eyes—and thus ſhe was reproved.* For it is plain, the king was purchaſing Abraham's friendſhip, and not quarrelling with him or his wife, and Abraham had already ſo far juſtified both himſelf and her to the king's ſatisfaction: and therefore the word נכחת ſhoud not have been rendered rebuked, as Kimki and others do, that think ſhe was blamed by all for the lie ſhe had told. Pagninus renders it erudivit ſe, i. e. ſhe learned more wit, whereas it is the participle of the verb יכח, which though it is generally rendered to reprove, or rebuke, yet it is as often ſignifies ſearch, or enquire thoroughly into a thing till the truth be found. Abimelech therefore means no more, than that ſhe is acquitted after a full hearing, and the Chaldee paraphraſe hath tranſlated it accordingly. The other miſtake is, Abraham's being ſaid to be a covering to her eyes, whereas the king ſeems to ſpeak of the thouſand pieces of ſilver which he gave them as a token of their juſtification, the veil being always the ſymbol of womens modeſty (63).

X It is not eaſy to gueſs how long they gave ſuck in thoſe days, the antient Hebrews are divided about it (64); ſome holding, that Iſaac.

(62) Gen. xxii. 1. (63) Pfeiter Flaccius in loc. Læſcene's Eſſay. (64) Apud Hieron. quæſt. Hebr. in Geneſ.

feaſt to all his houſhold that day: but their joy could not laſt long without ſome mixture of grief, by the jealouſy which Iſaac cauſed to Hagar and her ſon. Iſaac was ſcarce ſeven years old, when Sarah obſerved Iſhmael ſhew ſome contempt to him (Y), which made her reſolve to part them for ever, that ſhe might be rid at once of all her fears. You know, ſaid ſhe to her huſband, that Iſhmael has no ſhare in the inheritance with my ſon; for which reaſon, it is not fit, that they ſhould continue longer together; ſend him, therefore, and his mother away, that we may once more be at peace. Though Abraham loved her to ſuch a degree that he could deny her nothing, yet he could not but look on her requeſt as too cruel and unreaſonable, ſeeing ſhe knew, that he had ſtill a great fondneſs for the boy; but, God confirming what Sarah had ſaid, and promiſing moreover to protect Iſhmael, and to make him a great nation out of regard to him, Abraham was at laſt prevailed upon to ſend him and his mother away the very next

Iſhmael mocks Iſaac.

Is ſent away with his mother.

Iſaac was weaned at the end of five, and others, not till the end of twelve years, and others, at the end of twenty four months (65); if we may judge by what the young Maccabee's mother ſaid to him (66); my ſon remember I have ſuckled thee three years, that time will appear the moſt probable. However, we may ſafely believe, that Iſaac was not weaned before the uſual time, for want of care or affection in his mother (67).

(Y) The Jewiſh interpreters expound the word מצחק in the text, which ſignifies laughing, or, playing, מלעיג, which ſignifies to deride and deſpiſe, and not without good grounds, ſince Sarah did ſo highly reſent it. They think that it happened on the day in which Abraham made the feaſt for the weaning of Iſaac, and that whilſt the gueſts were congratulating him for having a ſon and heir in his old age, Iſhmael ſhewed ſome tokens of deriſion, which Sarah obſerving, went and complained of it to her huſband (68). However, it is plain it muſt have been ſomething worſe than childrens play, as the Septuagint has rendered it, ſince St. Paul calls it a perſecution (69). Beſides, it muſt be remembered, that Iſhmael is deſcribed by the angel (70) as a fierce and cruel man, and conſequently, could not but begin to ſhew ſome tokens of it, being then upwards of twenty one years of age.

(65) 2 Maccab. vii. 27. (66) Ap. Calvin. & Mercer. (67) Calv. Willet. (68) Vid. Munſt. in. loc. (69) Galat. iv. 29. (70) Gen. xvi. 13.

next morning (Z). What befel them afterwards is foreign to our preſent ſubject.

Abimelech makes a covenant with Abraham.

ABRAHAM, in the mean time, entered into a ſolemn league of friendſhip with Abimelech, king of the Philiſtines [a]. To ſecure his property in a well he had dug, to guard himſelf againſt the outrage of the Philiſtines, who had taken ſeveral wells from him before, and to ratify the aforeſaid alliance, Abraham preſented the king with oxen, ſheep, and the like; then taking ſeven young ſheep, he deſired him to accept of them, as a token that he had dug ſuch a well, and that he ſhould from thenceforth peacefully enjoy it. Upon this occaſion that place was called Beerſhebah, or the well of the oath, becauſe of the covenant which they had ſworn there (A). The pleaſantneſs of the place and the friendſhip of the king invited Abraham to ſojourn there many years. He planted here a wood, and built an altar to the Lord, reſolving to end his days in this part, unleſs God ſhould otherwiſe determine [b].

Abraham commanded to ſacrifice his ſon Iſaac.

BUT God had yet a further trial to make of Abraham's faith and obedience, but ſo ſenſible a one as would put it to the utmoſt proof. Iſaac, the ſon of his old age, the promiſed head of a new and numerous race, the fountain of ſo many promiſed bleſſings, and the dear and only object of ſo much affection; this very Iſaac is now at length commanded to be brought unto a mountain, which God was to point out to him, and there to be offered up a burnt-

[a] Vid. ſup. pag. 230, & ſeq. [b] Gen. xxi. p. tot.

(Z) The text tells us, that Abraham gave them only ſome bread and a pitcher of water; a ſmall proviſion if that had been all; but we muſt remember, that bread and water are commonly taken, in Hebrew, for all other neceſſary proviſions. Abraham therefore may be ſuppoſed to have given them all things neceſſary for their journey.

(A) באר שבע Beerſhebah is compounded of two Hebrew words, the firſt of which ſignifies a well, and the other an oath, or likewiſe ſeven. Here Moſes applies the name to the oath, though it is more than probable, that Abraham had an eye to the double meaning of the word Shebah, when he made choice of ſeven, rather than any other number of ewes. From this well the adjoining city was called alſo Beerſheebah, which was the utmoſt bound of the land of promiſe on the ſouth, as Dan was towards the north; whence came the proverb, From Dan to Beerſhebah. This city was one of thoſe which fell to the lot of the tribe

burnt-ſacrifice, and that by the hands of his own father (*B*). Abraham never ſtayed to expoſtulate about the cruelty, illegality, and ſeverity of the command; but on the very next morning he gets all things ready, and, leaving it to God to make good his own promiſes, reſolves to obey. He ſets out the next morning for the place, and takes with him his ſon Iſaac, ſome ſervants, and all other things neceſſary for the dreadful work. And, on the third day after his ſetting out, diſcovers mount Moriah afar off (C), the place appointed by God. There, leaving his ſervants behind, he goes up to the mount without betraying any ſign of grief or concern, which might raiſe any ſuſpicion in his ſon. Iſaac, on the other hand, being laden with the wood and other materials for a burnt offering, and obſerving nothing of a victim, could not forbear aſking his father where it was.

tribe of Simeon (71); but becauſe Simeon had its inheritance in the midſt of the tribe of Judah (72), therefore Beerſhebah is alſo numbered amongſt the cities of Judah (73).

(B) As the age of Iſaac is not ſet down in the text, it is uncertain how old he was, when Abraham was ordered to offer him up. The opinion of ſome learned Jews (74), that he was but twelve years old, is ridiculous, ſince it would have been impoſſible for him to have carried ſuch a load of wood as he did. Others (75) ſay, that he was thirty-ſeven years old, but that was the year of Sarah's death, whereas ſhe was alive when this happened. Joſephus makes him twenty-five years old (76): and ſome chriſtians, antient and modern, conjecture, that he was paſt thirty, becauſe that was about the age in which Chriſt ſuffered, whoſe type Iſaac was at leaſt in this tranſaction, in which there were ſeveral circumſtances which bore a great conformity with thoſe that attended Chriſt's paſſion.

(C) This mountain is certainly the ſame on which the temple was afterwards built by Solomon (77); and therefore thoſe who affirm that Chriſt was crucified upon it, don't fix the name to that particular hill; but to the whole ridge of them. Moriah takes its name from the Hebrew רָאָה Raah, to ſee: whence the LXX and Aquila tranſlate it γῆν ὑψηλὴν, a high or conſpicuous land. Fuller derives it from two Hebrew words, מַרְאֶה, viſion, and יְהּ, God; and by contraction Moriah, becauſe God was ſeen upon it (78).

(71) Joſh. xix. 9. (72) Ibid. ver. 1. (73) Ibid. xv. 28. Villet. (74) Abenezra ap. Toſtat. (75) Ap. Villet. (76) Joſ. Antiq. l. 14. (77) 2 Chron. iii. 1, 2. (78) Miſcel. Sacr. l. 2. c. xiv.

was. Such a queſtion at ſuch a time was ſufficient to have ſtaggered a heart leſs firm than Abraham's, who only anſwered calmly, that God would provide himſelf with one. He little thought how prophetically he ſpoke, for he had no ſooner bound his ſon upon the wood, and ſtretched out his hand to give the fatal blow, but God was pleaſed to ſtop him ſhort, being fully ſatisfied with this laſt trial of his obedience. He renewed all his promiſes and covenant afreſh, and bound them with an oath. Then Abraham looking about found a ram, the victim God was to provide, caught by the horns in a thick buſh, and with the help of his ſon offered it up inſtead of him; in memory of which he called that place Jehovah-Jired, the Lord will look to or provide, alluding to the anſwer he had given to Iſaac's queſtion. He went and rejoined his ſervants, and returned home to Beerſheba, where Sarah, who in all probability was kept ignorant of the important ſecret, was ready to receive them with her uſual tenderneſs and affection [c]. Not long after this he heard the joyful news, that Milcah, his brother Nachor's wife, had bore him a numerous iſſue (D), which determined him to ſend thither for a wife for his ſon Iſaac [d].

But countermanded by an angel from him.

ABRAHAM,

[c] Gen. xxii. p. tot.

[d] Gen. xxiv. 3, 4, &c.

(D) The children of Nachor by Milcah were 1. Huz; 2. Buz; 3. Kemuel; 4. Chezed; 5. Hazo; 6. Pildas; 7. Jidlaph; and, 8. Bethuel, who begat Rebecca the wife of Iſaac. He had ſome others beſides from a concubine named Reumah (79). Huz, the firſt-born, is ſuppoſed by ſome to have peopled, and given name to, the land of Huz (80), where Job dwelt (81); but it is not improbable, that it was already ſo called from Huz the ſon of Aram (82). From Buz came the the Buſites; of which family Elihu, one of Job's friends, probably was (83). Kemuel, called in the text the father of Aram, is therefore thought the father of the Aramites, or Syrians, perhaps the ſame with the Camuelite of Strabo (84), in the land of Haram (85): but we are inclined to believe, that by this

(79) Gen. xxii. 21. & ſeq. (80) Calmet. Hiſt. vet. Teſt. p. 148. (81) Job i. 1. (82) Gen. x. 22. vid. Hieron. (83) Job xxxii. 6. (84) Strabo. l. 16. (85) Calm. ubi ſupr.

Abraham, well pleaſed with the conſtancy and reſignation which he had beheld in his ſon, lived in great peace and tranquillity for ſome time; but it was at length diſturbed by the death of Sarah, which happened in the hundred and twenty ſeventh year of her age, in the city of Arbah, alias Hebron (E) [c]. Abraham came thither to mourn for her, and to pay the laſt devoirs to the faithful partner and conſtant companion of his travails, till, having given a ſufficient vent to his grief, another care called upon him;

Sarah's death.

[c] Vid. ſup. 399. not. G.

this Aram is only meant a ſon of Kemuel, and not a race of deſcendants, much leſs of the Syrians, as the lxx and Vulgate read it; or of Aram Naharim, as ſome; or Aram Seba, as others think (86); for the city of Nahor was in Aram. This city and nation therefore ſeems to have been more antient than Kemuel, and to have been ſo called from Aram the ſon of Shem (87). As for Chezed, if he was the father of the Chaſdim, or Chaldees, as leaſt of that part which was on this ſide of Babylon, as is ſuppoſed by the ſame author (88), it is certain there were others more antient on the other ſide, for Abraham came from Chaldea. However, theſe ſons of Nahor gave names to ſome cities and families of Syria, ſuch as Buzan, &c. remembered by a Latin author (89). The children of his concubine were Tebah, Gaham, Thahaſh, and Maachah. From this laſt the city of Maachah, or Abel-Beth-Maachah (90), whoſe territories are ſuppoſed to have been ſituate between the two Lebanons, might probably receive its name (91).

(E) The text is ſomewhat obſcure in this place. Sarah is ſaid to die at Arbah, and yet no mention is made of Abraham's removing from Beer-ſheba thither, only he is ſaid to come thither to mourn for her and bury her. Some therefore are of opinion, that they might be parted upon ſome occaſion or other, and that Sarah went to Arbah, whilſt her huſband kept his old dwelling. Others, not brooking ſuch a ſeparation, think, that he came only from his own tent into that of Sarah, for they had their ſeparate tents, to weep over her. But this ſeems to wreſt the text a little too much; however, we will not venture to affirm any thing on either ſide.

(86) Toſtat. Cajet. in loc. (87) Gen. x. 22. (81) Calmet. 1. l. vid. Jun. & Villet. (89) Ammian. Marc. l. 18. (90) 1 Chron. xix. 6, 7. (91) Calmet. ibid. p. 148.

him ; viz. to procure her an honourable burial. He therefore aroſe, and went to the gates of Hebron (F), in order to purchaſe a burying-place from the ſons of Heth, who dwelt in that city, and were probably the moſt conſiderable in that place. He had no ſooner declared the occaſion of his coming, but they one and all told him with the utmoſt civility and reſpect, that he might make choice of the

(F) The gates of cities in thoſe days, and for many centuries after, were the places of Judicature and common reſort. Here the governors, or elders of the city met to hear complaints, adminiſter juſtice, make conveyances of titles and eſtates, and to tranſact all the affairs of the place (92). Whence that verſe in the Pſalms (93), *they ſhall not be aſhamed when they ſpeak to their enemies in the gate*, i. e. when they are accuſed by them before the court of magiſtrates.

It is probable, that the room or hall where the magiſtrates ſat was over the gates, becauſe Boaz is ſaid to go up to the gate. The like did David when he went to weep for the death of Abſalom (94). How conſiderable they became in time for largeneſs and ſumptuouſneſs appears, by the two kings of Iſrael and Judah being preſent at one of them in all their royal ſplendor, and convening thither four hundred prieſts of Baal, beſides their own guards and officers (95). It ſeems, as if theſe places had been as firſt choſen for the conveniency of the inhabitants, who, being all huſbandmen, and forced to paſs and repaſs, morning and night, as they went and came from their labour, might be more eaſily called as they went by, whenever they were wanted to appear in any buſineſs. Theſe gates were likewiſe markets for proviſions, like thoſe of the Romans, as appears by the prophet Eliſha's foretelling an incredible plenty to happen the next day, in the midſt of famine, at the gates of Samaria (96). What the number of theſe magiſtrates were, how far their power extended, and how many orders of them there were, is not to be gathered from ſcripture ; only it is plain there could be but few of the latter, ſince in the time of Joſhua we can find but four ſorts of them ; viz. the Zekenim or elders, the Raſhim or heads of the people, the Sophetim or judges, and the Sotorim or officers. Abraham therefore could not make his purchaſe from Ephron the Hittite †, without having recourſe to the city gates.

(92) Gen. xxxiv. 20. Ruth. iv. 1. & ſeqq. (93) 2 Sam. xviii. 33. (94) Pſal. cxxxvii. ver. ult. (95) 1 Kings xxii. 10. 2 Chron. xviii. (96) 2 Kings vii. 1, 31. Joſh. xxiv. 1. See before, p. 183.

the beſt ſepulchre in the whole land, aſſuring him that none of them ſhould with-hold his own from him. But Abraham came to purchaſe, and not to borrow one; and therefore, having returned their civilities, he begged, that he might be permitted to buy the cave of Machphelah (G) from Ephron the Hittite, who was then one of the aſſembly, and did immediately make him a free offer of it [f]. But Abraham ſtill inſiſting upon paying the full worth thereof, before he would make any uſe of it, they agreed for four hundred pieces of ſilver (H), which he payed down in full weight before them, and became poſſeſſor of the cave, field, and trees belonging to it, and ſoon after depoſited the dear remains of his beloved wife in the cave (I). [g]

Abraham buys the cave of Machphelah.

By

[f] Vid. ſup. p. 183.

[g] Gen. xxiii. p. tot.

(G) Machphelah in Hebrew ſignifies double: whence it is ſuppoſed by ſome, that there was a cave within another, or two, or more, contiguous to each other, in one of which Sarah was buried, and Abraham afterwards in the other (97). Others think, that is the name of the field, and that it ſhould be rendered the cave that is in Machphelah. Calmet * tells us of a perſon, whom he doth not name, well verſed in the Arabic, who ſays, that the word Machphelah in that language ſignifies ſhut up, or walled up, it being the cuſtom to wall up theſe tombs to prevent robbers from ſheltering themſelves therein. There are ſtill multitudes of ſuch ſepulchres thus ſhut up, which ſeem to confirm this conjecture, which if it be true, the words ought rather to have been rendered the incloſed cave.

(H) The learned Prideaux, who has given us the laſt and beſt eſtimation of Hebrew and Attic coins, reckons a ſhekel to be equivalent to three ſhillings of our Engliſh money; ſo that the ſum which Abraham paid for his new purchaſe will amount to ſixty pounds ſterling (†).

(I) The art of embalming being known already in thoſe days, it is more than probable, that Abraham embalmed his wife before he buried her. The days of mourning, which he had fulfilled before he went to buy her ſepulchre, being three days for any ordinary relation, but at leaſt ſeven or eight for ſo near a one as a wife, he could never have kept her ſweet till the cave had been purchaſed and fitted for her.

(97) Jun. Munſt. Villet. & al. in loc. * Al. M. diction. ſub voc Machphelah.

(†) Prid. Connect. Pref. p. 22.

Year of the Flood, 1142
Year before Chriſt, 1857

Abraham ſends his ſervant to get a wife for Iſaac

By this time Abraham was well advanced in years, and Iſaac was come to the fortieth year of his age. He thought it therefore high time to marry him to ſome of his own family during his life, which, in all probability, could not laſt much longer. To this end he called one of his chief and moſt faithful ſervants, and having made him take an oath to get his ſon a wife out of his own kindred (K), gave him all neceſſary inſtructions and authority to conclude the marriage, and ſent him away with a train ſuitable to the embaſſy he was ſent upon. That is, with ten camels loaden with the richeſt preſents for the damſel's dowry; it being the cuſtom in thoſe days for the huſband not to receive, but to pay, a dowry for the wife. The ſervant made the beſt of his way to Haran where Nahor dwelt; and being ſet down by a well a little before the damſels of the country came to fetch water, penſive and ſolicitous how to perform his meſſage to his maſter's ſatisfaction, he made a mental prayer to God, that he would give him a token of his having proſpered his journey, which was, that the damſel, of whom he ſhould aſk for ſome water to drink, and ſhe anſwered, that ſhe would water his camels alſo, might be ſhe who was deſigned for Iſaac. He had not waited long, e'er Rebecca's officious courteſy gave him to underſtand, that his prayer was heard; and being informed by her whoſe daughter ſhe was, with ſome other circumſtances relating to her family, he immediately took out ſome gold ear-rings to the weight of two ſhekels, and a bracelet that weighed about ten (L), which

(K) The text tells us, that the ſervant took the oath by putting his hand under his maſter's thigh, or upon his privities. This is the firſt time we read of the ceremony, but it was afterwards uſed by Jacob (98) and Joſeph (99) in Egypt, when they were dying. The oddneſs of it has inclined ſome judicious writers to think, that it implied a more ſolemn myſtery than men are aware of; viz. a ſwearing by the great Meſſiah that was to come, and the like (100). Some Jews think it was a ſwearing by the covenant of circumciſion, and that whoſoever violated the oath, loſt all the privileges and benefits of that covenant. Kimki tells us, that was ſtill obſerved all over the eaſt by thoſe of his nation (101).

(L) In order to know the value of theſe preſents, we ſhould know what proportion gold bore to ſilver in thoſe days, which is impoſſible.

(98) Gen. xlvii. 29. (99) Ibid. I. 25. (100) Rab. Sal. in loc. vid. Alex. in Pentat. in loc. (101) Kimchi apud Munſt.

which he preſented to her, deſiring, that if they had any room at her houſe, he might be permitted to lodge there that night. Rebecca anſwered in the affirmative, and, taking the preſents with her, ran home to acquaint her family with the adventure. Laban had no ſooner heard the news, than he came and invited the ſtranger to his houſe, who gave them a full account of all his maſter's wealth and great proſperity. Whilſt care was taking of him and his camels, he told them the occaſion of his journey; and when he related to them the ſucceſs which his prayer had had, and that he would neither eat nor drink till they had given him a poſitive anſwer, Laban and Bethuel (M) concluded, that the hand of God was viſible throughout all this affair; and that it would be an unpardonable thing to refuſe Rebecca to his maſter. They thought her extremely well diſpoſed of, and conſented, that he ſhould convey her to her huſband as ſoon as he pleaſed. He then immediately began to take out all the jewels of ſilver and gold, and fine raiment which he had brought, and preſented them to her, and made ſome conſiderable preſents beſides to her mother and brother; after which the reſt of the day was ſpent in feaſting and mirth. The next morning Abraham's ſervant, who thought now the time long till his maſter was acquainted with the good ſucceſs of his negotiation, deſired to be diſmiſſed. This requeſt did ſomewhat ſurprize them. They deſired him to ſtay at leaſt ten days longer; but he ſtanding firm to his reſolution, the thing was referred to Rebecca, who conſenting to go with him as ſoon as he pleaſed, they got all things ready for her departure; and after they had wiſhed her all the uſual bleſſings, and given her her nurſe to accompany her,

Rebecca is given to Iſaac.

impoſſible. The author above quoted (102) tells us, that in proceſs of time it came to be as ten, eleven, and twelve to one, according as it changed. But if we compute them according to the preſent value, which is as ſixteen to one, they will be worth 27l. 6s.

(M) This Bethuel could not be her father, who had probably been dead ſome time before, but another brother (103); who therefore is here named after Laban, and is never more taken notice of during the whole tranſaction (104). Joſephus makes the damſel tell the man, that her father had been dead long ago, and that ſhe was left to the care of her brother Laban (105).

(102) Prid. pref. p. 25.
(103) Gen. xxiv. 50 & ſeq.
(104) Vid. Nic. de Lyra.
(105) Ant. l. 1, c. 16.

her, they took their leave. The ſervant ſoon brought her in ſight of his young maſter, who chanced that night to be taking a ſolitary walk in the neighbouring fields, and as ſoon as Rebecca was informed who he was, ſhe alighted, and throwing a veil over her face, as the manner of young damſels then was, ſhe waited to receive his firſt compliments [h]. He then conducted her to his mother's tent, highly pleaſed with her extreme beauty and modeſt carriage, as well as the kindred ſhe came from; all which he looked upon as ample amends for the loſs of his mother. He had now nothing to wiſh for but that ſhe might prove fruitful; but he was forced to wait nineteen years before he could obtain that bleſſing; during which he comforted himſelf and her with the aſſurance of God's promiſes, and the example of Sarah, who remained childleſs till the ninetieth year of her age.

Iſaac takes her home.

ABRAHAM could not but be pleaſed to ſee his ſon in the poſſeſſion of ſo agreeable a wife; but that not proving ſufficient to comfort him for the loſs of his own, and finding himſelf ſtill ſtrong enough to make a new addition to his family, though he was then an hundred and forty-one years old (N), and had continued a widower ſeveral years; he took another wife, named Keturah (O), by whom he had

Abraham being 141 years old marries Keturah, and has ſix ſons by her.

[h] Gen. xxiv. p. tot.

(N) We need not wonder that Abraham or any of the patriarchs ſhould allow themſelves to have concubines, and ſometimes more wives than one, if we conſider, that a numerous poſterity was looked upon as one of the greateſt bleſſings, and as a mark of grandeur and eſteem. Accordingly we meet with ſeveral places of ſcripture, in which men of rank are particularly recorded for having a great number of ſons (107).

(O) The Jews pretend, that this Keturah was the ſame with Hagar, whom Abraham ſent for again after his wife's death, and by whom he had all theſe children. The reaſons they give for it are, 1. Becauſe the Pſalmiſt calls the Midianites, which came of Keturah, Hagarens (108). 2. It is ſaid elſewhere they made war with the Hagarens, with Jethur, Naphiſh, and Nadah (109), which were the ſons of Iſhmael (110). And 3. becauſe Iſhmael, Hagar's ſon, is ſaid to have aſſiſted Iſaac at the funeral obſequies

(107) Judg. viii. 30. Ibid. x. 4. Eſther. ix. 10 (108) Pſal. lxxxiii. 6. (109) 1 Chron. v. 9. (110) Hieron. tradit. Hebr. in Gen. xxv. 20.

had six sons whom he afterwards portioned, that they might not interfere with Isaac's inheritance, and sent them to dwell towards the east (P). These six sons went away eastward of Beersheba and the land of Canaan, and settled in both Arabias, the Petrea and the Deserta, some footsteps of whose names are still to be met with, of which we have in part given an account already [i].

Abraham's death.

Concerning Abraham we have nothing more recorded, except that he lived to the hundred and seventy fifth year of his age, and was gathered unto his fathers, and that his two sons paid him their last devoirs, Isaac having probably sent for his brother Ishmael, and buried him in the cave of Machphelah, near Sarah his wife. By which it is plain, that Moses has here anticipated his death, by mentioning it before

[i] Vid. sup. p. 130.

of their father Abraham (111). To which they add, that Hagar being Abraham's lawful wife, it was juster for him to marry her than another. But these reasons, and her name's being changed from Hagar into Keturah, which signifies incense, and is the emblem of continency, in which she had lived ever since she had been dismissed from Abraham, are rabbinical dreams, for she is still called Hagar in the same chapter (112). Besides, the text is plain against them, it being said, that Abraham added, or proceeded to take, another wife, which is inconsistent with his recalling the old one. Add to this, that Hagar was only a concubine, and is no-where called a wife, as Keturah is. As to the two passages of scripture above quoted, we need only answer, that they prove not the Midianites, or any of Keturah's sons, to be called Hagarens; but that this last name was common to all the posterity of Ishmael, some of which were called Ishmaelites, some Itureans, some Nebeans, &c. (113)

(P) From these words some authors have concluded, that Abraham had married Keturah long before Sarah's death (114), or even immediately after he parted with Hagar; and that the words should be rendered he had married, instead of he married another wife, since Abraham doth not seem to have lived long enough to have disposed of all these sons in his life-time, as the text says he did, if he did not take Keturah till after his son's marriage. In answer to which, besides what has been said in the last note, that such a notion is contrary to the sense of the original, we may observe

(111) Gen xxv. 9. (112) ver. 12. (113) Jun. in loc. Villet. c. 25. Quæst. 3. & al. (114) Vid. Calvin. in loc.

before the birth of his two grandſons Eſau and Jacob, though he muſt have lived to the fifteenth year of their age (Q).

As

obſerve, that Abraham lived at leaſt thirty four years after it; by which time they might be all big enough to go from him. Beſides, Hagar muſt by this time have been about eighty years of age, and ſo too old to bear ſo many ſons.

(Q) Abraham's hiſtory has been embelliſhed with a great many notorious fictions by the Jews, Arabians, and Indians. We have already touched on ſome of them *; and we ſhall now ſubjoin ſome few more that are remarkable, ſuch as his making a long abode in Egypt, and teaching aſtronomy and other ſciences there (115); his inventing the Hebrew characters and tongue (116), the ſame we now uſe. His being the author of ſeveral books, and in particular the famous one mentioned in the Talmud, and highly valued by ſeveral learned rabbies, called Jetzirah, or the creation; of which it gives an account. There is alſo an apocalypſe attributed to him by the Sethians, a ſort of heretics that ſprang up in the earlieſt times of chriſtianity (117). His aſſumption is mentioned by St. Athanaſius, and Origen tells us of an apocryphal book pretended to be written by him, wherein two angels, a good one and a bad one, are introduced diſputing about his ſalvation or damnation (118). The Jews make him alſo the compoſer of ſome prayers, and of the nineteenth Pſalm, and of a treatiſe againſt idolatry (119). The Indian fire-worſhippers, who think him to have been the ſame with their great prophet Zoroaſter, do attribute his books to him, which they call the Zend, Pazend, and Voſtah, containing all the principles of their religion (120). Dr. Prideaux mentions them as one book, or perhaps three books in one volume, which he calls Zendeveſti; or as the vulgar people pronounce it, Zendeveſtow or plain Zund. Which name he tells us ſignifies a fire-kindler, ſuch as a tinder-box is here with us, and was given it by the author to inſinuate, that it would kindle a brighter fire in thoſe who ſhould attentively and devoutly read it †.

The Arabians do likewiſe give us a hiſtory of this patriarch, though ſo altered and blended, that one would hardly think they were deſcended, as they are, from him by Iſhmael.

Abraham,

* See before, p. 396. not. C. (115) Artapan. & Eupolem. ap. Euſeb. de præp. l. 9. c. 17, 18. Juſtin ex Trog. l. 36. Joſeph. Ant. l. 1. c. 8. (116) Id. ibid. Suid. in Abraham. Iſiodor. Hiſpal. l. 1. c. 3. Origen, &c. (117) Epiphan. Hæreſ. l. 39. c. 5. (118) Orig. Homil. 35. in Luc. (119) R. Solom. in Bava Bathrah, c. 1. Gemar. Cod. Talm. Tract. Aboda Zarah, c. 1. (120) D'Herbelot. Bibliot. Orient. p. 16.
† Conn. p. 317.

As for Rebecca, ſhe continued barren above nineteen years; during which time Iſaac ceaſed not intreating the Lord

Abraham, according to them (121), was the ſon of Azar and grandſon of Terah; which account, could it be relied upon, would eaſily reſolve that difficulty about his age when he died, which we have ſpoken off before, note (B) pag. 394. Since Terah might have begot Azar in the ſeventeenth year of his age, and Azar have begot Abraham in the ſixtieth of his; ſo that this laſt number, which is wanting in Moſes's account of his life, would be here found complete; but we dare not affirm any thing about it. Calmet indeed thinks we might eaſily ſuppoſe two Terahs, one ſir-named Azar, Abraham's father, and the other his grandfather; but how he can ſay, that there is nothing in ſuch a ſuppoſition that contradicts the ſacred text, we can't ſo well comprehend. The eaſtern heathen have alſo a long tradition of Abraham's life, though vaſtly different from that of Moſes, and fraught with a great many wonderful additions of their own invention. The reader, however, may be glad to have a ſhort account of it out of the laſt quoted author (122). Nimrod, the ſon of Canaan, did reign in Babylon, which he is thought to have built, and ſaw in a dream a ſtar ariſing, whoſe light did outſhine that of the ſun. The ſouthſayers, whom he conſulted, told him, that a child not yet begotten would be born in Babylon, who would prove very dangerous to him; whereupon, Nimrod forbad, by an expreſs order, all the Babylonians to lie with their wives; but Azar, one of his chief officers, found means to get at his own, and one night got her with child. The magicians came next morning, and acquainted him that his precautions had proved vain, and that the child was got that night, and adviſed him to get all the pregnant women to be well guarded, and their children put to death as ſoon as they were born; but Adnah, Azar's wife, not ſhewing any marks of her pregnancy, went on with it, and was brought to bed of a ſon in a cave or grotto, the entrance of which ſhe had carefully ſtopp'd, and then came and told her huſband, that the child died as ſoon as it came into the world. She failed not, however, to go and ſuckle it as often as ſhe could, and was ſurprized to find him ſtill ſucking two of his fingers, one of which gave him milk, and the other honey. Being thus ſatisfied that providence took care of him, ſhe viſited him more ſeldom; but obſerving, that he grew as faſt in one day as other children do in a month, inſomuch, that at the age of fifteen moons he was as forward as a boy of fifteen years, ſhe acquainted her huſband with the whole ſtory.

Azar

(121) Tarikmounteckee ap. eund. p. 12. (122) Id. Ibid. p. 13. ex lib. Mallem.

Lord for her, who was pleaſed at length to hear his prayers, and ſend him the long deſired bleſſing. They now thought themſelves

Azar went immediately to the cave, and ordered his wife to bring him into the city, where he deſigned to ſettle him in Nimrod's court. Adnah took the boy through ſome meadows where there were abundance of cattle, which made Abraham, who never had ſeen any before, very inquiſitive what they were, and his mother took a great deal of pleaſure in inſtructing him in their names, natures, uſes, and the like; which made him deſirous to know who had made them all; and being anſwered that all creatures owed their being to God, Abraham aſked how himſelf came into the world, and Adnah told him ſhe brought him forth: he then enquired further who was her lord, and ſhe anſwered that it was Azar; and who is Azar's lord, continued he? Nimrod, ſaid his mother. But here ſhe thought fit to ſtop all further enquiry, telling him, it was dangerous for him to be too inquiſitive. By this time they were got to the city, which he ſaw ſwarming with all ſorts of idolaters; he returned to his grotto more deſirous than ever of knowing his creator; and obſerving one night the ſtar of Venus to ſhine brighter than all the reſt, he began to fancy that to be the creator of the world, till he ſaw her ſet, which convinced him of the contrary, ſince he thought God incapable of any change. He made the ſame judgment of the moon; and at length ſeeing great multitudes worſhip the ſun, he was tempted to do the ſame; but having likewiſe obſerved its declination toward the weſt, he concluded that it could not be God.

Azar preſented him to Nimrod, who was ſeated on a lofty throne, and attended by a great number of the moſt beautiful ſlaves of both ſexes. Abraham aſked his father who he was that was thus ſeated above all the reſt, and he told him that it was Nimrod, whom all that croud about him looked upon as their god; but Abraham anſwered that he could not be their god, ſeeing he was not ſo handſome, and conſequently not ſo perfect as they. He afterwards took occaſion to preach to his father the unity of God, which made him ſo many enemies among the courtiers, who would not admit of his doctrine, that Nimrod, being acquainted with it, cauſed him to be thrown into a fiery furnace, out of which he came nevertheleſs ſafe and unhurt.

A famine, that raged ſoon after this, having made him diſtribute all his ſtore to the poor, he ſent to a friend of his in Egypt for a freſh ſupply, but was refuſed, under pretence that he did not want it for himſelf; but to give it away to the poor. The meſſengers, being afraid that the Babylonians would laugh at them, if they came home empty, filled their ſacks with a white ſort of ſand; and being got home to their maſter, acquainted him with their ill ſucceſs. Abraham, without being alarmed at it, went

into

themſelves happy indeed; but Rebecca did not long continue ſo. The ſtruggles of the twins, which ſhe bore, cauſed her

Year of the Flood, 1162.
Year before Chriſt, 1837

into his little oratory to comfort himſelf with his God, and in the mean time Sarah his wife, who knew nothing of this myſtery, ſeeing the camels loaden with full ſacks, went and emptied one of them, which ſhe found full of fine flour, and made ſome bread of it for the poor. Abraham having concluded his prayers came out, and was ſurprized at the ſmell of the new bread, and aſked his wife where ſhe had got the flour, and ſhe told him that it was that which had been brought to him from his friend in Egypt; rather, replied he, from God, our only true friend, who has not forſaken us in time of need. And from that time Abraham was ſtiled the friend of God; a name given him by the prophets (123), and by all the Moſlams, who call Hebron, the place where he lies buried, the city of the friend of God; though they make him vaſtly inferior to their Mohammed; to whom, one of them ſays, Abraham was but an officer, and the Meſſiah maſter of the ceremonies.

They are not agreed about the number of angels who dined in his tent. One of them (124) reckons there were three; viz. Gabriel, Arraphel, and Michael. The firſt of whom was ſent to deſtroy Sodom, the ſecond to foretel the birth of Iſaac, and the third to deliver Lot and his family. The Kôran tells us, that Abraham treated them with a roaſted calf: but obſerving that they did not eat, he was frighted with the thoughts of their being enemies, there being no greater token of enmity in thoſe countries, than to refuſe to eat and drink with the perſon that invites. The angels, however, ſoon eaſed him of that fear, by telling him, that they were ſent from God to Lot's people, which made Sarah who was then preſent, burſt out into a laughter. Thus far Mohammed, who, being perhaps ignorant of the true hiſtory of Abraham, tells it after his ridiculous manner. His interpreters pretend, that the cauſe of her laughing was either her joy to ſee her huſband rid of his fears, or the pleaſure ſhe ſhould have to ſee Sodom in flames, or her admiration to ſee angels in human ſhapes. However, her laughter made the angels tell her, that ſhe ſhould have a ſon named Iſaac, who ſhould be the father of Jacob. To which ſhe anſwered, that it would be a marvellous thing indeed, if, old as ſhe was, and her lord ſtill much older, ſhe ſhould bring forth a ſon; but they having aſſured her, that the divine power would not be wanting, ſeeing the bleſſing was upon Abraham and her, who were choſen to be the heads of a numerous family, they departed towards Sodom, whilſt Abraham pleaded hard with God not

(123) Iſa. xli. 8. Dan. iii. 35.

(124) Damiati. Calm. Diction. ſub voc. Abraham.

her a great deal of pain and uneaſineſs, till having conſulted God about it, ſhe was anſwered, that *two nations were ſtriving*

not to deſtroy the city, if ſo many righteous men were found in it; and ſo on.

The Mohammedans have likewiſe altered the ſtory of Hagar and Iſhmael, in which there is this prayer of Abraham, Lord, I have placed one of my ſons in a barren valley, near thy holy temple. Of which the commentators on the Kôran tell us the occaſion was, that Sarah, who could not endure the ſight of Hagar or her ſon, deſired Abraham to ſend them into ſome dry and barren land: that Abraham, being troubled at her cruel requeſt, was told by the angel Gabriel to do as his wife bid him; whereupon he conveyed both the mother and the child into the territory of Mecca, which was then barren and without water; but that the angel made a fountain to ſpring up from under Iſhmael's feet, which is now the well of Zemzem, ſo famed among the Turks, and that the only one in all that country. At the ſame time, God bleſſed the land, and made it ſo fruitful, that it abounds with each kind of fruit of the four ſeaſons of the year, which grow plentifully there all the year round.

There was then no temple built at Mecca, but only a great edifice called Sorah, reared up by Seth in Adam's life-time, in the form of a temple, which was reſorted to with great devotion. But the deluge having deſtroyed it, it was afterwards rebuilt by Abraham and Iſhmael. The Turks call it Caabah, or the ſquare-houſe, and think themſelves bound to viſit it at leaſt once in their life, and always turn their faces towards it when they pray, in what part of the world ſoever they be. A modern author (125) thinks, that both the Arabs and Iſhmaelites did formerly worſhip Bacchus and Urania, or Venus, in that temple; for Herodotus aſſures us, that they worſhipped none but thoſe two deities, the firſt of whom they called Urotalt, and the latter Alilat (126). Though other authors have ſince told us, that they worſhipped alſo Jupiter, the ſun, moon, and dæmons (127). However that be, it is moſt likely, that the altar and grove which Abraham built at Beerſheba (128), gave the firſt riſe to the fiction of his building this temple.

They tell us moreover (129), that Abraham having prayed to God to let him ſee how he raiſed the dead, was aſked by him whether he wanted faith? no, replied he, but it would be a great ſatisfaction to me. At the ſame time, the devil having taken notice of

(126) Herodot. l. 3. c. 8. ap. Phoc. Ammian. Marcel. & al.
(127) Strabo l. 16. Philoſtorg.
(128) Gen. xxi. 25.
(129) Kôran. c. 2.

striving in her womb, and that two sorts of people should be separated from her bowels, one of which should prove stronger than

of a dead body thrown up by the sea, and half devoured by fishes, birds and wild beasts (130), thought it a proper instrument to ensnare mankind against the belief of a resurrection. He appeared to Abraham, who had been bid to repair to the sea-shore, in the shape of a man, that seemed astonished at something, and asked him, how it could be possible for the parts of that dead carcass, which had been devoured by so many living creatures, to be re-united at the general resurrection. To whom Abraham answered, that he who had created all those limbs out of nothing could more easily gather them from the different places where they lay scattered, than a potter could the broken pieces of a potsherd, and make a new one out of them.

After this God bid him take four birds, and cut them in pieces, and to carry the pieces upon four different mountains; and then give them a call, and he should see them all four fly immediately to him This seems to be taken from the heifers, goats, and pidgeons, which Abraham was bid to hew in pieces, &c. (131). To which the Mohammedans have added several other circumstances, such as that the four birds were a cock, a dove, a raven, and a peacock; that he cut them all in small pieces, and jumbled them altogether, Some add, that he pounded them in a mortar, and divided the whole mass into four parts, which he carried to the tops of four different mountains; after which holding their heads which he had kept unminced, he called them distinctly by their names; whereupon each of them came to fetch his own head, and flew away, Thus it was, that Abraham was convinced of the truth of the resurrection, according to the Mohammedans. And this seems to have some far off relation with what our Saviour says of him (132), that Abraham had desired to see his day, and that he saw it and rejoyced; which the Mohammedans, according to their custom, have applied to the day of the resurrection. The Persian fire-worshippers do to this day express a great veneration for him; they call him Zeerdoost, or Zoroaster, which signifies the friend of fire, because when he was thrown into the furnace by Nimrod's order, the flames, instead of consuming him, caressed and embraced him in a friendly manner. (133).

Calmet (134) mentions a book in the French king's library, N° 792, written originally by St. Ephrem the Syrian, and translated from the Syriac into Arabick, upon Abraham's journey into Egypt; in

(130) D'Herbelot. Bibl. Or. p. 15. (131) Gen. xv. 9. & seqq. (132) John viii. 56. (133) Prid. Connect. p. 1. Book 4. (134) Ex Bibl. Orient. p. 16.

than the other, and that the elder ſhould ſerve the younger.
Accordingly ſhe was ſoon after brought to bed of two ſons, Eſau and Jacob born.

in which book there is alſo a ſermon on his death, preached by St. Athanaſius, patriarch of Alexandria, on the twenty eighth of March, on which day the Coptic, or Egyptian, Chriſtians do celebrate his feſtival. The antient fathers of the church have highly celebrated him on the account of his great faith and obedience, and the martyrologies have given him a place among their other ſaints, on the ninth of October (135.) The church of Rome hath likewiſe ordered an office for him, and addreſs him in particular for thoſe who are at the point of death.

It is reported, that the tomb of Abraham having been diſcovered near Hebron, they found his body, and thoſe of Iſaac and Jacob, whole and uncorrupted. There were likewiſe ſome gold and ſilver lamps hung up in the cave, which was viſited by multitudes (136). The Moſlams have ſuch a veneration for this place, that they make it one of their four pilgrimages, the three others being that of Mecca, Medina, and Jeruſalem; and the Chriſtians built a church over the cave (137), which the Turks did afterwards turn into a moſk (138).

Moſ. Ben. Maimon (139), and after him the learned Spencer, tells us, that Abraham was brought up in the religion of the Zabeans, who are ſuppoſed to have been great aſtronomers, aſtrologers, &c. and by diſcovering the power and influence of the ſtars and heavenly bodies, came at length to worſhip them. Who thoſe Zabeans were, whether a nation, or only a ſect of philoſophers, or whether their name imports any more than their religion, and the like, ſhall be enquired into in its proper place. In the mean time, as to what Maimonides ſays, we ſhall only anſwer with Meyer (140), that it is impoſſible to prove, that the Zabeans were even as old as Moſes; much more that they were older than Abraham; for though it be granted, that there were ſome people called Zabeans before Moſes's time, and that that idolatry had been in vogue long before him; yet this will not prove, that the Zabeans we are ſpeaking of were older than Moſes; and Spencer himſelf owns (141), that it is almoſt impoſſible to diſcover their beginning, which has given riſe to ſo many different opinions about it, and perhaps not one of them right. However, it is

(135) Martyrol. Rom. Adon. Uſuard. &c. (136) Ben. Sholmah ap. D'Herbelot. (137) Serm. Quadrag. Elmid. 1, 2. p. 773. (138) Vid. Calmet. loc. citat. (139) Maimonid. Tractat. More Nevok. part. iii. c 29 & 46. & in Avodah Zarah, c. 11, & 12. (140) Meyer. de Feſt. dieb. Hebr. c. 12. (141) Spenc. de Leg. Hebr. ritual. l. 2. c. 1. §. 2.

the first of which, viz. Esau, was all over hairy, and the second came out holding him by the heel, and was therefore named Jacob (R). Esau became a great lover of hunting, and consequently the darling of Isaac, who was very fond of his venison; but Jacob was the mother's favourite, who knew that he was to inherit the blessings, and could not, perhaps, forbear intrusting him with the secret betimes, though she seems all along to have concealed it from her husband. The two brothers were not above twenty years old, before Jacob gave proof of it. Esau came home one evening from his usual hunting, faint and hungry, and seeing a mess of pottage which his brother had got ready, begged to be refreshed with some of it; which he, it seems, well instructed by his mother, utterly refused, unless he would part with his birth-right to him. And Esau, in his distress, swore away his birth-right to his brother Jacob, as we have said [1].

Esau sells his birth-right.

Year of the Flood, 1194. Year before Christ, 1805

A FAMINE, which happened some years after this, obliged Isaac to seek for another habitation; he thought to have gone down into Egypt, when God appeared unto him, and diverted him from it, bidding him to go to Abimelech king of Gerar, where Abraham had heretofore been so friendly entertained, promising, that he would protect, and multiply him exceedingly. He obeyed; but the fear he was in for his life, on account of his wife's beauty, made him resolve

Isaac goes to Gerar;

[1] See before, p. 145.

is not improbable, that Abraham being born and educated in an idolatrous country and family, might have been addicted to that superstition, till God called him away from the one and the other.

(R) From the Hebrew word עקב, Hekeb, which signifies the heel, is formed the verb עקב, to supplant; and by the addition of the י Jod, one of the formatives of nouns, Jacob a supplanter, which name he in time made good. As for the name Esau, the meaning is somewhat obscure, unless we derive it, as some (142) do, from עשה. Hassah, to make, because Esau came out all hairy, and as it were perfect; whereas other children are born with hair only on their heads. He is also supposed to have been called Sheir, or Sehir, from שער, Shahar, which signifies hair. And lastly Edom, from his selling his primogeniture for a mess of red pottage (143).

(142) Rab. Sal. Mercer. & al. (143) Vid. sup. p. 145.

reſolve to let her paſs for his ſiſter as his father had formerly done. This pretence paſſed current a conſiderable time, till at length the king obſerving from his window ſome familiarities between them, which made him ſuſpect, that ſhe was ſomething more than a bare ſiſter to him. He therefore rebuked them ſharply for the fraud, which Iſaac endeavoured to excuſe the beſt he could, telling him that the fear of his own life was the only motive that had induced him to it [m]. Iſaac was glad to ſee himſelf out of danger, and he went and ſowed the ground that had been aſſigned to him, which yielded him an hundred fold, to the great ſurprize of his neighbours, who could not ſee him ſo proſperous in this, and all other things which he took in hand, without envy. His richneſs and multitude of ſervants made him likewiſe be feared as a dangerous man, who might probably prove one day too mighty for them. But as the ſucceſs of open violence was doubtful, they reſolved to haraſs him another way, by filling up all his wells, without which his vaſt multitude of cattle could not ſubſiſt. They likewiſe endeavoured to alarm the king againſt him, which they accordingly did; and Iſaac found himſelf under a neceſſity of retiring to Gerar; where he dug new wells, and opened thoſe which had formerly been dug by Abraham; in doing of which he met with great and repeated troubles and vexations from the Philiſtines of Gerar, and was forced to remove at a good diſtance from thence [n].

Is envied by the people.

At length he was ſued to by Abimelech in perſon [o], either to revive the old covenant, or to make a new one. Iſaac expoſtulated with them upon the ill uſage he had met with in their land; but nevertheleſs prepared a ſumptuous banquet for them; and on the morrow entered into the covenant they requeſted [p]. On the ſame day word was brought to Iſaac, that his ſervants had found water; upon which account he called the place Beerſheba (S). The tranquillity

A covenant between Abimelech ann Iſaac.

[m] See before p. 233. [n] See before, p. 235. [o] See before, ibid. [p] See before, ibid.

(S) This name is rather revived than given to the place, ſince we have ſeen already on what account Abraham called it ſo (144); though it is not improbable, but the diſcovery of this new well might

(144) Supr. Gen. xxi. 31.

tranquillity which this new alliance had procured him, was soon after disturbed by Esau marrying two wives, Judith the daughter of Beeri, and Bashemath the daughter of Elon, both Hittites [q].

Year of the Flood, 1243. Year before Christ, 1756

HOWEVER, Isaac beheld him still as heir, and was reconciled to him. If he did know any thing of the sale he had made of his birth-right, he only looked upon it as a youthful trick, and the effect of hunger and weariness. Finding himself therefore grow old and feeble, and his eyes quite dim with age, and apprehending his death to be nearer than it really was, he being then an hundred and thirty seven years old, resolved to bless him before he died. He therefore called him to him one day, and bid him get some fresh venison, and dress it to his palate, and told him, he designed to confer the blessing on him that day. Rebecca, who over-heard this discourse, knowing the importance of the paternal blessing, laid hold on the favourable opportunity, to procure it for her favourite son in the absence of Esau. She directed him then to take two choice kids, which she would dress to his father's liking, and send him into his father, therewith to personate Esau. Jacob made several excuses. His skin and his voice he was afraid would betray him, being in both so unlike to his brother; so that if Isaac should detect the fraud, he would more probably curse than bless him. Rebecca, who knew there was no time to lose, took all the curses upon herself, and encouraged him to follow her directions, which he did. Whilst the kids were dressing, she laid their skins on his hands and neck, and then arrayed him in Esau's cloaths, and sent him trembling to his father. When Isaac smelt the meat, he was surprized it was so suddenly got ready, and not knowing what to think of it, he put the question several times to Jacob, whether or no he was in very deed his son Esau? to which he answered in the affirmative, desiring him to arise and taste of his venison, since God, who knew his zeal to obey his father, had brought it into his hands much sooner than he could have expected. But Isaac, still doubtful, desired him to draw nearer, that he might be better satisfied; and when he had felt the hairy skin on his hands and neck, he owned, that

[q] Gen. xxvi. p. tot.

might lead Isaac into a third allusion to the word שבע, Shabah, which signifies not only to swear, and seven, but likewise to satisfy or satiate; whereby he might intimate that he had wells enough, and would rest satisfied with them.

that *the hands were the hands of Eſau, though the voice was the voice of Jacob.* Thus far ſatisfied, or rather impoſed on, he aroſe, and eat heartily of his ſon's pretended veniſon. Rebecca forgot not to ſend ſome wine with it; and after a cup or two, he bid his ſon come near to him, that he might now beſtow the promiſed bleſſing upon him. The ſmell of Jacob's raiments contributed much to Iſaac's chearfulneſs; he ſmelt and praiſed them, and, in a kind of extaſy of pleaſure, embraced and kiſſed his pretended firſt-born; and having wiſhed him all heavenly and earthly bleſſings[r], diſmiſſed him. If the father was pleaſed at his having performed that important ceremony, the ſon was no leſs rejoiced at his ſucceſs, and at his being freed from acting a part, which to an honeſt man muſt have cauſed the greateſt reluctancy, to ſay nothing of the dread he muſt have been under during all that time, leſt Eſau ſhould intervene. But what he did was in obedience to his mother, who aſſured him, that they did only fulfil the divine decrees in all this, and that it had been a direct contravention of them to have acted otherwiſe. Her joy upon this occaſion was great we may be ſure. Jacob gets his brother's bleſſing from him.

WHILST the mother and ſon were congratulating each other, Eſau came to his father with the veniſon he had prepared for him. He invited him in the ſame dutiful manner that his brother had done, and wondered to obſerve ſuch tokens of ſurprize and concern in his father's face. Not to repeat what we have already expatiated on[s]. Eſau found he had been circumvented in his abſence; and a mournful ſcene enſued between the father and the ſon; which was cloſed up by Iſaac, who inſiſted, that his bleſſing ſhould remain with Jacob. *I have bleſſed him*, ſays he, *yea, and he ſhall be bleſſed*[t] (T). Nevertheleſs, to aſſuage Eſau's grief, he

[r] See Gen. xxvii. 28, 29. [s] Vid. ſup. p. 306. [t] Gen. xxvii. 33.

(T) Whoſoever narrowly obſerves Jacob's life, after he had obtained his father's bleſſing, will own, that it conſiſted in nothing leſs than worldly felicity, of which he enjoyed as little as any man whatever. Forced from his home into a far country for fear of his brother; deceived and oppreſſed by his own uncle, and forced to fly from him after a ſervitude of twenty one years; in imminent danger, either of being purſued and brought back by Laban, or murdered by his brother. Theſe fears are no ſooner over, but the

Esau is also blessed.

he blessed him in these words, *thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above* (U). *By thy sword and thy bow shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother; and it shall come to pass, that when thou shalt have the dominion, thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck* (W). This

the baseness of his eldest son in defiling his couch; the treachery and cruelty of the two next to the Sheehemites (145). And lastly, the loss of his beloved wife, and supposed untimely end of his son Joseph; all these overwhelmed him with fresh successions of grief; and to complete all, his being forced by famine to descend into Egypt, and to die there: these, and many more, are sufficient proofs, that his father's blessing was of a quite different nature, and consisted in two particulars only, viz. the possession of the land of Canaan in right of primogeniture, which his brother had sold him, and which rather belonged to his posterity than to himself; and in the next place, the Messiah being born of his race, and not of that of Esau. As to the stratagem by which this blessing was obtained, though it appears somewhat harsh and unjust at first sight; yet if we consider, that these two brothers were designed by providence as types; viz. Esau of the Jews (who were afterwards to be rejected for not accepting the spiritual kingdom of the Messiah, in hopes of that glorious earthly one which they dreamed, and still dream, of, which is in fact preferring a mess of porridge to the noblest birth-right), and Jacob of the Gentiles, who were to be admitted into that kingdom, which the former had rejected; if we consider further, that this alienation from one brother to another had nothing to do with a future state, as the papists, our predestinarians, and others imagine, but was confined wholly to the present; if we consider these things, we shall not want the subtilties of the schools to justify an action which was determined, and conducted, by a divine hand, unless men will affirm, that God could not in justice make such an alienation; an assertion so bold and absurd, that we don't think any man of sense and common modesty would venture to maintain it.

(U) These words have been rendered by some modern authors (146), *thy dwelling shall neither be fruitful nor watered by the dew of heaven.* And it is true indeed, that Idumea, or the land of Edom, was not very fruitful; but they that understand the original will easily see, that they have wrested it quite out of its genuine meaning.

(W) We must not think, that these predictions were to be fulfilled in Jacob's time, or in his person, who never had any dominion either over the Edomites, or any other nation, nor ever possessed the least inheritance, Machphelah excepted; but died in a country where he had not one foot of land. How, and when the

(145) See before, p. 197. (146) Le Clerc, Chatil. in loc.

This bleſſing was inferior to Jacob's in the following particulars. 1. It omits plenty of corn and wine, by which it ſeems to be implied, that Eſau's lot ſhould not be fertile as his brother's, as in fact it was not. 2. Here is no mention of God as there is in the firſt, God *give thee*, &c. 3. There is a ſpiritual bleſſing promiſed to Jacob, that *they ſhould be bleſſed that bleſſed him*, &c. but no ſuch thing is ſaid to his brother. Jacob was for a while in danger of his brother's heavieſt indignation; which Rebecca dreading, found an excuſe to ſend him out of the way, as far off as Padan-Aram, that he might there marry one of his couſins. She ſent him therefore to her brother Laban, alledging, that if he ſhould follow his brother's example, and marry a Hittite, it would make the reſt of her life uncomfortable.

Jacob is ſent to Padan-Aram.

It is very probable, that Iſaac had likewiſe ſome ſuſpicion of Eſau's deſign to murder his brother, elſe it is not likely, that he would have ſent Jacob away alone, and with only his ſtaff in his hand, when his father Abraham had ſent thither a ſervant in ſo noble a manner, unleſs it were done to conceal his flight. However that be, the other reaſon, which the mother alledged, was thought highly reaſonable, and Jacob was privately ſent for, to take his leave of his father, and to receive his commands and his farther bleſſing; which done, he went away for Padan-Aram. In his way thither he was overtaken by the night near Luz, and forced to lie in the open fields with a ſtone for his pillow. Here he ſaw in a dream a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, and angels aſcending and deſcending, whilſt God, who ſtood on the top, was pleaſed to encourage him, by promiſeing, that he would be his protector, and that he would bleſs and multiply him beyond meaſure [u]. Jacob awaking from his dream ſurprized and frighted, cried out, *Surely God was on this place, and I knew it not!* Riſing therefore from his hard bed, he took the ſtone which had ſerved him for a bolſter, and, pouring oil thereon, erected it into a pillar; and in memory of this viſion he called the place

[u] Gen. xxviii. 12. & ſeq.

the Edomites, who multiplied exceedingly, and were a fierce, warlike people, became ſubject to Jacob's poſterity; and when they ſhook off their yoke, we have already related (147).

(147) See before, p. 168, & ſeqq.

place Bethel (the house of God); for it was called Luz before that time. Here he likewise made a vow unto God, that if he would grant him his protection, feed and cloath him, and bring him back safe to his father's house, the Lord should be his God, that he would pay the tythes of all he had unto him, and that the stone which he had reared should be God's house. Having finished his prayer, he went on chearfully the rest of his way, till he came to his journey's end [w].

His uncle Laban received him with joy; and, after a month's stay with him, Jacob falling in love with his youngest daughter Rachel, a beautiful virgin, they agreed, that he should serve him seven years for her, at the end of which she should become his wife. Jacob was so pleased with this motion, that he spared no pains to make his service acceptable to his uncle Laban, who liked him so well for a servant, that he resolved to continue him in the same capacity another seven years. For when the time was come he was to be put in possession of the wife he had so dearly bought, he conveyed his new son-in-law into his eldest daughter Leah's apartment. Jacob did not discover the deceit till the next morning, and when he found, instead of his beloved Rachel, her homely blear-eyed sister, he could not forbear expressing his resentment thereat to her father. Laban had his answer ready, and, in a magisterial tone, told him, that it was an unprecedented thing in that country to marry the youngest daughter before the eldest, and that it would have been a great injustice to Leah to have given him her younger sister; but, continued he, in a milder tone, if you will fulfil the nuptial week with your wife, and consent to serve me another seven years for her sister, I am content to take your word for it, and to give Rachel to you as soon as the seven days are ended. Jacob could not but be troubled at such an unfair procedure; but he loved Rachel too well not to obtain her at any price; he therefore consented to these hard conditions, and at the week's end he enjoyed the fruits of his servitude and constancy.

Serves seven years for Rachel;

Is cheated by Laban.

Marries Rachel.

During this interval, Esau went and married Mahalath, the daughter of his uncle Ishmael, in hopes, that she would be more acceptable than his two other wives, and brought

[w] Ibid. p. 101.

brought her home to her father's houſe (X). He had children by all the three wives [x]: his poſterity became very numerous; an account of which has been given in the hiſtory of the Edomites [y] *.

In the mean time, Jacob behaved himſelf very differently towards his two wives. Rachel had his heart and affection, whilſt Leah was forced to content herſelf with a formal civility; but God made quite another difference between them, by making the latter mother of many children, whilſt her ſiſter continued barren for a long time. Leah was ſoon brought to bed of a ſon, and it being then the cuſtom of thoſe times for mothers to give names to their children, not without ſome particular reaſon or meaning, ſhe called him Reuben, intimating, that God had ſeen her affliction, and had given her a ſon, which would probably engage her huſband to love her. She had Reuben born

[x] Gen. xxxvi. 1, 2. [y] Ibid p. tot. * See before, p. 149 & ſeqq.

(X) It will be proper to obſerve here, that Moſes gives theſe three wives of Eſau quite other names, when he comes to ſpeak of the poſterity he had by them (147); which might lead an unwary reader to think, that he had more than three, eſpecially, becauſe the fathers of the two former are likewiſe called by different names. Thus his firſt wife, Judith of Beeri, is afterwards called Adah, the daughter of Elon the Hittite; the ſecond, viz. Baſhemah, the daughter of Elon, is again called Aboli-Bamah the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite; the laſt called at firſt Mahalath, is now called Bathſhemath; but what ſhews that theſe two latter names mean the ſame perſon, and that the ſame thing may be ſuppoſed of the other two (eſpecially, conſidering that Eſau is recorded to have had but three wives) is, that ſhe is called in both places the daughter of Iſhmael, and ſiſter of Nebajoth. All the account that can be given for this difference is, that they had two names, and that it was uſual to call them ſometimes by one, ſometimes by the other. Thus, the mother of Abijam, king of Judah, who is called in one place Maacah, the daughter of Abiſhalom (148, is in another place called Michaiah, the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah (149). Other parallel places might be brought in great numbers, were it needful.

(147) Compare Gen. xxvi. 34. xxviii. 9. with xxxvi. 2. & ſeqq. (148) 1 Kings xv. 2. (149) 2 Chron. xiii. 2.

Simeon, Levi, and Judah born.

another ſoon after him, whom ſhe called Simeon; becauſe, ſhe ſaid, the Lord had heard her complaint. Her third ſhe called Levi, hoping her huſband would be now joined to her; and the fourth ſhe called Judah, thinking herſelf bound to praiſe God for her fruitfulneſs; after which ſhe left off bearing for a while [z].

Rachel by this time was ſo extremely mortified at her ſiſter's happineſs, that ſhe came one day in a fit of envy, and told her huſband, that, unleſs he gave her children alſo, ſhe ſhould inevitably die of grief. Jacob, who could not forbear being provoked at ſuch a ſpeech, which ſeemed to lay the blame of her ſterility upon him, anſwered her in a paſſion, that it was out of his power to do miracles, that God, who had ſhut up her womb, was alone able to open it; but that her behaviour was rather the way to prevent, than to gain, ſuch a bleſſing. This mortifying anſwer made her bethink herſelf of the uſual way, at that time, for women in her caſe to give their maids to their huſbands; ſhe therefore deſired him to take Bilhah, and to try to make her a mother by her means; to which he conſented, and ſoon after had a ſon by her, which Rachel called Dan, meaning, that God had judged in her favour. She called the other ſon which Bilhah bore Naphtali, to expreſs the violent ſtruggles ſhe had had with her ſiſter: after which Leah, thinking ſhe had quite left off bearing, gave her maid Zilpah alſo to Jacob, whoſe firſt ſon ſhe called Gad (a troop), expecting more to come, and the next ſhe called Aſher, to expreſs the happineſs ſhe now enjoyed.

Dan and Naphtali born.

God and Aſher born.

By this time Reuben was about ſix years of age, and brought home one evening ſome mandrakes (Y), which he had

[z] Gen. xxix. p. tot.

(Y) What theſe mandrakes were, is not eaſy to gueſs; but they could not certainly be what we underſtand by that name. 1. Becauſe they had nothing inviting, either in ſmell, taſte, or colour, to induce a child of his age to gather them; much leſs could he chooſe them for any particular virtue or quality they had. 2. The text ſays, it was then wheat-harveſt which in thoſe hot countries is about May, when the apples of that root are far from being ripe. 3. The mandrake has a very ſtrong ſtupifying ſmell, and is therefore called by the Arabians Jabrokim; whereas the Dudaim, or mandrakes, are commended for

had been gathering in the fields in the time of the wheat-harveſt. Rachel no ſooner ſaw them, but ſhe deſired to have ſome part of them. Leah hereupon anſwered, not over complaiſantly, that it was a little too much for her to take her huſband and her ſon's mandrakes too; wherefore, to pacify and purchaſe the fruit, ſhe agreed, that Jacob ſhould lie with her that night (Z); and Jacob no ſooner

for their fragrancy, in the only place of ſcripture where they are mentioned beſides (150). For this reaſon ſome have fancied them violets (151); others lillies (152); others jaſſimin; others have rendered the word deſirable flowers (153), agreeable to the word Dudaim, which ſignifies, loves in the dual, or, the breaſts of a woman. Others again, and perhaps more probably, have gueſſed them to be citrons (164). That which has induced ſo many interpreters to ſuppoſe them to be mandrakes, is the virtue attributed to them of helping conception (155), which made Rachel willing to try the effects of them; but beſides that they were plentiful enough to have been bought at a cheaper rate, it is plain, that ſhe did not conceive after them. Neither is it probable, that Leah would have parted with them, if they had been known to have had ſuch a virtue, which perhaps was not diſcovered till a long time after; when it became known among the Greeks and Romans by the name of the apple of love, and of the juice of which the emperor Julian tells his friend (156), that he had taken a doſe to excite him to love. A modern author, in his hiſtory of Æthiopia, has confuted the notion of Dudaim, ſignifying mandrakes (157), and affirms, that it ſignifies a certain fruit, which the Syrians call Mauz, not unlike the Banana, or Indian Fig-tree, in ſhape and taſte, and about the bigneſs of a cucumber, thirty or forty of which often hang upon one ſtem: but whatever theſe Dudaim were, whether a fruit or flower, it is certain, they muſt have had ſomething pleaſant and inviting to a child, either in ſmell or taſte.

(Z) The cuſtom of thoſe countries, where polygamy was allowed, was in thoſe days for the huſband to take his wives by turns

(150) Cant. vii. 13. (151) Onkel in loc. (152) Oleaſt. (153) Jun. in loc. (154) Bochart. Brown's Vulg. Err. Calmet. Comm. in Gen. cap. xxx. v. 11. (155) Epiph. ap. Villet. (156) Ludolph. Hiſt. Æthiop. Com. l. 1. cap. 72. (157) Vid. Calm. in Gen. xxx. 16. Dict. ſub voc. Mandrag. Aug. l. 22. cont. Fauſt. cap. 29.

ſooner came home, but Leah challenged him to confirm the bargain, which he accordingly did; the conſequence of which was, that ſhe bore him a fifth ſon, whom ſhe called Iſſachar (the man of reward), alledging, that it was given her as a reward for giving her maid to Jacob. After which ſhe bore her ſixth and laſt ſon, and called him Zabulon (dwelling), in hopes, that ſo many ſons would make her huſband dwell with her. She had likewiſe a daughter whom ſhe called Dinah, which is the feminine of Dan; after which ſhe bore no more. As for Rachel, her prayers at length being heard, ſhe was happily brought to bed of a ſon whom ſhe called Joſeph, in hopes, that God would add another to him. By this time Jacob, having finiſhed his fourteen years ſervitude, and being deſirous to reviſit his old parents, deſired his uncle to diſmiſs him and his family. But Laban, who had found no ſmall advantage in having ſuch a faithful ſervant, begg'd of him to ſtay with him a little longer, promiſing him, upon that condition, to give him what wages he ſhould name. Here Jacob took an opportunity of reminding him how much his ſubſtance was increaſed, ſince it was put under his care; but that it was now high time that he ſhould make ſome proviſion for his own family; but however, that if he would conſent to let him have all the ſpotted and parti-coloured cattle, whether of ſheep or goats, and the black ones among the ſheep, for his hire, he would conſent to ſtay ſix years longer with him. Laban could not but think the conditions ſomething hard, ſince the white ones only were to fall to his ſhare, and had he known what project Jacob had in his head, he would hardly have conſented to them; but as he was willing to keep him at any price, the bargain was ſtruck, and a ſeparation made between the white ones and the reſt, and a ſpace of three days journey put between them to prevent all ſuſpicion; after which Jacob began to execute his new project. He had obſerved the rams leaping the ſheep, at the places where

Iſſachar.

Zabulon and Dinah born.

Year of the Flood, 1254
Year before Chriſt, 1745

Joſeph born.

Jacob's ſtratagem of the ſpeckled ſticks.

turns (*); the kings of Perſia, if we may believe Herodotus (†), were not exempt from that rule. This makes it more probable, that ſhe ſold her turn for that night to her ſiſter, than that ſhe did direct her huſband which of the four he ſhould lie with.

(*) Vid. Villet. Munſt. & al. (†) Herodot. l. 2. cap. 79.

where they came to drink, from whence he conceived, that if he could lay ſome ſpeckled ſticks in the water at that time, it might make the white ones to bring forth ſpeckled lambs alſo, and tried it ſo ſucceſsfully upon the ſtrongeſt of Laban's flock, that it ſoon dwindled away, whereas his own improved viſibly, both in number and ſtrength (A). Laban, vexed at his heart to ſee ſuch a prodigious difference between the two flocks, and perhaps ſuſpecting ſome trick, obliged him to invert the bargain, and for the future to take all the white lambs and kids for his hire, and leave him the reſt; from which time Jacob took care to lay by the ſpeckled ſticks. This change was renewed more than once or twice, as he complains to him afterwards [a]: in ſpight of all which, Jacob grew exceeding rich, and with the money which he got by his fleeces, &c. bought men and women ſervants, camels, oxen, and aſſes; which raiſed ſuch envy in Laban and his ſons againſt him, that they began to look upon him with an evil eye; and this made him contrive the means of getting off with all he had [b]. He acquainted his wives with it, and finding them of the ſame mind, he ſat them and their little ones upon camels, and having got all his ſervants and ſubſtance together, began his journey towards the land of Canaan, whilſt his father-in-law, who was at a pretty diſtance from him, was buſy in ſheering his ſheep; which gave Rachel an opportunity of ſtealing her father's gods (BB). Laban, who did

Jacob ſteals away from Laban. Year of the Flood, 1260 Year before Chriſt, 1739

[a] Gen. xxxi. 41. [b] Gen. xxx. p. tot.

(A) Our antient commentators fancied that Jacob made uſe of his ſpeckled ſticks in the ſpring of the year, when lambs had the whole ſummer to grow fat and ſtrong; but that he ſet them aſide in autumn, when he knew the coldneſs of the winter would ſpoil their thriving: But, as the text ſpeaks neither of ſpring or fall, our moderns have thought it more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he laid the ſticks only before the young and luſty ſheep and goats, and the old and weak he left to take their chance; by which the beſt lambs came to his ſhare, and the worſt to Laban's (158).

(BB) The word which we tranſlate gods, in the Hebrew is תְּרָפִים Teraphim, which all the Jewiſh Rabbies own to be a word of no Hebrew

(158) Bochart. de animal. ſacr. Calm Comm. in Gen. c. xxx. 41.

did not hear of his flight till the third day after, was full ſeven

Hebrew etymology. The LXX tranſlate it ſometimes an oracle, and ſometimes vain idols, and Aquila idols. Some think it to be an Egyptian word, and the ſame with Serapis; that Ham and his ſon Mizraim were the inventors of idolatry, and that the latter, who was the founder of Egypt, filled that country with idols; inſomuch, that there was neither town nor village, houſe or road, where they were not to be ſeen (159). As to their figure, uſe, the manner of making them, &c. they are all equally uncertain. As to their ſhape, the moſt received and probable opinion is, that it was human, or ſomething reſembling a human form, as a buſto term, &c. though the Jews pretend, that it was the head of a firſt-born ſon plucked off from the neck, and embalmed; under the tongue of which was faſtened a golden plate, with the name of ſome falſe deity engraved upon it; which head, being placed in a nich, or upon a ſhelf, did give vocal anſwers (160): but theſe are rather to be looked upon as fables not worth confuting; and the figure which Michal put in David's bed (161), which the original calls by the name of Teraphim, ſhews, that it muſt have had an human ſhape. Joſephus indeed, who might think it a reflection on David, that there ſhould be found an image, or Teraphim, in his houſe, has attributed a more ſuitable ſtratagem to Michal, though leſs credible (162); he tells us that ſhe hid the liver of a kid freſh killed under the bed cloaths, that the panting of it might be taken for the panting of her huſband in a fever; but without enquiring whether, or how long, a kid's liver would continue panting, ſo as to be ſeen under the bed cloaths; it is ſcarce credible, that the meſſengers would give her time to do all this; or if ſhe had notice of their coming, that ſhe could time it ſo well, that the liver ſhould be ſtill panting hot when they came up. However, we ſhall meet with ſo many inſtances in the ſequel of this hiſtory, wherein this author doth depart from the ſcriptures, and from truth, whenever the honour of his nation is concerned, that his authority will be of little weight in all ſuch caſes.

Theſe Teraphims were afterwards univerſally known by the name of taliſmen, as they are to this day all over India. The Perſians called them Telephim, a name not unlike Teraphim. They were made of different metals and ſizes, caſt under certain conſtellations with the figures of ſome planets, and magic characters engraven upon them. What metal thoſe of Laban were, or

(159) Kircher. Oedip. Ægypt. Sint. 4. c. 3. Cunæus Rep. Hebr. (160) Jonat. Targ. in Gen. xxxi. R. Tanhuma Eleaz. & al. (161) 1 Sam. xix. 14. (162) Ant. lib. 6. c. 14.

ſeven days before he could overtake him; by which time Jacob was already got over the river Euphrates (C), and was got up the mountains of Gilead, where he had pitched his tent for that night. The day being too far ſpent for Laban, or how big, or how many, is not eaſy to gueſs; only this the text tells us, that ſhe hid them in the ſtraw, and ſat upon them. As for their uſe, it was chiefly to give anſwers, to foretel what was to come, to diſcover what was hid or loſt, and the like. Beſides this, they were likewiſe addreſſed to for temporal bleſſings, and to avert evils. They were to be conſulted and prayed to, at certain times, under particular aſpects of the planets, from which, according to the Jews, they partly received that power, and partly from the characters engraven on them (163). Another Rabbi goes further, and pretends, that they gave their anſwers viva voce (164), and proves it from the words of the prophet, *The Teraphims have ſpoken vain things* (165). However, we muſt not ſuppoſe, that all the Teraphims were of the ſame make, or for the ſame uſes, even among the Jews. We ſhall have occaſion to mention ſome of other ſorts, when we come to ſpeak of that of Michah (166): beſides as they came to be more univerſal, every one had them made after his own fancy; though the generality of them had at leaſt a human head.

The laſt thing worth enquiring into is, what induced Rachel to ſteal her father's gods. Concerning which we can affirm nothing certain; ſome think, that ſhe did it to repay herſelf for the damage which they had ſuſtained by her father (167); others, that ſhe thought by that means to prevent Laban's enquiring of them which way Jacob went (168); others, that ſhe would thereby cure her father of his idolatry, againſt which Jacob had read his wives many a lecture (169). Laſtly, Others think, that both ſhe and her ſiſter were ſtill addicted to that ſuperſtition, and their deſigning to continue in it, made her to conceal the theft from her huſband (170); but that Jacob, making a thorough reformation in his houſe, cauſed them to be taken from her, and buried under a tree in Sichem (171).

(C) Though the text doth not ſay what river he paſſed, yet it is plain, it could be no other than the Euphrates, which the ſcripture ſometimes calls the river Perah, ſometimes the great river, and ſometimes emphatically, the river (127); either, becauſe that and the Nile were the only two conſiderable ones they knew; or, be-

(163) D. Kimchi ſub voc. Teraph. (164) R. Eleaz. cap. 36. (165) Zachar. x. 2. (166) Jude xvii. 1, & ſeqq. (167) Perrer, Johnſon, & al. (168) Abenezrah in loc. (169) Theodoret Quæſt. 9. Rab. Sal. Greg. Nazianz. Orat. de S. Paſch. & al. (170) Cyril in Gen. xxxi. Chryſoſt. Cajet. Muſc. Calv. & al. (171) Gen. xxxv. 4. (172) Vid. Joſh. i. 4. xxiv. 3. & alib.

Laban, and thoſe relations he had brought with him, to do any thing, they encamped near him, and waited for the morning. It is evident, that he had ſome ill deſign againſt his ſon-in-law; but God, who appeared to him that night in a dream, was pleaſed to avert it, by threatening him ſeverely, if he committed any hoſtility or violence againſt him. Laban's courage being thus cooled, their meeting on the next morning proved more calm than he intended it.

Laban overtakes him: He contented himſelf with expoſtulating with him, that he had ſtolen away without giving him an opportunity of kiſſing his children and grand-children, and ſending them away with the uſual ceremonies of muſic and dances. Jacob, on the other hand, was not without his complaints; the cheat he had put upon him in making him ſerve ſo long for a woman he did not care for; the changing his ſallary ſo many times, and his late ſtrange behaviour towards him and his family: all theſe and many more, he anſwered him, were but ill requitals for all his diligence and care, or for the bleſſings which God had heaped upon him for his ſake. Laban had yet another thing to lay to his charge, namely, the ſtealing of his gods; and Jacob, ignorant of Rachel's theft, deſired him to make the moſt diligent ſearch for them throughout his family, promiſing, that the perſon on whom they were found ſhould be immediately put to death. Laban loſt no time, but went and ſearched every tent, and laſt of all came to that of Rachel, who had hid the teraphims under the camels litter, and had ſet herſelf down upon them. She kept her ſitting whilſt he was curiouſly examining every corner of her tent, and excuſed it, with telling him, that the condition ſhe was then in, allowed her ſex to diſpenſe with the uſual ceremonies. This prevented all further ſcrutiny, and Laban, who could not think, that ſhe would come near ſuch ſacred ſtuff in that condition, went away with a heavy heart, and acquainted his ſon-in-law with his ill ſucceſs. This cauſed ſome freſh expoſtulations, which being ended, they fell upon a more agreeable ſubject, which was to make an alliance between them, and to erect a monument, as a ſtanding witneſs of it to future ages. They all put a helping hand, and reared the pile, which Laban called in the Syrian tongue Jegar-Sahadutha, and Jacob in Hebrew Galeed;

Searches for his Gods.

becauſe it was one of the four rivers of Paradiſe; orlaſtly, becauſe it was the boundary of the promiſed land †.

† Vid. Gen. xv. 8.

leed ; both which ſignify the heap of witneſs †. Here they likewiſe ſwore, that neither would paſs over that monument to hurt the other, and Jacob, that he would uſe his wives and children with all becoming tenderneſs and affection. The ceremony being ended, and a ſacrifice offered upon the occaſion, he feaſted the whole company the reſt of that day ; and the next morning Laban, having embraced and bleſſed the whole family, returned home to Padan-Aram [c].

Makes a covenant with Jacob. They rear a monument in memory of it.

Laban returns home.

JACOB, who thought his abſence a greater ſecurity than the oaths he had ſworn, was glad to have ſo well eſcaped ; but one fear ſucceeded another, and the reſentment of his brother Eſau began now to give him a freſh trouble ; but a viſion which he had of an hoſt of angels, who met him in his way to Canaan, did diſſipate his anxiety for a while, and in memory of this viſion he called the place Mahanaim (two camps). But being ſtill fearful of his brother ‡, he reſolved to ſoften him with a ſubmiſſive meſſage, or at leaſt, to feel how his pulſe beat toward him. He ſent therefore ſome of his ſervants before, to acquaint him with the ſucceſs he had during his ſtay in Meſopotamia, the riches and multitude of wives, children, ſervants, and cattle, which he had acquired, and that he did not think fit to proceed further homewards, till he had ſent him his beſt compliments. The meſſengers returned with the news, that Eſau was coming to meet him, accompanied with four hundred of his men. This was enough to complete Jacob's dread : he then began to think himſelf a dead man ; but, having recovered himſelf a little, he ſet himſelf about giving orders to his family. He divided them into two bands, in hopes, that if the one periſhed, the other might eſcape ; which done, he addreſſed himſelf to God in a very humble prayer, acknowledging his great mercies to him, and his own unworthineſs of them, and begged his future protection againſt his brother's ſword, and that he would fulfil all his former promiſes to him. After this he reſolved to try how far preſents would work upon Eſau's temper, and having ſet apart two hundred ſhe-goats and twenty he-goats, two hundred ewes and twenty rams, thirty ſhe-camels, with their colts, forty cows, and ten bulls, twenty ſhe-aſſes and ten colts, he ſent them before him in ſeparate bands, and charged their drivers, when they met his brother, to tell him, that they were preſents ſent by Jacob to his lord Eſau, in order to entreat his favour and good will. On the next

Jacob's viſion.

He calls the place Mahanaim.

He ſends ſome preſents to Eſau.

† Vid. ſup. p. 298. [c] Gen. xxxi. p. tot. ‡ Vid. ſup. p. 149.

next morning he made all his family and flocks go over the brook Jabbok, long before break of day, whilſt himſelf tarried at Mahanaim; where there appeared a man who wreſtled with him till the morning, and not being able to prevail with him, he touched the hollow of his thigh, and put it out of joint, then deſired him to let him go ſince day appeared. Jacob was reſolved to have his bleſſing firſt; upon which he changed his name from Jacob to Iſrael, which ſignifies a man that has prevailed with God. But when he was deſired to tell his own name, he refuſed it, and left him (D). Jacob therefore called the place Peniel, or

Jacob is named Iſrael at Peniel.

(D) Moſt verſions, as well as ours, render the words of the angel to Jacob in the latter part of the 28th verſe, as if Jacob had prevailed over men as well as over him; whereas he had been ſo far from prevailing over the only two enemies he had, viz. Eſau and Laban, that he had been forced to flee from them both. This makes it therefore neceſſary to have recourſe to a better verſion of theſe words, if the original can bear us out in it: which it will do without the leaſt violence; or rather, by following the moſt ſtrict and literal ſenſe of it, which runs thus. Thou haſt acted, or behaved, prince-like (in thy wreſtling) with God, and thou ſhalt alſo prevail over men. And indeed, what could be more comfortable to Jacob in the ſtrait he was in, about meeting his brother Eſau, than ſuch a promiſe? or what can more naturally account for this viſion, than to ſuppoſe, that it happened unto him in order to diſpel his fears? Not that we need to confine the meaning of the wreſtling, or the ſenſe of the angel's words, to the preſent dread and difficulties, which that patriarch laboured under; for his numerous poſterity was to be no leſs ſubject to the hatred and perſecutions of other nations: nothing therefore could be more proper to ſtrengthen his and his childrens faith and reliance in God, than this prophetic viſion and promiſe, that as he had now wreſtled with God and prevailed, ſo he ſhould likewiſe in the numberleſs difficulties, which both he and they ſhould meet with from their enemies. This verſion is likewiſe more agreeable to the Chaldee paraphraſe, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate, which render it thus, If thou haſt been thus far able to prevail with God, how much more wilt thou be able to prevail over men!

This myſterious wreſtling has indeed induced ſome of the antient fathers to think, it was to be underſtood in a ſpiritual, and not actual ſenſe (173): which they conclude from the words of the

(173) Hieron. qu. Hebr. Orig. & al.

or the face of God, and when he came to march, he found that he halted upon his thigh; upon which account his poſterity never eat of that joint [d]. And Joſephus tells us, that neither Jacob, nor any of his poſterity ever ſince, did eat

[d] Gen. xxxii.

the Apoſtle (174), *we wreſtle not againſt fleſh and blood*; and ſome Jews do think, that it was done in a dream (175); and that his halting was either occaſioned by wearineſs, the cold of the night, or the poſture he ſlept in. But beſides that the fear of his brother gave him but little inclination to ſleep; the circumſtances of the ſtory, the impoſition of a new name, and above all the teſtimony of the prophet Hoſea (176), who ſays, *he had power over the angel, and prevailed, that he wept and prayed unto him*, ſeem to make it more than a dream, if it was not a real and corporeal wreſtling. As to the perſon who wreſtled with Jacob, ſome have believed it to have been an angel only, becauſe Hoſea calls him by that name in the place above quoted; whereas when it is God or Chriſt, that appears like one, he is diſtinguiſhed by the angel of the covenant, or ſome other word (177). But what follows in the very next verſe of the prophet plainly confutes that notion, *he found him in Bethel, even the Lord God of Hoſts*. That it was God who met him in Bethel, is plain, by his ſaying, *I am the God of Bethel*, (178). The general opinion therefore of antient and modern authors is, that it was Chriſt who wreſtled with Jacob here. 1. Becauſe he bleſſed him; and 2. Becauſe Jacob ſays, *I have ſeen God face to face*, &c. and called the place Peniel (179). As for what is ſaid, that he could not prevail, it might be an expreſſion ad captum; as when he ſays to Moſes, *let me alone, that I may*, &c. (180). This Peniel became afterwards a city of ſome note; for we find that Gideon pulled down one of its towers, becauſe they had denied him bread (181); but it was afterwards rebuilt by Jeroboam (182). Joſephus ſays, that he likewiſe built a palace there; it ſtood by the river Jordan, and belonged to the tribe of Gad (183). Strabo mentions a city adjoining to Tripolis, which was called the face of God, at one end of mount Libanus (184).

(174) Epheſ. vi. 12. (175) R. Levi l. 1. & al. (176) Hoſ. xii. 4. (177) Perrer. in loc. & al. (178) Gen. xxxi. 13. (179) Tertul. lib. 2. cont. Marcion. Hilar. de Trin. l. 4. Ambr. de fid. l. 6. Chryſoſt. in cap. 7. Actor. & al. Calv. Merc. Jun. & al. mult (180) Exod. xxxii. 10. (181) Judges viii 17. (182) 1 Kings xii. 25. (183) Joſ. Ant. l. 8. c. 3. (184) Strabo l. 16.

eat that part of any creature[e]; and though the text mentions only the ſinew that ſhrank; yet ſo ſcrupulous have ſome of the Jews been even to this day, that, for want of knowing which it was, they abſtain from the whole hind-quarter; though others, leſs nice, abſtain only from the thigh; and ſome again will eat even that, and content themſelves with plucking the ſinew out of it[f]. Some think, that Jacob's lameneſs was ſoon over; others, that he halted all his life. However that be, this new viſion gave him ſuch freſh courage for the preſent, that he marched on chearfully till he had overtaken his family.

Meets with his brother Eſau.

It was not long before he met his brother afar off, comeing towards him with his large retinue, at which he could not forbear betraying ſome freſh tokens of diſtruſt. To prepare therefore for the worſt, he divided his family into three bands; the two maids and their ſons went firſt, Leah and her children next, and Rachel and Joſeph, who was then about ſix years of age, followed in the rear, as fartheſt from danger. As ſoon as he ſaw his brother, he bowed himſelf ſeven times down to the ground before him, who, being moved with his ſubmiſſive behaviour, ran to him, embraced and kiſſed him, and wept over him (E). And ſeeing his wives and children, who, not to be wanting in their reſpect to him, did proſtrate themſelves before him, one after another,

[e] Ant. l. 1. c. 20. [f] Calm. Hiſt. O. T. in loc.

(E) The Mazorites and Cabaliſts obſerve, that there is a large point over the word וישקהו Vaiſhakehu and he kiſſed him, which implies, that he did not deſign to kiſs his brother, but to bite him; for the word ſignifies alſo to bite; but that Jacob's neck was immediately turned into marble. Wherefore the text ſays, they both wept, he for the odd change in his neck, and Eſau becauſe he had almoſt broke his teeth againſt it, and that this prevented his wicked deſign againſt his brother (185). But it is more than probable, that Iſaac and Rebecca had taken much pains to convince him, during his brother's abſence, that what Jacob and ſhe had done, was by order of God himſelf, who had decreed the inverſion of the ſucceſſion before they were born; that it would therefore be not only in vain, but even an unpardonable crime for him to oppoſe himſelf againſt the decrees of providence; and that, inſtead of recovering his brother bleſſing, he would bring a terrible curſe upon his own head: by which and other ſuch like arguments, they had wholly perſuaded him to acquieſce in the divine will, and to ſet aſide all animoſity againſt Jacob.

(185) Bereſhith Rabbah in loc. Mazor. in loc.

other, in the ſame order which Jacob had diſpoſed them; and being informed who they were, returned their civilities with the ſame tenderneſs that he had his brother's. He now began to chide him in a civil manner, for ſending him ſuch great preſents, and to deſire him to take them back, alledging, that it was ſuperflous to him, who had enough of every thing; but Jacob begged ſo earneſtly that he would accept of them, that he at length prevailed. Eſau offered afterwards to accompany him to the end of his journey, or at leaſt to leave a ſufficient number of his men to guard him; but he begged to be excuſed from conſenting to either, ſeeing he was forced to go gently on, by reaſon of his little ones, and the cattle that were with young: upon which his brother took his leave and went away for mount Seir *; and Jacob, ſeeing himſelf rid of all his fears, ſtopp'd at a convenient place, to which he gave the name of Succoth, or Booths, by reaſon of the booths and folds he made there for his camels and cattle; he likewiſe built himſelf a houſe there. This Succoth became afterwards a city of ſome ſtrength, and Gideon did ſeverely puniſh ſome of its chief inhabitants, for their ſaucy anſwer to him, when he was in purſuit of the Midianites [g]. It was ſituate between the brook Jabboc and the river Jordan. From Succoth he went to Salem (F), a place

Jacob ſtopp'd ſome time at Succoth.

* Vid. ſup. p. 149.

[g] Gen. xxxiii. p. tot. Judg. viii. 13. & ſeqq.

(F) We have here followed the Engliſh verſion, though the original, we think, might be more properly rendered, he arrived ſafe and ſound, or peaceably, at the city of Shechem: for the word Salem, or rather Shalem, bears that ſignification; and there are no remains of any place near Shechem, that is called by the name of Salem. For this reaſon ſome have thought it to be that Salem of which Melchizedeck was king (186), the ruins of whoſe palace were ſtill to be ſeen in St. Jerom's time; which ſhewed it, he ſays, to have been a magnificent building, and which, he thinks, is the ſame with Salem here ſpoken of (187). But it is not likely, that the former was ſo near Shechem, any more than the Salem where John the Baptiſt did frequent (188), which was near Jordan; whereas Shechem was at a diſtance from it. Beſides, Joſephus tells us, that the old Salem was the ſame as Jeruſalem (189). And the Pſalmiſt ſeems to intimate the ſame when he

(186) Gen. xiv. 18. (187) Hieron. quæſt. Hebr. (188) John iv. 5. (189) Ant. l. 1. c. 11.

place near the city of Shechem, in the land of Canaan, where he bought a piece of land from Hmor, the father of Shechem for an hundred pieces of money, and pitched his tents there (G), and built an altar to the Lord, which he called El Elohe Israel, or the mighty God of Israel [h]. This was in all likelihood the same place where Abraham had heretofore built one, soon after his first coming into the land of Canaan [i]. And here also was probably Jacob's well near mount Gerizim, where Christ talked with the woman of

Buys a piece of ground near Shechem.

[h] Judg. viii. 13. & seqq. [i] Gen. xii. 7. Annal. Usser. p. 9. Calm. Hist. O. T. 205. Villet. & al.

he says *at Salem was his tabernacle, and his dwelling in Sion* (190); but the Salem near Shechem was near thirty miles from Jerusalem. Others have sought for Salem in Shiloh, which is about half way between Jerusalem and Shechem, and have thought that they were the same (191). But, besides, that Shiloh is not near Shechem, it is plain from Judges (192), that they were two distinct places: wherefore, upon the whole we think, that Salem should here be rendered safe, or in peace; namely from the dread and dangers he had been in of his brother Esau, and not because he was cured of his lameness, as the Jews imagine.

(G) The word Keshitah קשיטה which is here rendered a piece of money, signifies also a lamb; from whence Onkelos (193), the Septuagint, Vulgate, Oleaster, and others, have translated it an hundred lambs, as they have also that place in Job, where every one of his friends gave him a Keshitah; but it is more likely that they gave him a piece of money than a lamb; for that would be of greater service to him in the condition he was in. All the Jewish interpreters, except Onkelos above-named, render it by the word מעה (164), which signifies a piece of money of about the value of a penny, and tells us that the Arabians called money Keshitah (195). It is more probable therefore, that it was a small coin that had a lamb stamped upon it, and was called by that name, as we do call an angel from the stamp it bears of one. As for those who think that this price was hardly sufficient to purchase such a piece of ground, it not amounting to above ten or twelve shillings (196), they should consider, that if a lamb in those days was worth no more than five farthings or three half pence, which is probable enough, money then bearing a higher value, an hundred lambs would be but equivalent to an hundred such pieces of money.

(190) Psal. lxxxvi. 2. (191) Vid. Villet. c. 33. (192) Judg xxi. 19. (193) Targ. Onkel. in loc. 194 Vid. Munst. in loc. (195) Ap. Villet. (196 Le Scene's Essay on a new translation, p. 166.

of Samaria [k]; for that mountain ſtood in the country of the Shechemites [l].

HERE Jacob might have lived long enough peaceably and agreeably, being beloved and reſpected by all that people, had not Dinah's curioſity of viſiting the women of the city, ſome ſay, to ſee one of their feaſts [m], proved the cauſe of much miſchief, and obliged her father to withdraw from that place nearer to Mamre, where his father ſtill lived †. Shechem, the ſon of Hamor the Hivite, who was prince of that country, ſaw her, became in love with her, raviſhed her, and ſent her home to her father, with the greateſt aſſurances of marriage, if Jacob's conſent could be as eaſily obtained as that of his father Hamor. Dinah told her miſhap to her father, who was forced to bear it patiently for the preſent; becauſe his ſons were all out in the field. But as ſoon as they were come home, and made acquainted with it, their reſentment grew to ſuch a height, that they reſolved ſeverely to revenge the diſhonour done to their family. In the mean time, Shechem having prevailed upon his father to obtain him the damſel, Hamor went with him to make the propoſal of it to her father, and promiſed to give her as large a dowry as ſhe ſhould deſire; adding, that if his family were to intermarry with the Shechemites, it might prove the moſt effectual means for both to live in perfect peace and friendſhip. But the treacherous ſons of Jacob, who meditated nothing but the moſt bloody revenge, replied, that it was not lawful for them to contract any affinity with any uncircumciſed nation; but that, if he and his people would conſent to be circumciſed, as they were, they would agree to his propoſal. The ſequel ſhews, that they deſigned nothing leſs. For the prince, having acquainted his people with the whole matter, did eaſily perſuade them to accept the conditions, ſince it would give them a power over all their ſubſtance and riches. Shechem was no doubt very preſſing to have the ceremony of circumciſion performed out of hand, that he might the ſooner enjoy his deſires, and, in complaiſance to him, the whole city agreed to go about it that very day. Three days after this, when their wounds had rendered them incapable to ſtand in their own defence, Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brothers, entered the city, and put

Shechem's amour with Dinah.

Year of the Flood, 1267. Year before Chriſt, 1732.

Hamor demands her in marriage for his ſon.

Jacob's ſons treachery.

They enter the city, and deſtroy all the males, &c.

[k] John iv. 6. & ſeqq. [l] Judg. ix. 7. [m] Joſ. Ant. l. 1. c. 21. † Vid. ſup. p. 197.

put all the males to the sword, and brought their sister back. After this they went and plundered the place, took all the women captives, and carried away all the cattle they found in the neighbourhood. When Jacob came to hear of this barbarous exploit, he was extreamly displeased at it. He reproved them for it, told them the dangerous consequences, that must inevitably attend such a treacherous action, which he thought must end in the destruction of himself and family. And indeed we need not doubt, but the rest of the inhabitants of that country might, and would, easily have made his words good, had not God interposed, and sent a pannick fear amongst them, insomuch, that they did even let them depart quietly, and carry off all the plunder they had got from the slaughtered Shechemites. However, all the answer Jacob's sons made to him was, why did he use our sister like a harlot [n] ?

Jacob is bid to go and dwell at Bethel.

However, God was soon pleased to dissipate his fears once more, by speaking to him in a dream, and bidding him go to Bethel, where he had formerly appeared to him, when he fled from his brother, and to dwell there, and build an altar unto him. Jacob therefore unwilling to prophane that holy place, by carrying with him any thing that might be displeasing to God, ordered his family to bring all the idols they had taken from the Shechemites, or brought from Padan-Aram, if his wife's were not among them, to purify themselves even to the very changing of their garments, and to bury all their superstitious lumber in a deep hole, which he caused to be made under an oak near to Shechem. His commands were forthwith obeyed, and they parted even with their very ear-rings, which they used to wear as talismans, or charms, against sickness and other misfortunes [o]. After which Jacob and his whole family set out with all they had, and arrived safely at Luz, afterwards called Bethel : none of the neighbouring inhabitants daring to pursue after them. As soon as he came there, he built an altar to God, and called it El Bethel, or the God of Bethel : soon after which Deborah, his mother's nurse (H), died, and was buried under an oak at the foot of the

Their idols buried.

Deborah dies.

[n] Gen. xxxiv. p. tot.

[o] See Calmet. Comm. in Gen. xxxv. 4.

(H) It is not easy to guess, how so very old a woman as Rebecca's nurse must then be, should be found in his retinue, unless we

the hill of Bethel, and the place was called Allon Bachuth, or the oak of mourning. He made but a ſhort ſtay at Bethel, being deſirous to go to viſit his father, whom, for ought we find, he had not ſeen ſince he went to Meſopotamia: but as he was marching towards Ephrath, Rachel fell in labour at a ſmall diſtance from the place, and perceiving that it would coſt her her life, called the child Ben-oni, or the ſon of my affliction; but after ſhe was dead Jacob changed that name, too likely perhaps to revive his grief for her loſs, into that of Benjamin, or the ſon of my right-hand. Rachel was buried in the way to Ephrath, and a ſtone monument was reared over the grave, which was ſtill to be ſeen in Moſes's time. This was not the only misfortune Jacob met with in this place: for his ſon Reuben, having taken a liking to Bilhah, his father's concubine and Rachel's maid, did not ſcruple to lie with her: which, when his father heard, made ſo deep an impreſſion in his heart, that he grieved at it to his dying day [p]. Soon after this Jacob left that melancholy place, and came at length to Mamre, to his old father Iſaac, with whom he continued almoſt the ſpace of thirteen years, ſome ſay nineteen, that is, till the good old man departed this life, which he did in a very advanced age, being an hundred and eighty years old, having been almoſt blind and decrepid a conſiderable number of years

Rachel brought to bed of Benjamin.

Dies, and is buried at Ephrath.

Reuben's inceſt.

Iſaac dies, and is buried by his two ſons.

[p] Gen. xlix. 4.

we ſuppoſe, that ſhe was ſent by Iſaac to enquire after Jacob's welfare. Calvin and others indeed think, that ſhe went with him into Meſopotamia, having a deſire to ſee her own country again, and that when ſhe heard, that he was gone for the land of Canaan, her deſire to ſee Rebecca made her follow him thither; but it is unlikely, that a woman at her years ſhould take ſuch rambles: For if we ſuppoſe her to have been forty years old when ſhe was taken in to be Rebecca's nurſe (and leſs than that ſhe could hardly be, ſeeing ſhe was not taken to ſuckle her, but to bring her up as a governante), ſhe muſt have been near an hundred and ſeventy years old when ſhe died. The Hebrws tell us, that Rebecca having promiſed her ſon, when he was going from her, that ſhe would ſend for him again, as ſoon as ſhe found that he was out of danger, did now ſend Deborah to fetch him back; but, beſides that a younger meſſenger would have been more proper; it is certain Jacob was not ſent for, but called by God, and drove by Laban's cruel uſage out of that country.

years (I). His two ſons buried him in the cave of Machphlah, with Abraham and Sarah; after which Eſau returned home, and Jacob continued at Mamre [q].

However, the happineſs which Jacob had enjoyed, dureing his ſtay with his father, had not been without ſome allay. Joſeph was about ſeventeen years of age, and was become his darling, in regard of his excellencies of body and mind; beſides, his father had obſerved ſomething extraordinary and promiſing in him, beyond what he could ſee in his other ſons, which made him ſo exceſſively fond of him (K), that it procured him the envy of all his brothers.

Joſeph beloved by his father.

What

[q] Gen. xxxv. p. tot.

(I) The Jews tell us, that the maſters who taught Iſaac the law of God were the patriarchs Shem and Heber, who were ſtill living; and that when Abraham took him with him to mount Moriah to ſacrifice him there, he told Sarah, that he was going with to the ſchool of Shem (197). They likewiſe attribute to him the compoſing of the noon-prayers which they conſtantly uſe: for they think Abraham was the author of thoſe of the morning, and Jacob of thoſe of the evening, and Iſaac of thoſe of noon *.

(K) Moſt verſions, as well as ours, have made Jacob to love Joſeph, becauſe he was the ſon of his old age, whereas he had two ſons younger than he, viz. Zebulun and Benjamin, and this laſt was born above fifteen years after him. It ſeems they have confounded the words בן זקנים Ben Zekenim, the ſon of ſenators or elders, as he is called here, with בן זקנה Ben Ziknah, the ſon of old age. But the former has a quite different meaning, it ſignifying, according to the Hebrew idiom, the ſon or diſciple of ſenators; that is, becauſe he was endowed with extraordinary wiſdom and prudence. Accordingly the Samaritan, Perſic, and Arabic verſions have rendered it, becauſe he was a wiſe and prudent ſon; though even this comes ſhort of the energy of the idiom, and might be more properly tranſlated, becauſe he was as wiſe and prudent as a ſenator. And as it is natural for parents, eſpecially fathers, to admire thoſe children that ſhew any degree of wiſdom above their years, ſo Jacob had a great deal of reaſon to ſhew a more than ordinary love for ſuch a ſon; whereas to be fond of a child of old age, had Joſeph been even ſuch, is but a common piece of dotage, which Moſes would hardly have thought worth recording (198).

(197) Sgambat. Archiv. Vet. Teſt. l. 2. p. 197. * Fabric. Apocryph. Vet. Teſt. 434. (198) Vid. Le Scene's Eſſay.

What encreaſed it ſtill more was, that Joſeph having obſerved ſome vile actions in the ſons of Bilhah and Zilpah, with whom his father had ſent him to feed the ſheep, in hopes, that they would pay him a greater regard than his other brethren, came and accquainted him with it. But he himſelf helped to complete their envy, or rather to turn it into an irreconcilable hatred, by innocently telling them ſome dreams he had, which ſeemed to foreſhew, that he ſhould one day get the power and authority over them. One of them was, that he ſaw in a wheat-field his own ſheaf ſtanding upright, and theirs falling down before it, and paying homage to it. Another was, that he ſaw the ſun, moon, and eleven ſtars, doing the like obeiſance to him. This laſt he likewiſe told to his father, who, though he could not perhaps but be delighted with it, and think it ſignificative of ſome great fortune that would attend him; yet obſerving, with what envy his brethren heard it, thought fit to rebuke him ſeverely before them, aſking him, if he thought, that his father, mother, and brethren were to bow themſelves to the earth to him? but this rather helped to encreaſe their hatred againſt him, and made them reſolve to contrive his death. It was not long before an opportunity offered itſelf to them. Jacob being uneaſy, that he had not heard from them for ſome time, ſince they were gone to Shechem with their flocks, and fearing leſt ſome ill luck had befallen them, ſent Joſeph to enquire after them. When he came thither, he was told that they were removed further off, about twenty miles further north towards Dothan. He went after them, and they no ſooner ſaw him, but they all agreed to make away with the dreamer, as they called him, and to make their father believe, that ſome wild beaſt had devoured him. They had certainly executed their bloody deſign, without any regard either to his tears, his age, or to the grief, which the news of his death would cauſe to their aged father, had not Reuben diſſuaded them from imbruing their hands in his blood, and adviſed them to throw him alive into a pit, and let hunger and grief perform that cruel office. Whether the fear of the guilt of blood, or deſire to make him die a more lingering death, prevailed upon them to take the advice, they let him down into the pit, and, as if they had performed ſome noble exploit, they ſat down to eat and to drink. In the interim, a troop of Iſhmaelites happening to paſs by, with ſpices and balm from Gilead, and bound for Egypt, Judah perſuaded his brethren to ſell him to them,

Hated by his brethren.

His two dreams.

ſince

He is sold and carried down into Egypt.

since his death would do them no more service, than his being carried down into Egypt †. His project was approved, and Joseph was sold to the merchants, and carried off unknown to Reuben, whose design was to have got him out of the pit, and to have sent him back privately to his father. The surprise and concern he was in when he found him gone, forced such complaints from him, that they soon understood what his design had been. They took therefore the more care that he should not know what was become of him. Soon after this, having dipped his party-coloured coat, which they had stripped him of, in some kids blood, they sent it home to their father; who no sooner saw it, than he supposed that his beloved child had been torn in pieces by some wild beast. He took his supposed loss so to heart, that he did not cease mourning for him, till he heard the surprizing news of his advancement in Egypt [r] (L), where Joseph happened to be sold to an officer of the king's guard, named Potiphar (M). Here Joseph shewed such diligence and

Sold there to Potiphar.

† Vid. sup. p. 134.

[r] Gen. xxxvii. p. tot.

(L) Justin in epitome of Trogus makes mention of Joseph's being sold into Egypt by his brethren, who envied the excellency of his wit; and having got him privately into their hands, sold him to some merchants, who carried him down into that country (199).

(M) It may not be improper to observe here, that though the text calls Potiphar an eunuch, yet he was not a real one, as the LXX render it, and the Jews fancy; some of whom think, that he was not so throughly castrated, but that some of the strings being left might make him desire a wife (200); for though the Hebrew word סָרִיס Saris doth properly signify an eunuch, yet is often used to signify an officer belonging to the court, and near to the king's person. He is also called שַׂר טַבָּחִים Sar Tabachim, which in its primitive meaning signifies the prince of the butchers, from Tabach, which signifies to kill, slaughter, or what is best express'd by the French word Egorger. For which reason some have rendered it the prince of the cooks (201). But, as the matter is of no great importance, we have followed the English version, which agrees in this with the generality of interpreters (202).

(199) Justin. l. 36. c. 2. Vid. Mercer. Jun. & al.

(200) D. Kimki & al.

(201) Joseph. Philo, Ambr. & al.

(202)

and integrity, and proved ſo ſucceſsful in all he undertook, that his maſter ſoon took notice of him, and committed the care of all his affairs wholly into his hands. He had been about ten years in Potiphar's houſe, when his extraordinary beauty and comelineſs began to inflame his miſtreſs's heart, and ſhe, not being over-nice in ſuch matters, made no difficulty to diſcloſe the ſecret to him, in ſuch plain terms as would force a direct anſwer from him. But how great was her ſurprize, when, inſtead of the chearful compliance ſhe probably expected, ſhe found herſelf denied, and ſeverely reprimanded for her diſloyal paſſion! However, being willing to hope, that another opportunity might prove more favourable, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, ſhe laid hold on him when all the family was abroad, and accoſted him in ſo paſſionate and violent a manner, as gave him to underſtand, that ſhe would not bear any further denial. Joſeph, thinking it ſafer to leave her than to ſtay and expoſtulate with her, was forced to leave his upper garment behind, which ſhe held ſo faſt that he could not get it out of her hands. This laſt affront ſo enraged her, that ſhe reſolved his immediate ruin. She began with ſetting up a moſt horrid out-cry, which ſoon brought in all the people that were within the hearing of it, then, ſhewing them Joſeph's cloak, ſhe told them, that he had made ſo furious an attempt to raviſh her, that nothing but her loud cries could have delivered her from him. By that time her ſpouſe came home, ſhe had dreſt up her ſtory ſo well, and made ſuch uſe of the dumb witneſs ſhe had torn from him, that ſhe was eaſily believed. Had Potiphar loved him leſs than he did, it is probable, he would have ſacrificed him that minute to his reſentment; but he contented himſelf for the preſent with ſending him into the king's priſon [s], where we ſhall leave him for a while, to take a view of what paſſed in his father's family.

Is ſolicited to an amour by his miſtreſs.

His refuſal makes her accuſe him.

He is ſent to priſon.

NOT long after Joſeph had been ſold into Egypt, Judah happened to marry the daughter of a Canaanite, whoſe name was Shuah, by whom he had three ſons (N), Er, Onan, and

Judah's marriage with a Canaanite. Er's death.

[s] Gen. xxxix. p. tot.

(N) It is not eaſy to gueſs at what time Judah had theſe three ſons by this Canaanitiſh woman; and if we take the words in the original, at that time, in a ſtrict ſenſe, as if it happened about the

and Shelah. Er being cut off for his wickedneſs, before he had any children by his wife Tamar, Judah bid his ſecond ſon Onan to take her, according to the cuſtom of that country, and to raiſe a poſterity to his brother. Onan obeyed ſeemingly, but, not brooking the thoughts that his children ſhould be eſteemed his brother's, took ſuch a wicked and unnatural way to prevent Tamar's having any by him, that God was provoked to puniſh him with death alſo (O). Judah therefore bid her remain a widow in her father's houſe, 'till his third ſon was grown old enough to ſupply his brother's place; but

Onan's ſin and death.

the time that Joſeph was ſold, he muſt have been too young; being but twenty two years of age; for Joſeph was ſeventeen years old, and he could not be above four or five years older, being the fourth ſon of Leah, and he and Joſeph both born within the compaſs of ſeven years. So that the moſt that can be thought is, that he had married either a little before Joſeph was ſold, or about that time, and that the latter part of the ſtory of his ſon's marriage and death, and the buſineſs of Tamar, happened during the twenty years that Joſeph continued in Egypt. And therefore, though Moſes relates all theſe events in the chapter preceding that, which gives an account of his diſgrace and impriſonment, it is moſt probable, that he has done it to prevent intermingling the ſtory of thoſe two brothers too much, and ſo has made an end of Judah's adventures before he went on with thoſe of Joſeph. Neither need we think ſtrange, that Judah and his ſons ſhould marry ſo young ſince we have other inſtances in ſcripture of the like nature; ſuch as that of Ahaz, Hezekiah's father, who was but eleven years old when he was born; for Ahaz was but thirty ſix when he died, and his ſon was twenty five when he began to reign (203), though he was his immediate ſucceſſor. And if a prince in thoſe latter days could have a child at that age, much more might they that lived in Judah's time.

(O) Though Onan's ſin was in itſelf great enough, yet it is very probable, that it was aggravated with a worſe circumſtance; viz. his having an eye to the ſuppreſſing of the Meſſiah's coming, ſince he ſhould not have the honour to be numbered among his anceſtors (204), which might provoke God to cut him off. As for the ſin of his elder brother, it is thought to have been the ſame with Onan's, but committed with a different view; that Tamar might not ſpoil her beauty and ſhape by bearing of children; but this is only a rabbinic conjecture.

(203) 2 Kings xvi. 2. Ibid. c. xviii. 2. (204) Vid. Alex. in Pentat.

but when ſhe ſaw that time come, and that he neglected to ſend for her, as indeed he never deſigned it, leſt Shelah ſhould meet with the fate of his two brothers, ſhe reſolved to make herſelf amends by ſome other way, which ſhe affected by the following ſtratagem.

JUDAH had buried his wife about this time, and was ſtill young enough to feel the want of her. As ſoon therefore as the uſual days of mourning were over, it being then the ſeaſon of ſheep-ſheering, he reſolved to try whether that diverſion might allay his grief. He took an intimate friend with him, and went up to Timnath, the place where the ſheerers were at work. In the mean while, Tamar hearing of it, reſolved to make uſe of that opportunity to ſet on work her deſign. She put off her widow's garments, and dreſſing herſelf like a curtezan, and throwing her veil over her face (P), ſet herſelf between the two ways that lead to Timnath, through one of which ſhe knew her father-in-law muſt needs paſs.

(Q) JUDAH no ſooner ſpied her but, thinking her to be what ſhe appeared, began to make his addreſſes to her, and Judah and Tamar, ſhe

(P) The text ſays, that Judah thought her to be a harlot, becauſe ſhe had covered her face. From whence ſome have fancied, that ſhe had covered it with paint; but theſe are ſufficiently reproved and confuted by Abenezra (205). Others think, that the veil over the face was the ſign of a harlot (206); but whether they were ſo ſhame-faced in thoſe days or not, it ſeems rather, that ſhe had veiled herſelf that Judah might not know her. What therefore made him think her to be a curtezan, was her ſitting alone in ſuch a conſpicuous place; for ſo the original may be rendered. If it be aſked how ſhe could prevent her voice from betraying her, all that can be ſaid is, either that ſhe had an art of altering it ſo as not to be known, as ſome people have, or, which is more probable, that Judah was ſo hot in purſuit of his pleaſure, that it did not permit him to make any reflection about it. Vid. our next note.

(Q) It ſeems by this action of Tamar, that ſhe had obſerved ſomething of this propenſity to women in him, whilſt ſhe lived with his two ſons, elſe it is not probable, that ſuch a project ſhould come into her head, neither would ſhe have appeared ſo ſure of the ſucceſs, as ſhe ſeems to have been by the ſequel. However, it is plain, that it was neither the virtue nor ſanctity of the twelve patriarchs, that recommended them to the favour of

(205) Abenezra in loc. (206) Jun. Calv. & al. in loc.

ſhe inſiſting only upon a reward for her compliance, he promiſed her to ſend her a kid, and at her deſire left her his ſeal, his bracelet, and ſtaff, as a pledge for it. The intrigue being over, Judah ſent his friend Adullam, for that that was his name, with the kid to redeem the pledges, but in vain, for ſhe was gone home; neither did the men of the place, of whom he enquired, know any thing of ſuch a woman plying there. He went to Judah and told him his ill ſucceſs, who, fearing to be expoſed for his amour, anſwered his friend, let her keep the pledges, as long as I have performed my promiſe to her, as you yourſelf will bear me witneſs.

Tamar with child.

But the matter was not ſo indifferent as he thought. Some months after word was brought to him, that his daughter-in-law had proved diſloyal, and was certainly with child. Judah, though glad at the news, becauſe her death would free him from his promiſe of giving his ſon Shelah to her, pretended to be highly provoked at her incontinency,

Condemned to be burnt.

and, ordering her to be brought forth, condemned her to be burnt according to the laws of the country. Tamar, inſtead of being ſurprized at the dreadful ſentence which he had pronounced againſt her (R), produced the pledges he had

of God, but his covenant with Abraham, and the glorious deſigns of his providence on their poſterity. And this is what Moſes told the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs in more places than one (207).

(R) Some think, that Judah, as head of his own family, had power of life and death over all that belonged to it; but it is hardly probable, that the Canaanites, in whoſe country they dwelt, would give a ſtranger ſuch a power. 'Tis more likely therefore, that he meant only, that ſhe ſhould be brought before a court of judicature, and ſentenced according to the laws of the country. However, whether judge or proſecutor, 'tis certain he acted like an unrighteous one; for Tamar could not be juſtly accuſed of adultery, which alone condemned her to be burnt, unleſs it were becauſe he had betrothed her to his ſon Shelah, by the promiſe he made her to marry her to him (otherwiſe it was lawful for widows to ſeek their fortune elſewhere, as appears by what Naomi ſaid to her two daughters-in-law) (208). It was moreover an inhuman thing to put a woman to death before ſhe was delivered; and the Romans, bad as they were with reſpect to children, whom they uſed to expoſe when they thought fit, hav'

(207) Deut. paſſ. (208) Ruth i. 9.

had left her, and told him, ſhe was got with child by the owner of them. Whereupon Judah, in a confuſion and ſurprize, owned that ſhe was the more innocent of the two, and that he had wronged her in with-holding Shelah from her. He afterwards conducted her home, but never touched her from that time. When her full time was come ſhe brought forth twins; but the manner of their being born was ſomething ſurprizing; for one of them put forth his hand, about which the midwife tied a ſcarlet thread, expecting him to come out the firſt: but when he withdrew his hand, and his brother ſhewed him the way into the world, his mother called him Phares, or breach, by reaſon of the breach he had made between his brother and him; and the other was called Zarah [t].

but abſolved.

A ſtrange birth.

Joſeph in the mean while was got into ſuch favour with the keeper of the priſon, that he intruſted him with the care of all the priſoners. Two of them, men of ſome diſtinction, viz, Pharaoh's chief butler and baker, being very ſad and thoughtful one morning about a dream which each of them had, Joſeph, being informed of the cauſe and the dream, gave each of them its particular interpretation, telling them alſo the preciſe time when they ſhould ſee them fulfilled. Accordingly three days after the butler was reſtored to his place, and the baker hanged (S). Joſeph took this opportunity

Joſephi.

Dreams of two priſoners explained.

[t] Gen. xxxviii. p. tot.

had yet a law to prevent a pregnant woman being put to death before her delivery (209). But it is probable, that his eagerneſs to be rid of her, made him ſpeak more unadviſedly than he would have done, had ſhe been a more indifferent perſon. However, it is plain, that Joſephus looked upon all the tranſactions mentioned in this chapter to be ſo little to the credit of Judah and his ſons, that he has ſuppreſſed them all. This is one, though far from the only one, of the inſtances we told the reader of in a former note, of his ſuppreſſing any thing that caſt a reflexion on his nation *: the reſt will come in courſe.

(S) Our tranſlation has rendered the expreſſion, which Joſeph uſes to the butler and the baker, *ſhall lift up thy head*, too literally, ſince they imply that they would both have the ſame fate; whereas it is plain they proved vaſtly different. The words in the original mean, that in three days Pharaoh would have them brought forth and examined; for the words here rendered *lift up thy*

(209) Ælian. l. 5.

* Vid. ſup. p. 443.

tunity of addreſſing himſelf to the former, and to beg his aſſiſtance and intereſt to get him out of priſon, telling him at the ſame time, how he had been ſold out of his country, and falſly accuſed by his miſtreſs, and what elſe he thought proper to move him to comply with his requeſt.

BUT the butler, being got at liberty and reſtored to his place, never remembered his fellow priſoner for two whole years, till a remarkable accident forced him as it were to call him to mind. The king his maſter had had two very frightful and portentous dreams in one night, the meaning of which he had in vain enquired of all his Egyptian wiſemen, none of whom could give him the leaſt light into them: The uneaſineſs which appeared in Pharaoh's countenance, and the ſearch he ordered to be made for ſome more learned interpreters, did ſoon make our courtier recollect what Joſeph had foretold him in the priſon. He went therefore inſtantly to the king, and, after an humble apology for his ingratitude and forgetfulneſs, acquainted him, and two years before there was a Hebrew youth in priſon with him, who had interpreted his and the baker's dream with a more than ordinary exactneſs, and ſeemed to have a much greater talent that way, than all the wiſemen that had been hitherto conſulted. Pharaoh was too eager to be ſatisfied about his own not to ſend immediately for Joſeph; who, having waſhed and ſhaved himſelf, and changed his cloaths, was forthwith introduced to his majeſty. He no ſooner appeared than the king told him his dreams, and promiſed him a conſiderable reward if he could give him an interpretation of them. Pharaoh had dreamed that he had ſeen ſeven luſty fat cows feeding on the banks of the Nile; ſoon after which ſeven other lean and ill-favoured ones came and devoured them; and yet did neither look the fatter or bigger for it. His ſecond dream was much of the ſame kind, viz. ſeven full ears of corn devoured by ſeven blaſted ones. Joſeph anſwered the king with his uſual modeſty, that the ſeven cows and ſeven ears ſignified the ſame thing; that the dream being repeated was only

Pharaoh's two dreams interpreted by Joſeph. Year of the Flood, 1284. Year before Chriſt, 1715.

thy head, ſignifies to muſter, to call to an account, and to take the ſum of any thing; and the ſequel ſhews this to have been the true meaning, ſince after ſuch examination, the one was hanged, and the other re-inſtated. It ſeems therefore probable by the expreſſion here uſed, that they had been ſuſpected, or accuſed, of cheating the king, and that when their accounts had been examined and caſt up, the one was found guilty, and the other cleared.

only a ſign, that the thing was to happen immediately after. That the ſeven fat cows and ſeven full ears ſignified ſeven years of exceſſive plenty, which would nevertheleſs be quite forgotten in the ſeven ſucceeding years of famine, ſignified by the ſeven lean cows and blaſted ears. He thereupon adviſed the king to appoint a wiſe and expert man over his whole kingdom, who ſhould take care to build granaries, and ſet officers in every province, to lay up a fifth part of all the corn of the ſeven plentiful years, againſt the ſucceeding years of famine.

THE king and all that heard him, were ſurprized at the wiſdom of this young ſtranger, who was then but thirty years old, and concluded, that he was the fitteſt perſon to be ſet over the kingdom, and to put his propoſal in execution. He was thereupon made maſter and overſeer of Pharaoh's houſe; and orders were given, that he ſhould be obeyed in all things, as if it had been Pharaoh himſelf. The king ſtopped not here, but took his ſignet off his finger and gave it to him, cauſed him to be cloathed in fine linen, and put a golden chain about his neck, telling him, that he appointed him ſuper-intendant over the whole kingdom, and the next unto himſelf in authority: he gave him moreover the name of Zaphnath-paaneah, which ſignifies *a revealer of ſecrets* (T). And to compleat his happineſs, he gave him the daughter of Potipherah, prieſt, or prince, of On, to wife (U); and made him ride in his ſecond chariot, while

Joſeph's advancement and glory.

His marriage.

(T) Theſe are not Hebrew words, as ſome rabbies dream (210), who render it by הצפונות מגלה, for though the firſt word may be derived from צפן Zaphan, to hide; yet the original of Paaneah is not to be found in the Hebrew. St. Jerom and others think it ſignifies the Saviour of the world in the Egyptian tongue (211); but it is moſt probable, that it ſignifies the revealer of ſecrets, and is accordingly ſo rendered by moſt Jewiſh and Chriſtian expoſitors (212).

(U) As it is not likely, that Joſeph ſhould be grown ſo great a courtier in ſo ſhort a time, as to have forgot his religion, eſpecially ſince we find him making ſo ample a profeſſion of it to his brothers ſeven years after (213); ſo neither is it probable, that he would have married the daughter of an uncircumciſed, whether

(210) Rambam. (211) Hieron. in loc. Egubin, &c. (212) Targ. Onkel. in loc. Joſ. Ant. l. 2. c. 6. LXX. Grot. Jun. in loc. & al. (213) Gen. xlii. 18.

while ſome men that ran before it cried, *bow the knee* (W). Joſeph, being raiſed to this height of power, took a progreſs through the whole kingdom, built his granaries, appointed proper officers in every place, and, in a word, ordered all things with ſuch prudence and application, that before the ſeven years of plenty were over, he found his ſtores

ther prince, or prieſt. But it was not ſo with Potipherah, who could not but be deſirous to purchaſe ſo advantageous an alliance at any rate, and therefore might eaſily be induced by Joſeph to remove that only obſtacle, by becoming circumciſed. This was therefore a fair opportunity for him to introduce that ceremony among the Egyptian prieſts, which might afterwards be received alſo by the laity. However that be, we muſt not miſtake the city of On for that of No, threatned with deſtruction by Ezekiel (214), which was Alexandria. On therefore was Heliopolis, the chief city of the canton of that name, called by Ptolemy Onium (215), diſtant about twenty miles from Memphis, the metropolis of the kingdom †. Neither muſt we confound this Potipherah with that to whom Joſeph has been ſold, as St. Jerom has done. 'Tis much more probable, that they were two diſtinct perſons. 1. becauſe the names are differently written; the firſt Potiphar, and the other Potipherah, or either Potipherangh, ending with the letter ע (Ain). 2. The one is called captain of the guards, the other prieſt, or, prince of On.

3. The former therefore muſt have had his reſidence in the capital, to be always about the king; the other lived at On, or Heliopolis: and laſtly, it is not likely, that Joſeph would have married his maſter's daughter, leſt ſhe ſhould have proved like her mother, whoſe incontinency he had ſo ſeverely ſmarted for (216.)

(W) The Jews, Kimki excepted, unwilling to ſuppoſe, that ſo religious a man as Joſeph would ſuffer the ceremony of bowing the knee to be performed to him, have divided the word אברך Abrek, and read it אב רך Ab rak, which in Hebrew ſignifies tender father; by which they underſtand that he was a father with reſpect of his conſummate wiſdom, and tender with reſpect of his years (217). And it is certain, that if the word be Hebrew it ſignifies both bow the knee, and tender father; but if it be Egyptian, we are to ſeek for the meaning of it. Joſephus ſays nothing of this circumſtance, probably, becauſe, for want of underſtanding the Hebrew, he was forced to follow the Septuagint, which renders it bow the knee.

(214) Ezek. xxx. 16. (215) Vid. Hieron. loc. Hebr. † Vid. ſup. p. 488. (216) Auguſt. quæſt. in Gen. i. 36. Chryſoſt. Homil. 63. in Gen. Mercer. Jun. Muſcul. & al. (217) Targ. Onkel. R. Jehud. & al.

ſtores filled above numbering. During this time he had two ſons born of his wife Aſenath; The firſt of whom he called Manaſſeh, intimating, that God had made him forget all his toils; and the next he called Ephraim, becauſe God had made him fruitful in the land of his affliction.

Manaſſeh and Ephraim born.

THESE ſeven plentiful years were ſucceeded immediately by the ſeven years of famine, neither was the ſcarcity confined to the land of Egypt, but was felt all over the land of Canaan, and all the nations round about it. As ſoon therefore as the Egyptians came to be pinched for want of bread, they applied themſelves to Pharaoh, who commanded them to apply to Joſeph; upon which he immediately ordered his ſtores to be opened, and corn to be ſold to the people who flocked to him, not only from all parts of Egypt, but from all the neighbouring countries [u].

The years of famine.

BY this time Jacob, who was not exempt from the common calamity, hearing that there was corn to be bought in Egypt, ſent ten of his ſons thither to buy ſome, and kept only Benjamin with him. Theſe, upon their arrival into Egypt, were directed to Joſeph, whom they muſt apply to for an order; and as ſoon as they ſaw him they proſtrated themſelves before him, and begged they might be ſupplied with ſome corn. Joſeph knew them immediately, though he was ſo altered that they could not call him to mind: he put on a ſevere look, and in an angry tone aſked them, whence they came? and upon their anſwering, from the land of Canaan, he charged them with being ſpies, who were come to diſcover the weakneſs of the land. Such an unexpected accuſation forced them to juſtify themſelves; they told him in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms, that they were come with no other deſign than to buy corn for their family, which was very numerous, they being all one man's ſons; that they had left another, a younger brother, with their father, beſides another who was now dead. This was what Joſeph wanted, who in a ſurly commanding tone told them, that, unleſs one of them fetched this youngeſt ſon, whilſt the reſt were kept in ſafe cuſtody, he would not be perſuaded but that they were ſpies, and would puniſh them as ſuch. To ſhew that he was in earneſt, he ſent them all to priſon, and kept them there three days; at the end of which he ſent for them, and putting on a milder face, ſaid to them, *this do, and live; for I fear God.* Let one of you remain a priſoner with me, whilſt the reſt go home with proviſion for your

Joſeph's brethren come to him for corn.

Joſeph's rough behaviour to them.

[u] Gen. xii. p. 101.

family; and when you bring your youngeſt brother hither, he ſhall be delivered up ſafe, and you juſtified. He then commanded Simeon, who had been perhaps one of his moſt zealous enemies, to be bound before their eyes, and ſent to priſon, whilſt he had the pleaſure to hear them confeſs their inhumanity towards their brother, whoſe bitter cries had not been able to ſoften them to pity; acknowledging, that this misfortune had befallen them as a juſt puniſhment for it. Here Reuben had an opportunity of juſtifying himſelf, by reminding them of the pains he took to diſſuade them from the horrid fact, little thinking who heard him, any more than his brethren; for Joſeph ſpoke by an interpreter to them. At length, having learned all that he wanted to know, he diſmiſſed them, not without contriving a freſh occaſion of ſurprize to them after they were gone, having bid the officer, who was to fill their ſacks with corn, to return their money in the mouth of the ſacks. Accordingly, when they came to bait, and to give ſome provender to their beaſts, they were not a little frighted to find all their money in their ſacks, and failed not to make all the diſmal reflections upon it, that their fear could ſuggeſt to them; concluding, that the haughty Egyptian lord had done it, that he might have a pretence to enſlave them at their next coming. As ſoon as they were got home they acquainted their father with all theſe adventures, who, though he was grieved at the detention of his ſon Simeon, was much more ſo, when he found, that Benjamin muſt go down to redeem him. He withſtood all their perſuaſions as long as he could [w], till, at length the famine increaſing, and the proviſion being almoſt ſpent, Judah prevailed with him to part with his favourite ſon for a time, promiſing to bring him ſafe back, or elſe to be anſwerable for him at the hazard of his life (X). As it was not without the utmoſt reluctancy that

Simeon kept bound.

Their money returned.

[w] Gen. xlii. p. tot.

(X) The whole conduct of Joſeph, from his being firſt brought into Egypt to his diſcovering himſelf to his brethren, having been very much canvaſſed and diſapproved, it will not be amiſs to enquire how far it deſerves it, and how far it may be juſtified, even abſtracting from the hand of providence being concerned in it. Firſt then, he is blamed for not having ſent word to his father of his condition, who would have redeemed him at any rate, the city of Memphis, where he was ſold, not being above eighty miles at moſt from Hebron, where Jacob dwelt. To this it may be

that Jacob conſented to this ſeparation, ſo he failed not to give his ſons the ſtricteſt charge about him, and to take all the proper meaſures for their ſafe return, and to gain the favour of the proud Egyptian lord. He bid them carry double their money, and make ready ſuch preſents as they thought

Jacob's preſents to Joſeph.

be anſwered, 1. That if he had returned home, his brethren would in all likelihood have taken a more effectual way to be rid of him, and, upon the firſt opportunity, have put their former bloody project in execution. And ſecondly, that Egypt being the place where he expected the perferment which his dreams had fore-ſignified to him, it was by no means adviſeable for him to leave it, but to wait patiently there for the event. Again, he is blamed for his rough and unjuſt uſage towards his brethren, which, it is pretended, ſavours of the rankeſt revenge: but it is plain, that if revenge had been the chief motive of his behaviour, he could have indulged it, in a more effectual way, without any danger of being called to an account for it: whereas it is plain he had a much better deſign in it, namely, either to bring their hienous cruelty towards him into their remembrance, as it actually did †; or, 2. in order to inform himſelf of the ſtate of his family, eſpecially of his father and of his brother Benjamin; or laſtly to make them reliſh his future kindneſs the better, by the rough uſage they had met with before. The laſt, and indeed the moſt conſiderable, thing he is blamed for is, his ſending for his brother Benjamin, which he knew, his former behaviour conſidered, would cauſe an infinite deal of grief to his aged father, if not break his heart: and if he refuſed to ſend him the whole family muſt ſtarve at home, and Simeon remain in bonds. As for the latter part of the charge, Joſeph, had it ſtill in his power to have remedied it, ſince, if he had found that his other brethren ſtayed longer than ordinary, he could but have ſent Simeon home with what meſſage and ſupply he pleaſed. But as for the other part of his behaviour, his cauſing Jacob to paſs ſo many days, if not weeks, in all the fear and anxiety that ſo dear a ſon's abſence and danger could cauſe, it cannot eaſily be juſtified any other way than by ſuppoſing, that Joſeph did certainly foreſee what would happen, and that his father's grieving ſome time for Benjamin would be ſo far from endangering his health, that it would only encreaſe his joy when he ſaw him again, and give a greater reliſh to the news of his own advancement and ſucceſs in Egypt. Without this ſuppoſition, 'tis plain, ſuch a ſudden tranſition from an exceſs of ſorrow to one of joy, was of itſelf ſufficient to have deprived him of his life, or of his ſenſes.

† Gen. xlii. 21 & ſeqq.

thought would be acceptable to him (Y); and having entreated

(Y) It is be feared the generality of our expoſitors have not been very happy in their tranſlation of ſome of the preſents which Jacob ſent into Egypt, which has induced ſome learned criticks of a later date (218) to endeavour to give us a more rational account of them, ſuch as the honey, nuts, and almonds, which could be no great rarities in Egypt, nor indeed any of the others, except the balm, which was that of Gilead, and of great price all the world over. A ſmall quantity therefore of it was a preſent worth accepting; but as for roſin, or wax, as many of our interpreters have rendered it, it could not be worth ſending.

Bochart indeed, in the place above quoted, thinks, that it was either roſin, or turpentine, rather than balm of Gilead; becauſe Gilead was on one ſide of Jordan, and Jacob was then at ſome ſmall diſtance from it on the other: but that doth not prove, that there was none to be bought there, or to be ſent for upon ſuch an occaſion. He adds indeed, that Joſephus affirms balm to have been unknown in Judea, till the queen of Sheba brought ſome of it to Solomon from Arabia Felix: but Joſephus may be miſtaken. Beſides, how came Gilead to be ſo famous for it afterwards? The The Queen hardly brought the trees there, and if Solomon had ſent for them afterwards, he would have planted them in all likelihood nearer to him: but whatever it was, 'tis plain, that roſin and turpentine could not be a preſent worth Joſeph's acceptance. The next is honey, which was indeed very much admired by the antients, as well Jews as Gentiles, for a delicious food (219); but, unleſs that of Canaan was better than ordinary, it was hardly a preſent worth ſending to an Egyptian prime miniſter, ſince 'tis morally impoſſible, that country ſhould be without it. It is more likely therefore that they were dates, which are called by the ſame name (דְּבַשׁ Debeſh), as the Jewiſh doctors obſerve, and which, when full ripe, yield a ſort of honey not much inferior to the other. The Arabick calls dates Duboos, and the honey of them Dibo, or Dibis, to this day; and it is plain, that Judea, abounded in palm-trees of all ſorts, more eſpecially about Jericho, if we may believe Joſephus and Pliny. The next is what we tranſlate ſpices; but the Hebrew word נְכֹאת Nekoth doth rather ſignify ſtorax than ſpices, being a precious aromatic gum, that was put into all precious ſpicy ointments (220). Myrrh, or as it is in the original לוּט Lot, is rather the ſtacte, or ladanum, of the Chaldee and Septuagint, the laſt name coming nearer the Hebrew

(218) Bochart paſſim. Le Scene's Eſſay. Eſſay towards a new tranſlation of the Bible, and others. (219) 1 Sam. xiv. 27. 2 Sam. xvii. 29. Cant. v. 9. Homer Iliad. λ ver. 630. Odyſſ. ξ ver. 69. Sueton. de Neron. c. 27. & al. (220) Vid. Bochart Hierozoic. lib. 4. col. 531, 532.

treated heaven, not without abundance of tears, for their good ſucceſs, diſmiſſed them; little dreaming, what glorious news he ſhould hear at their return, to make him amends for his ſon's abſence. They no ſooner appeared before Joſeph with their brother Benjamin, but he commanded his ſteward to conduct them to his houſe, where he deſigned they ſhould dine with him. But they, who had abandoned themſelves to fear, began to ſuſpect, that ſome ill deſign was hatching to enſlave them, upon the account of the money which they had found in their ſacks. To prevent therefore, as much as they could, any quarrel ariſing upon that ſcore, they acquainted the ſteward with the whole affair before they entered the houſe; adding, that that they had brought it back with them, with a new ſupply to buy ſome freſh proviſions. The ſteward, ſeeing their concern, bid them not be under any apprehenſions about it, for they ſhould never be aſked for it again. He then brought them into the houſe, ordered them water to waſh their feet, and provender for their beaſts, and in the mean time he brought Simeon unbound to them. He afterwards acquainted them, that they were to dine with his lord, who would be back by noon; upon which they ſet themſelves about making ready their preſents, which they accordingly laid before him with the utmoſt reverence, as ſoon as he came home. Joſeph, having ſaluted them round, began to enquire after their father's health, and whether that was their youngeſt brother that ſtood before him. Benjamin bowed his head to the ground, and Joſeph, having bleſſed him, ordered the victuals to be brought in, and made them ſit down by themſelves, and to be ſerved according to their rank and ſeniority, whilſt he ſat at a table by himſelf, and his Egyptian gueſts at another by themſelves; it being an abomination to the Egyptians to eat with the Hebrews (Z). Joſeph, according to the cuſtom

Benjamin and his brethren dine with Joſeph.

Hebrew word. It is thought to be the gum of the cypreſs-tree, and was one of the aromaticks in the perfume preſcribed by God to Moſes (221).

(Z) This extreme averſion of the Egyptians to eat with the Hebrews has been variouſly accounted for. Some attribute it to the exceſſive pride of that nation, which deſpiſed all but themſelves; others to the Hebrews being ſhepherds, and ſo eating of the ſheep and other cattle which the Egyptians worſhipped (222).

(221) Exod. xxx. 34.

(222) Muſcul. Munſt. Tremel. & al. in loc.

ciſtom of the country, and of thoſe times [x], ſent diſhes from his own table to all his brethren, and that they were not a little ſurprized to ſee how exactly he ſerved them according to their ſeniority; but much more ſo, when they ſaw Benjamin's portion five times larger than any of the reſt, which was an uſual mark of honour to the perſon to whom it was ſent. After they had eat and drank plentifully, they began to think of taking their leave, and of going about their other affairs [y]; but Joſeph had yet one fright more in reſerve for them, before he diſcovered himſelf. He bid his ſteward to put his drinking-cup into Benjamin's ſack, and to overtake them at ſome diſtance off the city, and, after a thorough ſearch, to bring the pretended thief back to him. The thing was punctually executed, and we may eaſily imagine their ſurprize and concern, when the ſilver cup was produced out of the ſack of their younger brother. They made all poſſible haſte to load their aſſes again, and returned to Joſeph, who received them with a warm reprimand for thus requiting his kindneſs and civility to them; which he concluded, however, with aſſuring them, that though he might juſtly puniſh them all, yet the perſon only upon whom the cup was found ſhould remain a ſlave, whilſt the reſt might go home in peace. After they had expreſſed their grief and ſhame in the humbleſt manner they were able, Judah, who had taken Benjamin under his care, having recovered himſelf from his ſurprize, addreſſed himſelf to Joſeph in the moſt ſubmiſſive and pathetic terms. He acquainted him with his father's extreme fondneſs for the lad, the

Joſeph's cup found in Benjamin's ſack.

Judah's ſpeech to Joſeph.

[x] Vid. Xenoph. in vit. Cyr. lib 8. [y] Gen. xliii. p. tot.

Accordingly we read in another chapter (223), that ſhepherds were alſo an abomination to the Egyptians, whether Hebrews or otherwiſe; and Moſes tells Pharaoh, that they could not ſacrifice in Egypt what was an abomination to them (224); that is to kill and eat part of thoſe beaſts which they worſhipped (225): but the moſt probable reaſon of this averſion to ſhepherds and to the Hebrews, as ſuch, was the great oppreſſion and tyranny under which they had groaned, when theHykſos or king ſhepherds, as the word ſignifies, poured in upon them, enſlaved, and held them in ſubjection above five hundred years; and of which an account has been given in a former chapter (226).

(223) Gen. xxxvi. 34. (224) Exod. viii. 26. (225) Chald Paraph. (226) Vid. vol. ii. p. 17. vid. Manetho apud Joſeph. cont. Apion.

the great difficulty they had to perſuade the good old gentleman to part with him, and the danger of his grieving to death for the loſs of him. He likewiſe offered himſelf at the ſame time as an equivalent for his brother, with ſuch zeal and concern, that Joſeph was no longer able to contain himſelf. His [z] bowels began to yearn, and his tears to flow ſo faſt, that he was forced to ſend all the by-ſtanders away, whilſt he made himſelf known to his brothers. He no ſooner had told them, that he was Joſeph their brother, which was all that his full heart would let him utter, but they were all ſtruck with ſuch mixture of joy and ſurprize for a conſiderable time, that they could make him no anſwer; neither did they dare even to look towards him, to convince themſelves whether it was really he or an illuſion. By this time Joſeph, having recovered himſelf, deſired them to draw nearer unto him; he embraced them all round with a ſurprizing tenderneſs, and to diſpel all their further apprehenſions, he told them, that their ſelling him into Egypt having been directed by an unſeen providence, and proved the means of ſo much good both to himſelf, to them, and to all Egypt, he would be ſo far from reſenting it, that they ſhould never hear it ſo much as mentioned by him from that day. Whilſt this was doing, ſome of the Egyptians, one of whom might be the interpreter, went and acquainted the king and the whole court, that Joſeph's brethren were come to buy corn. Joſeph had no deſign to make a ſecret of it, when he ſent the Egyptians out of the room; he only wanted to be without witneſſes whilſt he diſcovered himſelf to them, diſſipated their fears, acquainted them with his good fortune, and tried to perſuade them to bring his father down with all their families and cattle; ſeeing there were yet five years of famine to come, during which the earth would hardly return the ſeed it had received. However, the news pleaſed Pharaoh ſo well, that he ſent for him, and told him, that ſince his father had ſuch a numerous family, and the ſcarcity not half over, he might ſend for them, and place them in what part of the country he thought fit; promiſing him, that they ſhould never want proviſions, nor any other favour he could ſhew them. He likewiſe bid him to ſend them a freſh ſupply of grain, and ſuch other things as he thought they might want for their journey, and chariots to bring their wives, children, and beſt moveables; telling them, that they need not regard the ordinary ſtuff, ſince the

Joſeph diſcovers himſelf.

Pharaoh's orders to Joſeph.

[z] Gen. xliv. p. tot.

Joseph sends for his father, &c.

the good of the land was before them. Joseph gladly obeyed the king's orders, and, besides the chariots and provisions, sent to his father, ten asses loaden with the choicest commodities of Egypt; he likewise presented his brethren with changes of garments, and distinguished Benjamin by the addition of a large sum of money; after which he dismissed them with a strict charge that they should not fall out by the way. It is not to be doubted, but their journey was performed more briskly this time than the last. They found their father alive and well, whose first care was to look out for his favourite son, whom having joyfully received he thought himself at the height of his happiness. But when they acquainted him with Joseph's grandeur, and told him, that he was the very man who had caused them such mortal frights, the good old man, not being able to bear so much good news at once, fainted away in their arms; and being come to himself doubted, whether it was not a dream. At length, when they shewed him Joseph's presents and the Egyptian chariots, his doubts and fears vanished, and he cried out in an excess of joy, *It is enough for me that my son* Joseph *lives, I have now nothing more to wish, but to go down and see him once more before I die* [a].

This great desire of seeing so dear a son, whom he had so long mourned for, in all his Egyptian glory, spurred him up to hasten his departure, and to overcome all the difficulties which the number of his children, cattle, and all the other lumber of household-stuff laid in his way. However, as his gratitude to God for all the mercies he saw himself blessed with, and his further want of the divine protection to accompany him safe into Egypt, demanded some fresh act of religion from him, he chose to go to Beersheba to offer some sacrifices there; both because it was the place where Abraham and Isaac had lived so long and so happily, and because it was in his way to Egypt, being the utmost boundary of Canaan towards the south. Here God appeared again unto him, and bid him not fear to go down, since he would be with him and protect him, and in due time bring his posterity out of it, to enter into the possession of the promised land; adding moreover, that as for him, he should have the comfort to live near his son Joseph, to die in his arms, and to have his eyes closed by him. Jacob, thus comforted and encouraged, hasted his way to the metropolis of Egypt, and when he came within some small distance from it, he sent

Jacob goes down into Egypt.

[a] Gen. xxxv. p. tot.

ſent Judah before to acquaint Joſeph with his arrival, and to deſire him to come to him in the land of Goſhen, where he had promiſed to ſettle them (A). Joſeph was no ſooner informed of it, than he got up into his chariot, and went to meet his father, and their mutual joy upon this occaſion was ſuch, as is better imagined than expreſſed. As ſoon as this tender greeting was over, Joſeph told them, that he would go out of hand to give Pharaoh notice of their arrival, who would no doubt have the curioſity to ſend for them, and to enquire after their occupation; in which caſe he charged them to tell him, that they, as well as their fore-fathers, were ſhepherds from their youth. This was indeed an occupation which the Egyptians abominated, as we have ſeen before †; but Joſeph had his ends in it, being afraid, leſt Pharaoh ſhould detain them in his ſervice, inſtead of ſending them into the land of Goſhen where he was deſirous to place them. Accordingly, when five of his brethren were brought before the king, and were aſked what their profeſſion was; they anſwered him as Joſeph had bid them, adding, that the famine, which raged in Canaan, had forced them to come with all their cattle into Egypt, and begging, that he would be pleaſed to appoint them the land of Goſhen to dwell in; which Pharaoh readily granted. Joſeph likewiſe preſented his father to him, who wiſhed the king abundance of happineſs; and being aſked how old he was, anſwered

Joſeph acquaints Pharaoh with it.

Jacob ſtands before Pharaoh.

† Vid. ſup. p. 471, ſub nota (Z).

(A) It is a wonder how the Septuagint came to place the land of Goſhen in Arabia, at leaſt ſome copies have it in Goſhen in Arabia, ſince that was further off from Egypt than the land of Canaan. St. Jerom thinks, that it was the ſame as Thebais in Æthiopia, or bordering to it (227): but that was too long a journey for Jacob, neither would Joſeph have been near enough to have ſeen and ſupplied his wants: whereas he gives it as a reaſon to his brethren in the former chapter for his chooſing this land, that they might be near him: but this Goſhen was ſituate between the Red-Sea and the Nile, upon the borders of Canaan, not far from On, or Heliopolis (228), where his chief habitation was. It was a fruitful ſpot of ground and fit for cattle, and therefore Joſephus tells us, that Pharaoh kept his own there (229): it was ſeparate from Egypt, and therefore fitteſt for Jacob and his family, which would be out of all danger of interfering with the Egyptians (230).

(227) Hieron. loc. Hebr. (228) Joſeph. Ant. l. 2. c. 7.
(229) Id. ibid. (230) Vid. Jun. Merc. & al.

Year of the Flood, 1293. Year before Christ, 1706

answered an hundred and thirty. Here the king expressing, perhaps, some wonder, to see a man so old, and in so good a case, Jacob added, that his life had been so full of trouble, that he came vastly short of the years of his ancestors. After this Joseph conducted him and the whole family to the land of Goshen; where he took care to supply them with all the necessaries of life, during the whole time of the famine. Pharaoh likewise ordered Joseph to choose some of the ablest of them, and to commit the care of his cattle to them, which he accordingly did [b]. It will not be amiss to give here the names of Jacob's children and grand-children, which came down with him into Egypt. As to the difficulties in adjusting the account of them, and reconciling it with some other places of scripture, we choose to give them to our readers in a note, rather than interrupt the thread of the history (B).

A List

[b] Gen. xlvii. p. tot.

(B) Moses makes mention of two numbers of souls in Jacob's family exclusive of his daughters in-law, viz. sixty six (233) and seventy 231); he doth likewise reckon thirty three souls to Leah; including Dinah (233); and to Zilpah her handmaid, sixteen souls, including Serah Asher's daughter, and Beriah's two sons (234). To make which reckonings agree with the fourteen of Rachel (235) and the two first sums of sixty six and seventy; It is to be observed, first, that in the number sixty six Jacob is not reckoned, but only the souls that came out of his loins; but in the number of thirty three he seems included, else we shall find but thirty two, viz. Leah's twenty nine sons, two grandsons by Phares and Dinah, in all thirty two, but that Jacob is reckoned in this number seems intimated by the eighth verse of the chapter in the words Jacob and his sons, viz. by Leah. Accordingly Josephus gives us a list of them to the number of thirty two, including Dinah; yet sums them up thirty three, without acquainting us that he includes Jacob; though 'tis plain by the amount that he doth. This being premised, the whole account will stand thus:

Leah	33	including Jacob.
Zilpah	16	
Rachel	11	exclusive of Joseph and his two sons.
Bilhah	7	
	67	

out

(231) Ver. 27. (232) Ver 27. (233) Ver. 15.
(234) Ver. 18. (235) Ver. 22.

A Liſt of Jacob's ſons and grandſons.

A Liſt of Jacob's family.

The ſons of Jacob, and their ſons.

By Leah
- Reuben ; Hanoch, Phalluc, Hezron, Carmi.
- Simeon ; Jemuel, Jamin, Ohad, Jachin, Zohar, Shaul.
- Levi ; Gerſhon, Merari. (The two firſt died in Canaan.)
- Judah ; Er, Onan, Shelah, Pharez, Zerah. (The two firſt died in Canaan.)
- Iſſachar ; Tola, Phuvah, Job, Shimron.
- Zebulun ; Sered, Elon, Jahleel.

By Zilpah
- Gad ; Ziphion, Haggai, Shuni, Eſbon, Eri, Arodi, Areli.
- Aſher ; Jimnah, Iſhuah, Iſui, Beriah, Serah, a daughter.

By Bilhah
- Dan ; Huſhim.
- Naphtali ; Jahzeel, Guni, Jezer, Shillem.

The

out of which deduct Jacob, becauſe Moſes reckons here only thoſe that came out of his loins, and there will remain ſixty ſix.

To which add Jacob, Joſeph, Ephraim, and Manaſſeh ; becauſe this ſecond reckoning is of all the ſouls of Jacob's family, in which caſe he may be included, and the whole amount will be ſeventy ſouls (236) : but if we reckon Serah, Aſher's daughter, as Joſephus has done (237), and in all probability Moſes too, ſince he mentions her in his liſt, we need not to include Jacob in the number : for it will be ſeventy complete without him.

It is true, that St. Stephen (238) reckons the whole number of them ſeventy five, which diſagrees with that of Moſes ; but it muſt be remembered, that the apoſtles and firſt preachers made uſe of the Septuagint verſion, as being the only one then univerſally underſtood by the Jews ; which verſion adds five more to Manaſſah and Ephraim, namely, Machir and Gilead, ſons of Manaſſeh, Sutalan and Tuhan, ſons of Ephraim, and Eden, Sutalan's ſon. But, beſides that they differ from the Hebrew, by reading eighteen inſtead of fourteen ſouls to Rachel (239) ; they likewiſe differ from themſelves ; for fourteen and the five which they add will make nineteen, and not eighteen. Some antient fathers, thinking this knot inſoluble, have endeavoured

(236) Villet. cap. xxxvi. (237) Joſ. Ant. l. 2. c. 7.
(238) Acts. vii. 14. (239) Gen. xlvi. 22.

The ſons of Pharez Judah's ſon ; Hezron, Hamul.
of Beriah, Heber, Malchiel.
By Rachel, Benjamin, Belah, Becher, Aſhbel, Gera, Naaman, Ehi, Roſh, Muppim, Huppim, Ard.

In all threeſcore and ſix, excluſive of Dinah, Jacob's daughter by Leah, and of Joſeph and his two ſons, which being added to the number, it will amount to ſeventy ſouls.

THREE

voured to pick ſome myſteries out of it (240); but we need not be at any trouble to free the Septuagint verſion from error, which doth in ſo many inſtances differ from the original. However, there is ſtill another rational way to account for this difference between St. Stephen's reckoning and that of Moſes, which is as follows. That St. Stephen follows the firſt number of Moſes, viz. ſixty ſix ; out of which he excludes Jacob and Joſeph, and his two ſons, to which he adds nine of their wives ; for Judah's wife was already dead, and Be jamin is ſuppoſed to be ſtill unmarried, Joſeph's wife out of the caſe : ſo that if we add theſe nine wives, which though not of Jacob's blood yet belonged to his family, and to Joſeph's kindred (which is the expreſſion St. Stephen makes uſe of) to the number of ſixty ſix, it will amount to ſeventy five (241).

Some antient and modern writers have ſuppoſed, that all theſe grandſons were not born when Jacob went down into Egypt, but either ſoon after, or at leaſt during his life ; for which reaſon they think Moſes made no ſcruple to ſet them down with the reſt (242). So far are they from thinking, for inſtance, that Benjamin had ten ſons by that time, being but a little turned of thirty, that they think he was hardly married. The ſame thing they ſuppoſe of Pharez's two ſons, alledging, though falſely, that Pharez was but one year old at Jacob's departure (243). But all theſe ſuppoſitions are point blank contrary to the text, and if Moſes muſt have reckoned all thoſe that were born in Egypt before Jacob's death, we don't know why he might not almoſt as well have reckoned ſeven hundred as ſeventy ; ſince they muſt have encreaſed very faſt there, and married very young, elſe they could hardly from ſeventy have increaſed to upwards of ſix hundred thouſand in the ſpace of two hundred and fifteen years, which was all the time of their abode in Egypt. It will therefore be more reaſonable to ſay, according to Moſe's account, that Pharez's two ſons were then

(240) Auguſt. Quæſt. in Gen. cliii. Euchar. & al. (241) Berruyer. Hiſt. du peup. de Dieu, p. 373. 374. 4° Edit. Kidder in pentat. (242) Calmet. Comm. in Gen. in loc. & Hiſtoire de Juifs. p. 245. Berruyer loc. citat. St. Auguſt. Quæſt. (243) Perrer.

THREE things are to be obſerved in the liſt which Moſes has given us in this chapter, namely, 1. That the wives are not ſet down in it; becauſe they were not deſcended from him, any more than his ſervants and ſlaves. 2. That he doth not ſet them down according to the order of their birth as in other places [c], but mentions thoſe that were born of Leah and her maid, and then thoſe of Rachel and her maid. And 3dly, that the number ſixty ſix, in one part of the liſt, is only of the ſouls which came out of Jacob's loins, and the ſecond number of ſeventy is that of all the ſouls which belonged to the houſe of Jacob; to which therefore Joſeph and his two ſons, and a grand-daughter named Serah, Aſher's daughter, muſt be added, in order to make the number of ſeventy complete.

WHILST Jacob and his family were kept in peace and plenty, by the provident care of his ſon, the Egyptians felt the diſmal effects of the famine, which encreaſing daily upon them, and Joſeph holding up his corn at a high rate, ſoon drained them of all their money. After this they were reduced to ſell their cattle, houſes, land, and

The Egyptians ſell their lands and themſelves for corn.

at

[c] Gen. xxxv. 24. & ſeqq. & alib.

then born, though very young; for Pharez, being begotten of Judah in the thirtieth year of his age, might take a wife at fourteen or fifteeen, and ſo have two ſons before Jacob left Canaan (244). The ſame may be likewiſe ſaid of Benjamin, who might have a number of children and two grand-children at the age of thirty one. We have already given inſtances of men, if they may be called ſo, who have had children when they were ſome years younger than we ſuppoſe theſe (245); ſo that there is no reaſon to depart from the plain text of Moſes, to fall into more difficult ſuppoſitions, than any that are in his narrative.

Another difficulty, that is raiſed againgſt this genealogical liſt, is the difference of the names here mentioned and in other places of ſcripture, where the ſame genealogy is rehearſed, as in 1 Chronicles and Numbers (246); but we have already obſerved, that it is very common for men to have two names in the ſcriptures, and to be called ſometimes by one, and ſometimes by the other *. Concerning which the reader may conſult our Commentators at their leiſure; as well as about the omiſſion of ſome of theſe perſons mentioned in Moſes's liſt, which are left out by the author of the book of Chronicles (247).

(244) Mercer. Villet. (245) See before, p. 459 ſub nota (N), (246) 1 Chron. iv. 24. Numb. xxvi. paſſ. * Vid. ſup. p. 439. ſub nota (X). (247) Vid. Villet. in loc.

at length their very selves for subsistence. By this means he bought all their lands and persons for the king's use, and from that time they all became slaves to the crown, except the priests, who had a sufficient quantity of provisions allotted to them out of the royal stores, without being at any expence for it. One would be apt to think, that Joseph's zeal for the king's interest carried him beyond the bounds of common prudence, and that he did not consider, that, whilst he took such an advantage over a starving people, he raised the king's power to the degree of an absolute tyranny, under which his family or their posterity would one time or other severely groan, as they effectually did. The text, as well as Josephus [d], tells us, that he transplanted the people from the one end of the kingdom to the other; and that the miserable multitude went some one way, and some another [e], submitting to any misery rather than starving. However, when the seventh and last year of scarcity was come, Joseph acquainted them, that they might now expect a crop against the next year, that the Nile would overflow, and the earth produce again as usual; that he would distribute fresh lands, cattle, and corn to them, that they might return to their usual tillage; upon this condition, nevertheless, that from henceforth the fifth part of all the product of their lands, should go to the king, and the rest should be theirs. The poor people was glad to submit to these conditions, which were much better than they probably expected. They all set about cultivating the ground that was allotted to them, and from that time it past into a law, that the fifth part of the product of the whole land of Egypt should belong to the crown, which law continued in force for several centuries after, 'till a new regulation and division was made †. However, Joseph by this means gained the love and esteem both of the king and people.

andare transplanted from one end of the kingdom to the other.

The fifth part of the product of their lands assigned to the crown.

Whilst he was enjoying the fruits of his great success and policy, his family at Goshen, whom he failed not to visit often, did wonderfully encrease both in children and wealth. At length Jacob, by that time he had lived there seventeen years, finding himself to grow old and feeble, and that his end could not be far off, sent for his son Joseph, and spoke to him to this purpose: Though the desire

[d] Ch. xlvii. ver. 22. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 7. Chald. & Arab. Vers.

[e] Vid. Hebr.

† Vid. sup. p. 42.

ſire of ſeeing a ſon, ſo dear to me as you are, raiſed to the height of Egyptian glory, joined to the raging famine with which our land was viſited, made me willingly come down into this ſtrange country; yet, Canaan being the inheritance which God promiſed to Abraham and his poſterity, and where he lies interred with my father Iſaac and ſome others of our family, in the ground which he purchaſed of the inhabitants; my laſt and dying requeſt is, that you will not ſuffer me to be buried here; but that you will ſwear to me to ſee me carried to Machphelah, and there depoſited with my anceſtors: your great power with the king of Egypt will eaſily obtain you and me that favour, which is the laſt I have to aſk of you. Joſeph did not make his father wait long for that ſatisfaction; he promiſed and ſwore to him that he would fulfil his deſire; and Jacob, who in all probability had ſat up upon his bed whilſt this ceremony laſted, bowed down his head towards his bed's teſter, in token of adoration and gratitude for the ſatisfaction, which his ſon had now given him (C) [f]. Jacob's requeſt to Joſeph. Year of the Flood, 1310. Year before Chriſt, 1689

JOSEPH,

[f] Gen. xlvii. p. tot.

(C) In this place where Jacob is ſaid to have bowed himſelf, or rather to have worſhipped towards the bed's head; the Septuagint, if it has not been corrupted; ſeems to have read מטה Mate, a ſtaff, for מטה Mittah, a bed. So that they have tranſlated it, he worſhipped towards the end of his ſtaff; and the Rhemiſh divines, he worſhipped the head of his ſtaff (248). From which, and what the Apoſtle to the Hebrews ſays (249), that he worſhipped leaning on his ſtaff, (where the word leaning is added, to expreſs the meaning of the particle על hal in the Hebrew, and ἐπὶ in the Greek; both which ſignify upon, and preſuppoſe his reſting, or leaning upon, and not worſhipping, the top of the ſtaff) they have not ſcrupled to defend the worſhip of the croſs, of which this ſtaff, they pretend, was the type (250). But without entering into the controverſy, it will be ſufficient, in order to juſtify our verſion, to obſerve, 1ſt, that the Apoſtle made uſe of the Septuagint, and

(248) Bibl. Remens in loc. (249) Heb. xi. 21.
(250) D' Annotat. in Heb. xi. 21. & al.

Joseph, who could not long be absent from the court, took his leave of his father, not without giving strict charge to some of the family, that, upon the very first appearance of danger, they should immediately send for him. Accordingly as soon as word was brought to him that his father was dying, he took his two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim with him, and went to present them to him, begging him, that he would give them his blessing before he died. Jacob, at the sight of them, found his strength, as it were, renewed. He sat up upon his bed, and, addressing himself to him, spoke with such chearfulness, and in such strong and lively terms, as shewed nothing less than the dotage or weakness of a dying old man. He began with recapitulating all the glorious promises which God had formerly made to him, concerning his numerous posterity's inheriting the land of Canaan, and concluded with the death of his dear Rachel. How tenderly I loved her, continued he, my whole family can testify, but I design to give her and you a further proof of my affection: you have had two sons born in this strange land, which according to the usual order of inheritance should have only the portion of grand-children in the division of the promised land; but I will do more for them, and they shall from this day be called by my name, be esteemed my sons, and, as heads of two distinct tribes, receive a double lot: thus, instead of the tribe of Joseph they shall be called the two tribes of Manasseh and Ephraim. But if you have any more sons after them, they shall only be allotted the portion of grand-children. I have yet one thing more in store for you above the rest of your brethren, viz. the portion which I took out of the hands of the Amorites by my sword and bow. This shall likewise fall to the lot of your posterity, when God

Joseph brings his two sons to Jacob.

Ephraim and Manasseh, are made two tribes in Israel.

and so quotes it as he finds it there, and not as it was in the original, which the Jews did no longer understand. And secondly, that he speaks there of a different action, viz. Jacob's blessing Joseph's children, which did not happen till some time after, whereas here Jacob makes Joseph swear not to bury him in Egypt. Here he seems to have kept his bed, and there to have received fresh spirits, and to have sat on it, leaning, perhaps, on his staff (251).

(251) Compare Gen. xlvii. and xlviii. vid. Villet. c. 47.

God ſhall bring you into that happy land (D). He then deſired his two grandſons to be brought to him, which Joſeph accordingly did, placing the eldeſt at Jacob's right, and the youngeſt at his left, hand: But he was ſurprized to find his father croſs his deſign, by croſſing his arms and laying his right on the head of the youngeſt, and his left on that of the eldeſt. He would have hindered it, thinking, that it was done by a miſtake; but his father convinced him of the contrary, and in bleſſing of the lads, which he did with great fervency and tenderneſs, he not only preferred Ephraim to Manaſſeh, but gave him much the larger and nobler bleſſing. The ſequel of this hiſtory will ſhew how exactly

Jacob bleſſeth the younger before the elder

(D) There is a threefold queſtion ſtated from this place, viz. 1. What portion this was which Jacob gave to Joſeph. 2. How he is ſaid to have conquered it by his ſword. 3. If Sichem be the place here meant, why he ſays, that he got it from the Amorites: Whereas Hamor the father of Sichem was a Hivite (252). As to the firſt; it is generally agreed, that it was the city and territories of Sichem; for we do not read of any other conqueſts that Jacob made; and accordingly we find Sichem mentioned in St. John's goſpel (253) as the place which he gave unto Joſeph. 2. How he could ſay, that he got it by his ſword and his bow, when he ſo far diſallowed his ſon's barbarous action towards the Sichemites, as even to curſe their reſentment which was the cauſe of it, has puzled all our antient and modern expoſitors to account for, we ſhall only mention ſome of the moſt notable conjectures about it. 1. Some think, it was the ſword and bow of his innocence (254); others of his prayers (255); others of his money (256): others think, that he ſpeaks proleptically, and that it was to be conquered afterwards by Joſeph's poſterity (257): others again think, that Jacob had atchieved ſome warlike exploit againſt the Amorites, as Abraham had againſt the four kings (258). But the moſt general and probable opinion is, that when his ſons had once got that city and territories by the murder of all the inhabitants, he was forced to ſtand up in his own defence, and to keep the poſſeſſion of it by force of arms, 'till he removed to Bethel, and to recover it again by the ſame means from the Amorreans, who, lying intermixed with the Hivites, had taken poſſeſſion of it during his abſence. And this is the reaſon why he ſays he got, or recovered, it from the Amorites, and not the Hivites (259),

(252) Gen. xxxiv. 2. Hieron. tradit. Hebr. Hieron. ibid. Auguſt. Cajetan. Andr. Maſius. Villet. Berrayer, & al.

(253) John iv. 5

(254)

(255) Chald. Paraph.

(256)

(257) Jun & al.

(258)

(259) R. Sal. N. de Lyr. Merger.

this prophecy of Jacob was verified in those two tribes, as well as the next grand one, which he pronounced concerning all the twelve [g].

For Jacob, having now exhausted his spirits, and finding his death approaching, resolved to consecrate his few remaining hours in foretelling to his sons, whom he had gathered about him, what should happen to them in the latter days; and as no prophecy was ever more punctually fulfilled than this, we shall endeavour to give it to our readers in a more modern and intelligible stile, than we have in our version, without departing from the sense of the original; and where any difficulty happens in our way, we shall acquaint him with it in a marginal note, and endeavour to make it as plain as we can. However, we beg leave to premise here, that what Jacob pronounces, or rather propheſies, concerning his sons, is not so much to be understood and foretold of them, as of their tribes; nor of what shall immediately happen to them, but of what was not to have its completion till some time at least after their entrance into the promised land. Thus, for instance, when he says, that Zebulun shall dwell along the sea-coasts, or that Naphtali is a well spread tree yielding grafts and fair branches; it is plain, that he means by the first, that the lot of the tribe of Zebulun should be by the sea-side; and by the last, that the Naphtalites should prove in time very powerful and numerous. This is what the event hath fully verified, and what shall be further proved in the following notes. The good old patriarch, after a most pathetick preface to draw their deepest attention, began with the first-born in these words:

Jacob's last blessing to his twelve sons. Reuben.

"Reuben, thou art my first-born, and wast once the "the first-fruits of my might and my strength, and as such "thou wast entituled to the right of primogeniture, the best "portion in thy inheritance, to the dignity of the priesthood, "and the supreme authority over thy brethren: but all "these prerogatives, like the unstable waters, that pass by "and return no more, are gone from thee; because thou, "little regarding the sacredness of thy father's bed, didst "defile it, and alienate it from me [h]; for which crime, "though thou continue still to be a tribe in Israel, yet thou "shalt ever be far inferior to the rest of thy brethren, "either in number, wealth, or strength (E). Simeon

[g] Gen. xlviii. p. tot. [h] Gen. xxxv. 22. Vid. Munst. loc.

(E) The sequel of the Jewish history shews, that the tribe of Reuben did still remain in obscurity, and without any of the marks of

" SIMEON or Levi might have ſucceeded to the right of progeniture, which their brother's inceſt had juſtly de- Simeon and Levi.
" prived him of, had they not proved ſuch inſtruments of
" treacherous cruelty. May my ſoul be for ever preſerved
" from ſuch bloody councils, and my honour unſtained from
" their horrid guilt: For the fierceneſs of their anger
" hurried them to commit murder, and the impetuouſneſs
" of their fury made them break through all obſtacles that
" oppoſed them. Curſed be their fury, for it was violent,
" and their malice, for it was inhuman. This cruel diſ-
" poſition of theirs forces me to divide their tribes, that
" they may never be rejoined in Iſrael [i]." Thus far the good old patriarch performed a ſevere and ungrateful taſk, and his prophecy againſt thoſe tribes was exactly verified in due time (F). Then caſting his eyes on Judah, with a joy equal to the indignation which he had expreſſed againſt his other brethren, he addreſſed himſelf to him thus.

[i] Gen. xlix, ver. 5, 6, 7.

of diſtinction, which uſed to be annexed to the right of primogeniture, ſuch as a double portion, ſupreme authority, and the prieſthood. Accordingly the Jewiſh expoſitors, eſpecially the Bereſhith Rabbah, or large comment on Geneſis, tell us (260), that he fell from the threefold dignity, viz. וּמַמְלָכוּת הַבְּכוֹרָה הַכְּהוּנָה primogeniture, prieſthood, and royal dignity. But becauſe thou art fallen, continues the commentator, thy primogeniture is given to Joſeph (who accordingly had two portions allotted to him), the prieſthood to Levi, and the ſcepter to Judah. And where it is ſaid of this laſt (261), thy brethren ſhall praiſe thee, he paraphraſes it thus: אַחֶיךָ נִקְרָאִים עַל שְׁמֶךָ וְהִיא בַל Thy brethren ſhall be called by thy name, i. e. they will not ſay I am a Reubenite, or a Simeonite, but a יְהוּדִי Jehudi, a Jew.

(F) Jacob's words imply a double diſperſion, viz. of the two tribes from one another, and their being interſperſed among the reſt. And accordingly Levi had no inheritance among his brethren in the land of Canaan, but had a certain number of cities aſſigned to it in every tribe. As for that of Simeon it had properly but a portion of Judah's inheritance (262), if we except ſome few places which they got upon mount Seir and in the wilds of the valley of Gedor (263).

(260) Bereſh. Rab. ſect. 98 (261) Gen. xlix. 8. (262) Joſh, xix. 1 & ſeq. (263) 1 Chron. iv. 39, & 40.

Judah. " JUDAH, thy name ſignifies praiſe †, and accordingly " thou ſhalt have the praiſe of all thy brethren. They ſhall " fall proſtrate before thee, as before their king and " ſovereign, and thy enemies ſhall be forced to ſubmit " their necks to thy yoke. Like a young lion ſhall my ſon " fall upon his prey, and like an old lion, or a fierce lioneſs " ready to ruſh upon it, who ſhall dare to rouſe him up? " The ſcepter ſhall not depart from Judah, nor the law- " giver from between his feet, until Shiloh be come and the " the people be gathered unto him (G); his portion ſhall " abound

† Vid. ſup. p. 440.

(G) The ſenſe, as well as completion, of this noble prophecy, being very much diſputed between the Jews and us, we have endeavoured to render latter the part of the verſe more agreeably to the original, which in its plain and obvious ſenſe affirms, that the ſcepter ſhall not depart from Judah——till both Shiloh was come, and the nations gathered unto, or brought to, his obedience. This verſion is further proved by the event; for the Jews did not loſe their ſcepter, or Sanhedrim, which was their בֵּית דִּין Beth din, or higheſt court of judicature and ſupreme legiſlative power, till the Heathen became converts to Chriſtianity, of whom Cornelius was the firſt (264): And the Jews themſelves own, that this ſupreme court did ſtill ſubſiſt from the time of Moſes, the founder of it, to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem by the Romans. They likewiſe own, that the word שֵׁבֶט Sheveth, which we tranſlate Scepter, doth not always ſignify the royal power of dignity, but ſometimes only the legiſlative; and this has been further proved by two eminent divines (265). The latter Jews therefore, finding themſelves pinched by this prophecy, rather than allow the received interpretation of the antients, which is agreeable to ours, have fallen into various abſurd notions, which they are not aſhamed to defend with a zeal peculiar to them. Thus ſome will have the meaning of this paſſage to be, that the Meſſiah ſhall not come, till Shiloh, the place ſo called, be deſtroyed, or the Jewiſh monarchy be at an end (266). Others by Sheveth underſtand a tribe, which that word alſo ſignifies, and think the meaning to be, that Judah ſhould not ceaſe to be a tribe till the coming of Meſſiah (267): in which they have been alſo followed by ſome Chriſtians (268); becauſe that tribe did viſibly ſubſiſt as ſuch till the deſtruction

(264) Acts 10. paſſ. (265) Vid. in Mede's works, a ſermon on that text and Saurin's diſcours hiſtoriques, &c. diſc. xli. (266) Aben-Ezra in loc. & al (267) Vid. Munſt. in loc. (268) Oleaſt. Jun. Villet. & al. in loc.

" abound with ſuch fertile vineyards, fruitful trees, and " paſture grounds, that he ſhall tie his aſs to the vine and " palm-

ſtruction of Jeruſalem, but ſo did that of Levi. However, many of our modern Jews ſtand ſtifly to this ſenſe, and ſcruple not to affirm, that it has ſubſiſted, not only to that time, but even to this very day, pure and unmixed Others add, that it retains ſtill a kind of ſcepter, or royal power, beyond the river Euphrates, and that the Naſſi, or head of it, is a prince lineally deſcended from Judah, whoſe ſplendor, dignity, and power over his own tribe, is little inferior to that of a king (269); but credat Judæus. 'Tis certain we have only their bare word for this imaginary kingdom. They likewiſe diſagree not with us, but even among themſelves, about the meaning of the word מחוקק Mechokek, law-giver. Concerning which we ſhall refer our readers to the two laſt-mentioned divines for further ſatisfaction (270).

As to the word שילה Shiloh, though it be almoſt univerſally owned to mean the Meſſiah, yet as to its original ſignification there is no ſmall diſagreement. St. Jerom reads it Shaloach from שלוח Shalach to ſend, reading ח for ה (271). Others from שלה Shalah to be peaceable (272), and underſtand by Shiloh a peace-maker. Others derive it from שיל Shil, which they will have to ſignify a ſon, becauſe שליה Shiliah, or Shilijah, ſignifies the ſecundine of a woman (273); but 'tis plain the firſt of theſe is no where to be found in the Old Teſtament, and the ſecond only in one place, where it moſt probably ſignifies the ſecundine (274). A modern critic takes the word Shiloh to ſignify the end, and the ſenſe of the words to be, that from the time the ſcepter comes into the tribe of Judah, it will continue in it till that tribe be at an end (275); but his opinion has been lately confuted, among many others, by the above-mentioned Monſ. Saurin, in an elaborate diſcourſe on that ſubject †. Another modern author tells us, that it ought to be derived from Shulah, to fatigue, be tired, ſuffer, and to be applied by the ſufferings of the Meſſiah (276): but without fatiguing our readers any further, the moſt probable ſenſe of the word, if the change of a letter be allowed, will be that of the Septuagint, Onkelos, and ſome others (277); who read it שילו Sheloh, that is, he to whom it belongs, ן and

(270) Mede and Saurin loc. citat. (271) Hieron. quæſt. Hebr. (272) Mercer. & al. (273) Vid. Villet. cap. 49. & Saurin loc. cit. (274) Deut. xxviii. 57. (275) Le Clerc in Com. Pentat. in loc. † Saur. loc. cit. (276) Gouſſet Comm. ling. Hebr. ſub voce שלח fatigare Vid. Calm. ſub voce Schilo. (277) LXX. Targ. Onkel. in loc. Mornay cont. Jud. Oleaſt. & al.

(296) Benj. de Tudel. Itiner. &

" palm-tree, and wash his garments in the juice of the grape,
" and his teeth with the milk of his kine (H) [k].

Zebulun. " ZEBULUN, (I) dwellings shall spread themselves along
" the borders of the sea, and he shall stretch the number
" of his commodious havens as far as the city of Zidon [l].

Issachar. " ISSACHAR, like a strong, but indolent, ass, shall
" choose to carry burdens in the midst of his brethren,
" rather than be deprived of his beloved ease, in the
" pleasant

[k] Gen. ibid. ver. 8. & seqq. [l] Ibid. 13.

י being often interchanged in the sacred book *, the sense will be plainly this, that the sceptre or legislative power shall not depart from, but be deposited in the tribe of Judah, until the right owner, or he, sheló, to whom it of right belongs, has made his appearance in the world. This sense seems the most easy, natural, and agreeable to the original, as well as the most applicable to Christ the king of kings. As for the י redundant in שילה Shilo, it is agreeable to the property of the word Shevi as the grammarians speak.

(H) Judah's lot did exactly answer this prediction, it was a fertile land, full of vineyards, fruit-trees, and noble pasture-ground for cattle. It was in this tribe that the valley of Eshcol, or the brook of the grape, was, a bunch of which was brought by two of the spies whom Moses sent to search the land, as a specimen of the richness of the soil: here was likewise the brook or torrent of that name, along whose banks were the most delicious pasture grounds: (278) and some travellers assure us, that there are still very large grapes to be met with in the valley of Hebron, which may be probably that along which that torrent runs (279).

(I) Zebulun is mentioned next, though Issachar was elder than he, for which no certain reason can be assign'd, unless we suppose, that the patriarch had a prophetic eye to the lot which was to fall to Zebulun, which was in time to become famous for being the chief dwelling of the Messiah; for Nazareth and Capernaum were in that tribe, and himself was denominated a Nazarene from the first of these cities (280); but this is a conjecture only. Certain it is however, that if Jacob had been present at the division of the promised land, he could hardly have given a more exact description of Zebulun's lot, than he did then above two hundred and fifty years before it happened: for it extended from the Mediterranean on the west, to the lake of Genezareth on the east side.

* Vid. 2. Sam. xvi. 10. & 18. ap. Munst. in loc. (278) Num. xiii. pass. Calvin. Mercer. Jun. Grot. & al. (279) Vid. Calmet. Comm. in Numb. xiii. ver. 24. 25. (280) Matth. ii. alt. & cap. iv. 13. & seq.

" pleaſant land of his inheritance, and prefer ſervitude and
" tribute before the fatigues of war and conqueſt (K) [m]."

FROM the ſix ſons of Leah Jacob paſſes to thoſe of Bilhah, Rachel's maid. He begins with intimating, that the ſons of the handmaids ſhould have the ſame priviledge with thoſe of the miſtreſſes, and be heads and judges of their own tribes. Then alluding to the name of Dan, a judge, he declares, " that he ſhould judge his people, that is, his
" own tribe, like the reſt of the twelve ;" and then adds,
" that like a ſerpent hid in the highway, or a viper in the
" ſand, which doth not openly aſſault its enemy, but bites
" him by the heel ; ſo Dan ſhould overcome more by po- Dan
" licy and ſtratagem, than by valour and open force (L) [n]."

Here

[m] Ibid. 14. [n] Ibid. 16. & ſeqq.

(K) No leſs wonderful and exact was he in the deſcription of Iſſachar's tribe, and the lot that fell to it. The Chaldee paraphraſt, who is alſo followed by the generality of Jewiſh Rabbies, gives a different turn to this prophecy : they read it thus, " Iſſachar,
" finding that his lot is fallen in a fertile land, ſhall ſubdue the in-
" habitants of it, and bring them under tribute ;" but the firſt ſenſe is more agreeable to the original, and verified by the event : for that tribe had the richeſt and moſt fertile ſpot in all the land of Canaan, but was often infeſted and ſubjected by ſtrangers, eſpecially in the time of the judges.

(L) The word נחש Nachaſh in the original ſignifies a ſerpent in general, which having no ſuch qualities as are here deſcribed, the Septuagint have tranſlated it by the word Ceraſtes, which is a kind of ſerpent, ſo called from its having two fleſhy horns ; its inſtinct is to hide itſelf in the ſand, and by faſtening on the horſes heel, to make him overthrow his rider (281). The Jews think that this prophecy was more particularly fulfilled, when Sampſon, who was of that tribe, pulled down the large building, which cruſhed him and the Philiſtines to death (282). Others, both Jews and Chriſtians, ſuppoſe, that Jacob, deſcended to intimate by it, that, though Dan's tribe was but ſmall, he having had but one ſon, yet it, ſhould produce one of the moſt famous Judges of all Iſrael (283) : As for thoſe who apply this prophecy to Antichriſt, as if he was to come out of that tribe ; becauſe he is omitted in the Apocalypſe in the liſt of the tribes that were ſealed (284) ; they are ſcarce worth confuting, ſince they may as well

(281) Vid. Bochart. Hierozoic lib. 1. col. 28. (282) Vid. Münſt. in loc. Villet. c. 49. (283) Chald. Paraph. Jun. in loc. Calmet. Hiſt. O. T. (284) Perrer. contr. 1.

Here the prophetic patriarch breaks out into an ejaculation, *I wait for thy Salvation, O Lord.* The meaning of which seems to be this, that whether his posterity were preserved by their valour or policy, whether they owed their success to the drawn sword of Judah, or the hidden snares of Dan; yet their safety and happiness did chiefly depend on the gracious promises of God, on whom he did rely. Others think, however, that Jacob, foreseeing either the grievous oppressions which that tribe was to labour under, as it actually did from the Amorites [o], from which nothing but a miracle could save them, or their defection from the true worship of God, that tribe being the first that set up the public worship of idols [p], did breath out this short prayer for their deliverance. However, it is not improbable, that Jacob might have a much higher view than any of these, and that his comparing Dan to a viper might bring into his mind that universal salvation, which was to be wrought by the seed of the woman, which was to bruise the serpent's head, and to have his heel bruised by it [q].

Gad. "GAD, continued he, shall be often infested by bands "of robbers and plunderers, but he shall conquer them "at last (M) [r].

"ASHER's

[o] Judg. i. 34. Vid. Tremel. in loc. [p] Ibid. cap. xvii & xviii pass. [q] Gen. iii. 15. [r] Ibid. xlix. 19.

well fetch him out of that of Simeon, which Moses omits when he blesses the rest (285). Besides, Jacob pronounces these words as a blessing, not as a curse, to Dan, whose tribe moreover was dispersed, if not extinguished, a thousand years before Antichrist appeared in the world, if he has yet at all.

(M) What was prophesied of Gad was likewise exactly verified. His lot happened on the other side of Jordan, where he was continually exposed to the excursions of the plundering Arabs, but, by the continual watchfulness and bravery of that tribe, they were not only prevented, but sometimes also caught and plundered in their turn by the Gadites. Others indeed understand it quite otherwise, and it must be owned, that the original is somewhat obscure in this place: they read it thus, Gad, being girded for the battle, shall lead an army, and bring it back conqueror, which they apply to Jeptha, who is thought to have been of that tribe; but, as this sense is rather too forced, others read it, Gad armed shall fight at the head of all Israel; which they think was in some measure verified, when, having received their portion on one side of Jordan,

(285) Deut. xxxiii.

" ASHER's portion ſhall make him happy; it ſhall Aſher.
" abound with excellent corn and oil, the bread and dainty
" meats that ſhall be made of them ſhall be fit for a king's
" table (N) [s] "

" NAPHTALI is like a large tree, well ſpread, or having Naphtali.
" grafts, which ſhoot out pleaſant branches." Or, according to our Engliſh verſion, Naphtali, like a hind newly eſcaped, or let looſe, ſhall excel his brethren in ſwiftneſs, and be remarkable for the ſweetneſs of his eloquence (O) [t].

THESE

[s] Ibid. ver. 20. [t] Ibid. ver. 20.

Jordan, they offered likewiſe to go and help their breathren on the other ſide to conquer theirs. But, beſides that this is alſo far fetched; theſe prophecies ſeem rather to intimate the fate and ſucceſs of the tribes in general, than any particular action or circumſtance of theirs. And therefore we prefer the firſt reading, and think, that the prophecy refers chiefly to the continual conflicts the Gadites had with the Hagarenes, that is, with Jetur, Nephiſh, and Nodab, whom they at length overcame, and took from them in one battle fifty thouſand camels, two hundred and fifty thouſand ſheep, and an hundred thouſand men priſoners (286). This ſenſe is likewiſe more agreeable to the character which Moſes gives of that tribe, who compares it to a lion that leapeth upon his prey (287).

(N) The bleſſing ſpoken to Aſher is capable of a double ſenſe, and both verified by the event, namely, either that his country ſhould be the moſt fertile, and produce the nobleſt corn in the whole land of Paleſtine, which it actually did; or elſe that it ſhould abound with the fineſt and moſt delicious oil, fit to be mixed with all kinds of paſtry-work, which his portion was alſo remarkable for, inſomuch, that its oil was the moſt famed of all Canaan's, as ſhall be ſhewn in the ſequel: for which reaſon we have choſen to word it in ſuch terms, as ſhould expreſs the two excellencies of that noble ſoil, rather than to confine the ſenſe to either particular; though Moſes in his bleſſing of that tribe ſeems to intimate the latter, when he ſays, that Aſher ſhould dip his foot in oil (288).

(O) We have alſo given this prophecy in both the ſenſes which the original will bear; but, as that which our Engliſh verſion gives us is ſomewhat uncouth and unintelligible, we have endeavoured to make the ſenſe of it a little plainer; though that reading be the moſt generally received both by the antient and modern expoſitors; and

(286) 1 Chron. v. 20, ver. 21. vid. Mercer. Villet. Jun. & al.
(287) Deut. xxxiii. 22. & ſeqq. (288) Ibid. ver. 24.

These four laſt were the ſons of the two hand-maids, from whom he paſſes with a ſeeming joy to thoſe of his beloved Rachel; and Joſeph, whoſe turn came next, heard his bleſſings pronounced in the moſt pompous and endearing terms.

Joſeph. Joseph, ſaid the good old father, ſhall increaſe daily more and more, as his name doth emphatically imply. His beauty attracted the eyes of the fair ſex, the damſels ran upon the walls to ſee him. (P) Or, according to our verſion, he ſhall multiply like a fruitful bough planted by a well ſide, whoſe branches run up and ſpread againſt the wall. Men armed with poiſoned darts of rancour and envy, meaning his bretheren, have cauſed him a world of woe; his ruin would have been unavoidable, had not the Almighty, in whom he truſted, proved his ſtrong ſhield and defence, broken his bonds from off his arms (Q), and brought him out

and the firſt part applied to Barach's overcoming Siſerah, and the latter to the ſweet words which Deborah and he ſang in the noble canticle which was made on that occaſion (289); yet as we have obſerved, that Jacob's bleſſings have a more general ſcope, we prefer the firſt reading, which compares him to a well-ſpread oak, which is agreeable to the original, and more exactly verified by the event; for no tribe multiplied ſo wonderfully as this of Naphtali, who had but four ſons when he came into Egypt; yet could muſter up upward of fifty three thouſand men fit to bear arms (290) when they came out of it; i. e. in leſs than 220 years. Thoſe who make a difficulty againſt our tranſlating the Hebrew אילה Ailah a great tree, becauſe it is contrary to the Mazorah's punctuation, may find that verſion juſtified by the learned Bochart and Le Scene, as well as that of the whole verſe (291), which is agreeable to the Septuagint, Chaldee, and Arabic verſions

(P) The original has בן פרת Ben porath; which if derived from the root פרה Para, he has fructified, as ſome do, the ſenſe will be, Joſeph is a fruitful ſon; and then the word בנות Banoth (daughters) muſt be underſtood figuratively of the branches that run along the wall; but we rather chuſe to derive the word from פאר Paar, to make, or be, beautiful, א being quieſcent in holeim, as the Grammarians ſpeak, and then the literal ſenſe will be, Joſeph is a ſon of beauty; the daughters ran upon the walls to ſee him, and this reading has by far the moſt votes.

(Q) Our Engliſh verſion and ſome others render this verſe thus; *but his bow abode in ſtrength, and the arms of his hands were*

(289) Judg. c. iv. & v. p. tot. (290) Num. i. 43.
(291) Bochart. Hieroz. Le Scene. Eſſ. on a new Tranſlat. & al.

out of priſon, to be a father and protector to the houſe of Iſrael; for this the Lord, even the God of thy father, ſhall bleſs thee with the dew of heaven, and with the fatneſs of the earth, with the fruit of the womb, a numerous poſterity, and the fruit of the breaſt, and plenty of all ſorts of cattle. May all the bleſſings promiſed to me and to my forefathers, be doubled upon Joſeph's head, even upon his crowned head (R); may they out-top and out-ſtretch the everlaſting mountain, and prove to him more fruitful and laſting than they [u].

BENJAMIN,

[u] Ibid. ver. 22. & ſeqq.

were made ſtrong: but this interpretation is ſomething forced, and the literal ſenſe runs thus; *but he continued in the ſtrength of his bow*; *and the hands of his arms* (*not weapons but the arms of his body*) יפרוז Japhuſu were (not ſtrengthened, as it is there rendered) but broken, ſcattered; which therefore may be more applicable to his fetters, in which the Septuagint, Vulgate, Chaldee, &c. have taken it; the ſame word alſo occurs in the firſt verſe of the 68th Pſalm; *let God ariſe and let his enemies be ſcattered*; is therefore rightly rendered there, and it would have been nonſenſe to have ſaid let his enemies be ſtrengthened, that verſe being the very words which Moſes and the Iſraelites uſed, whenever the ark was taken up, before they marched from one place to another (292): to which may be added that the verb פרז Phos, has ſeldom any other ſignification than that we have given it, which, however, we ſubmit to the reader.

(R) We have here likewiſe ventured to depart from the Engliſh verſion, which renders the words נזיר אחיו Nazir Achauf him that was ſeparate from his brothers; for though the verb נזר Nazar ſignifies to ſeparate, whence the word Nazarite comes; and Joſeph was really ſeparated from his brethren when he was ſold into Egypt; yet it is not probable, that Jacob would have couched ſo barbarous and unnatural an action in ſuch ſoft terms, when the original abounds with the moſt expreſſive: beſides, Nazar doth rather ſignify a ſeparating upon a religious account; it is therefore more probable, that he uſed the word Nazir, which ſignifies crowned, in alluſion to the ſuperintendants of the kings houſhold, in all the eaſtern empires, who were called Nazirs, and probably wore ſome kind of diadem about their heads by way of diſtinction and grandeur (293). This ſenſe will be more agreeable likewiſe to the ſolemn and pompous ſtyle, which the patriarch uſes throughout all Joſeph's bleſſing.

(292) Numb. x. 35.

(293) Vid. Calmet. Hiſt. Old. Teſt. in loc.

Benjamin. Benjamin, the laſt of all Jacob's ſons, who had been ſo great a favourite of his father, did probably expect a ſuitable bleſſing from him; but whether it were that Jacob foreſaw no extraordinary merit or happineſs attending his tribe, or that its being afterwards blended with that of Judah, would make it to ſhare in all its bleſſings, he contented himſelf with deſcribing him by his fierce and warlike diſpoſition, who wolf-like ſhould ſhed the blood of his enemies, and in the evening divide their ſpoil (S). Having thus pronounced his prophetical bleſſing to every tribe (T), he reminded

(S) The warlike and untameable diſpoſition of this tribe was ſufficiently verified afterwards in many inſtances, but more particularly the two following ones; namely, firſt, by the fierce battles which they fought againſt the united force of all the other tribes, though for a very bad cauſe, the Levite's abuſed concubine (294), wherein they came off conquerors twice, though vaſtly inferior in numbers (295): and ſecondly, by the war, which the houſe of Saul, who was of that tribe, had with David and the houſe of Judah, for the kingdom (296): however, 'tis certain, that they are deſcribed in ſcripture as the fierceſt warriors, and experteſt archers in Iſrael.

(T) Some critics have cavilled at the words of Moſes, he (Jacob) bleſſed every one of them with a ſeparate bleſſing (297); whereas they think the three firſt might have been more properly called curſes than bleſſings; and this has given others and us unneceſſary trouble of anſwering them. Some authors have been too fond of having recourſe to the ſubtilties of the ſchools to elude this difficulty; thus St. Ambroſe tells us, that they being rather prophecies than bleſſings muſt therefore be bleſſings becauſe they are prophecies (298): and another Romiſh author (299) ſays, that they were called bleſſings from the greateſt part being ſuch; whereas it is ſaid, that he bleſſed every one (300): others therefore have bethought themſelves of that thread-bare ſolution, that the ſame word in the original ſignifies to bleſs and to curſe, which has been applied to other caſes as well as this, and to as little purpoſe. Thus, when Job's wife bids him bleſs God and die, they have thought, that ſhe meant curſe God and die; whereas 'tis plain ſhe only ſpeaks ironically to him, and means nothing but that he bleſſes God in vain; ſince he would die as well as thoſe

(294) Judg. xix. p. tot. (295) Ibid. c. xx. (296) 1 Sam. paſſ. (297) Gen. xlix. 28. (298) Ambros. de benedict. Patriarch. Jacob. cap. ii. (299) Ferrer. (300) Ver. 28.

reminded them, eſpecially Joſeph, that they ſhould bury him with his anceſtors in the cave of Machphelah; and they having renewed their promiſe to him, he laid himſelf again in his bed, and ſoon after expired [w], being 147 years of age, ſeventeen of which he ſpent in Egypt in the land of Goſhen (V).

And

[w] Gen. xxix. p. tot.

thoſe that let it alone. As for R. Solomon's anſwer, we mention it only for its abſurdity and impiouſneſs, who ſays, that Jacob deſigned indeed to bleſs all his ſons, but that he was ſeized with a phrentic fit at the beginning, which made him curſe the three firſt that came to hand. It will be ſufficient to ſay, that he bleſſed them all, though not alike; and if his ſevere rebuke to the three eldeſt, and the puniſhment he pronounced againſt them, did bring them to a ſenſe of their wickedneſs, it was a bleſſing to them, though not a temporal one; though even in this laſt ſenſe he may well be ſaid to have bleſſed them likewiſe, ſince he aſſigned each of them a lot in the inheritance, the promiſed land, which he had power to have deprived them of; and as Moſes did afterwards bleſs them, 'tis plain, he did not think they had received a curſe from their father.

(V) Beſides theſe prophecies of Jacob, which Moſes has preſerved to us, and which have been ſufficiently verified by their events, the Jews attribute ſome other works to him, ſuch as the treatiſe, entitled, The Ladder to Heaven; in which there is an explanation of that which he ſaw in a dream at Bethel; and which the Ebionites adopted as canonical; and a teſtament called by his name, The Teſtament of Jacob, reckoned by Pope Gelaſius among the Apocryphas. The Jews do likewiſe uſe ſome prayers every night, which they pretend to have been compoſed by him: they affirm, that he wrote the 14 gradual pſalms, and ſome others, whilſt he lived with Laban, all which fables are only fit for a Jewiſh creed. However, as to the great praiſes which they give him, no one can blame them for it; and the author of Eccleſiaſticus has juſtly ſummed up his character in few words, chap. xliv. 25, 26. Some divines, eſpecially of the church of Rome, look upon him not only to have plainly foretold the coming of the Meſſiah, but to have been likewiſe a kind of type of him in his laborious and troubleſome life; in his flights and travels; in his marriage with Leah, the figure of the Jewiſh ſynagogue; and afterwards with his beloved Rachel, the figure of the chriſtian church.

The Mohammedans allow him to have been not only a prophet, but alſo the father of all the prophets, who were all deſcended from him, except Job, Jethro, and Mohammed. They likewiſe believe, that the royal dignity did not depart from his poſterity till

And now Joseph, who had hitherto suppressed his grief, began to give it full vent; he fell upon his dead father, bathed his face with tears, and expressed all the filial sorrow that such a loss could inspire; at length remembering his dying charge, he went to get his body embalmed, and to make all other preparations for his funeral. The Egyptians on their part mourned for him as long as the days of his embalming lasted, viz. seventy days, the ceremony of which was performed as follows; the body was sent to the physicians or embalmers, who first took out the brain and entrails, and washed them in palm-wine, impregnated with strong astringent drugs; after which they began to anoint the body with oil of cedar, myrrh, cinnamon, and cassia, and this lasted thirty days. They next put it into salt of nitre during the space of forty days longer; so that they allowed threescore and ten days to complete the ceremony [x]. This method, however, was only used for persons of the greatest rank; the meaner people had a cheaper way, but Joseph was too sensible of his father's merit to spare any cost for him. He being in deep mourning making him unfit to appear at court, he begged of some of Pharaoh's officers to acquaint him with his father's death, and with his last commands, who made no difficulty to grant his favourite's just request, and order'd moreover the

[x] Vid. sup. p. 571, & seq.

till the times of John the Baptist and Jesus Christ, and that the twelve tribes of the Jews did spring from him, as their own twelve tribes did spring from Ishmael. Jacob gave name to two places, viz. the well and the ford of Jacob: the former was still known by that name in our Saviour's time, and we read of a famous church formerly built there in the form of a cross, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist; and that the well was just before the rails of the communion-table, to which sick folks resorted in great numbers, to drink some of its water for the recovery of their health. As for the ford of Jacob, it is not easy to guess whereabouts it was; but as for those who think, that he forded the Jordan near the place where it empties itself into the sea of Tiberias, they seem to have gone much out of the way, and it is more likely, that he crossed somewhere near Beth-san, since he came back by that way; when he returned from Mesopotamia, and that he crossed the Jabbock at Mahanaim, and went from thence to Peniel and Succoth, which are near Beth-san, and his prayer that he had passed over that river only with his staff, and now with two bands, makes it probable, that he came back the same way he went.

the chief officers of his houſhold, and the grandees of the kingdom, to accompany the funeral pomp. All Jacob's family went likewiſe along with it, none ſtayed behind but their wives and little ones. The cavalcade conſiſted of a great number of chariots, and a vaſt multitude of men on horſeback. As ſoon as they had croſſed the river Jordan, and were entered into the land of Canaan, they made a halt of ſeven days at the threſhing floor of Atad, and there performed a funeral ceremony, which made the Canaanites call the place Abel-Mizraim, or the mourning of the Egyptians. They then continued their march till they arrived at Machphelah, where Iſrael's ſons depoſited him in the cave, and then returned to Egypt with the reſt of their company. It was then that Joſeph's brethren began to fear his reſentments for the former wrongs they had done to him; to prevent which, as much as they could, they ſent an humble meſſage to him, to acquaint him, that it was their father's earneſt requeſt to him, that he would forget all paſt injuries, and take them ſtill under his protection. Such an injurious and undeſerv'd ſuſpicion might have had a quite contrary effect than they deſired, had he been of a leſs generous temper; but Joſeph was ſo far from reſenting it, or enquiring into the validity of this pretended laſt requeſt of their father, which he never had heard of before, though he was the proper perſon to whom it ſhould have been made, that he could not refrain his tears, whilſt the meſſenger was acquainting him with the concern and dread his brethren were in: to remove which, he ſent immediately for them, and received them with the ſame affection as when Jacob was alive; he excuſed and comforted them, and gave them ſuch freſh aſſurances of his future love and protection, that they went joyfully home to their families, though probably very much amazed at the greatneſs of his ſoul, a virtue to which they ſeem to have been utter ſtrangers.

He outlived his father about ſixty years, and when he found his death approaching, he ſent for his brethren and told them, with the ſame prophetic ſpirit that Jacob had done before, that God would, according to his promiſe, bring their poſterity out of Egypt into the land of Canaan: he charged them therefore not to bury him there, but to lay his body in a coffin, and depoſit it in ſome place where they might find it, and carry it away with them, and bury it

y Gen. xlix. ver. 22. & ſeq.

it in the spot of ground which Jacob had given to him by his last will. He gave up the ghost soon after [z], and his brethren took care to fulfil his last request, having first got him embalmed, after the manner of the Egyptians (W). The

[z] Ibid. cap. ult. p. tot.

(W) The Jewish rabbies have been very fertile in their inventions, in adding many particulars to the life and death of this great man, of which there is not the least footstep in scripture. An instance of the first kind is the bloody fight, which he had with one Tzepho, the son of Elophaz at his father's funeral, who would have withstood their burying him in that cave of Machphelah, disputing their title to the ground, whom Joseph and his men having overcome, carried away with them into Egypt, and kept him there a prisoner as long as Joseph lived; but as soon as he was dead, Tzepho found means to escape into Italy. This story is quoted by some learned rabbies (301) out of Josephus Bengorion, by which name the Jews call Josephus the historian. After his death, they tell us, the magicians of Egypt told Pharaoh, that if he had a mind to keep the Hebrews in his dominions, he must hide the body of Joseph in some place where they should never find it; for it would be impossible for them to go out of Egypt without it: upon which the body was ordered to be put into a ארון של ת"ק ניברים chest that weighed 500 talents, which even according to the Syrian talent which is but twelve pound, amounted to 6000 pound weight, which they carefully laid in the bottom of one of the branches of the Nile, after they had turned the course of it another way, whilst they sunk it in the mud: and that Moses was forced to work a miracle to get it out and carry it away (302). Some tell us, that his coffin was carefully laid up in the king's treasury, because his magicians had foretold, that if ever it was carried out of Egypt, the land would fall into most terrible darkness, and be plagued with an infinite deal of other evils (303): besides these Jewish fables, Joseph has likewise been thought to have instructed the Egyptians in all those sciences which they became so famous for, by applying to him that verse in the psalms, *That he might instruct his (Pharaoh's) princes, and teach his senators wisdom.* In a word, he has been taken for Serapis, Osiris, Adonis; for Mercury, alias Hermes; for the famous Thaut, or Hermes Trismegist, the reputed inventor of arts and sciences (304); on the other hand, some heathen

(301) R. Arb. Sepharhadi. R. Mos Gerund. (302) Elle Haddevarim Rabba. sect. זאת הברכה See also the life of Moses, published by Gaulmain in French p. 32. and his notes, l. ii. c. 2. (303) Testam. XII. patriar. in vit. Simeon. (304) Vid. Calmet Hist. O. T. c. xxxv.

The ſequel of the ſtory ſhews how punctually their poſterity fulfilled the latter part of his will, taking his body with them, and burying it in the place which he had appointed(X).

He heathen authors (305) tell us, that he learned ſeveral magic arts in Egypt, and in particular that of interpreting ſigns and dreams, and there is a book of magic ſtill extant, which has been falſely attributed to him, intitled Joſeph's looking-Glaſs: it is mentioned by Trithemius, Naude, and others. He is thought to have been the inventor of the art of meaſuring, and contriver of land-marks; which latter is more than probable, becauſe he was forced to diſtribute the lands again to the Egyptians, after the famine was over, which might put him upon excogitating ſome kind of boundaries to them. And Artaphanes, quoted by Euſebius, tells us, that the Egyptians had their fields all in common, 'till he taught them to divide and bound them, that every one might cultivate his own inheritance; adding, that he likewiſe invented the art of meaſuring, which procured him the reſpect and admiration of that people (306); they do ſhew to this day in Egypt ſome wells, baths, and other works of that patriarch, but thoſe eaſtern nations have added ſo many ridiculous fancies of their own to hiſtory, that they do not deſerve to be credited (307).

(X) Notwithſtanding what was ſaid in the laſt note, we ſhall venture to tell our readers, upon the teſtimony of St. Jerom (308), that the Iſraelites raiſed a moſt noble monument to Joſeph's memory, which was ſtill to be ſeen in his days. It ſtood in Shechem, in the field which Jacob bought of Hamor, and which he afterwards gave to him, in which field Joſeph was actually buried (309).

Mohammed in his Koran Sarat XII. gives us a long hiſtory of Joſeph, which he has ſtuffed with many fabulous circumſtances, and which the eaſtern people have ſtill more enlarged upon (310). The Mohammedans pretend to have ſeveral books of his amours with Zeleikah, Pharaoh's daughter, his maſter Potiphar's wife, which they make uſe of to kindle the love of God in their hearts, it being among them what the canticles are with the Jews and Chriſtians, that is, an allegory of the love of God and a pious ſoul. As for Mahomet's hiſtory of Joſeph, though it differs much from that of Moſes, yet the reader may not think it amiſs to have a ſketch of it. It is to this purpoſe (311). Joſeph having acquainted his father with his dream of the ſun, moon, and 12

(305) Juſtin ex Trog. lib. xxxvi. (306) Artaph ap Euſeb. de præpar. lib. ix. cap. xxiii. (307) Vid. Calm. loc. citat. (308) Hieron. qu. hæbr. in Geneſ. (309) Joſh. ult. 32. (310) Vid. Maracc notes on the Alcoran. D'Herbel. Diction. in the word Jouſouph. (311) Bibliot. Orient. Jouſouph ben Jacub.

He was 110 years old when he died, an age which came very

ſtars falling down before him, Jacob forbid him to tell it to his brethren, leſt the devil ſhould put it into their heads to conſpire againſt him, adding that Joſeph would be the choſen of God, &c. but his brethren, ſeeing that he was better beloved than they, reſolved to murder him; to which end they perſuaded their father to ſend him into the fields with them, under pretence that it would be a diverſion to him, promiſing at the ſame time, that they would take great care of him: Jacob anſwered, that he was afraid leſt they ſhould be careleſs of him, to which they replied, are you afraid the wolves ſhould come and eat him in our preſence, or that we ſhall not have ſtrength enough to defend him? The father being thus prevailed upon, they took him next morning along with them, and flung him into a well; they came home that ſame night, and told him that whilſt they were playing and running a race, and Joſeph was watching over their garments, a wolf had come and devoured him; and finding that Jacob was hard to credit their ſtory, they ſhewed him Joſeph's bloody ſhirt; upon which Jacob told them, that they had done the deed, and would certainly anſwer for it before God; after which he endeavoured to bear his loſs patiently.

A caravan, which chanced to go by that very day, and wanted ſome water, let down their bucket into the well, and Joſeph laying hold on it was drawn out; they cloathed him forthwith, and carried him into Egypt, where they ſold him for a little ready money. The perſon who bought him gave him in charge to his wife, telling her, that he would one day prove uſeful, and be inſtead of a ſon to them. By that time he had attained the twentieth year of his age, his miſtreſs Zeleikah became ſo exceſſively in love with him, that ſhe ſhut him up one day in her chamber, and declared her paſſion to him: Joſeph rebuked her for it, and ran towards the door, but before he could open it, ſhe caught hold on his ſhirt, and tore it off his back: her huſband happened to be behind the door, and ſhe no ſooner ſaw him, but ſhe began to make a loud complaint of an attempt made by Joſeph againſt her chaſtity, whom ſhe therefore deſired to be ſeverely puniſhed, appealing to a child that was there in its cradle, for the truth of what ſhe ſaid: the child readily anſwered, that if the ſhirt was torn before, he was guilty and ſhe innocent; but if it was torn behind, he was innocent, and ſhe accuſed him falſely. The ſhirt upon examination, proving to be rent behind, acquitted Joſeph, and diſcovered the ill intention of his miſtreſs.

The whole city was ſoon filled with the noiſe of this adventure, and Zeleikah being informed that the ladies ſpoke of it much to her diſadvantage, reſolved to invite them to a feaſt, and, whilſt they were eating, to introduce Joſeph to them. She did ſo, and he no ſooner appeared, but his beauty did aſtoniſh them beyond meaſure;

very ſhort of that of his anceſtors, and might probably be owing to his being forced to a different way of living from theirs,

ſure; inſomuch, that, not knowing any longer what they did, they cut their fingers inſtead of their meat, and whiſpered to one another, that he muſt be an angel and no man! By this means ſhe put a ſtop to their reflections; but it was not long before ſhe made another puſh at her ſervant, though with as little ſucceſs; which ſo enraged her, that ſhe got him ſent into priſon, where he expounded the butler and the baker's dream. Here he continued confined nine whole years, after which he was fetched out to interpret Pharaoh's dream, which he did ſo much to his ſatisfaction, that he was made ſuperintendant of all his finances.

Mohammed goes on afterwards with the ſtory of his brethren coming to buy corn; of his ſtopping his brother Benjamin, and of his diſcovering himſelf to them; and adds, that Joſeph hearing that his father had wept ſo much for him, that he had loſt his ſight, he gave them one of his ſhirts, and bid them go home, and lay it over his face, and he would recover his ſight; after which he charged them to come back to him with their whole family.

By that time the Caravan was got half way homewards, Jacob told thoſe that were with him, that he ſmelt the ſmell of his ſon Joſeph, deſiring them not to laugh at him, for he was ſure of what he ſaid. Accordingly a few days after, one of his ſons brought him Joſeph's ſhirt, and as ſoon as he laid it over his face, his ſight came to him again: he made all the haſte he could to go down into Egypt with his family, and all he had; where Joſeph met him, and taking him by the hand, deſired him not to be afraid of his coming into Egypt. He then made him ſit down, whilſt his brethren did fall proſtrate before him, which made him take notice to his father that now his dream was fulfilled. Thus far Mohammed, whoſe followers further add, that Joſeph was 17 years old when he was ſold; that the king who then reigned was Rian the ſon of Valid; that he was likewiſe called Pharaoh, which ſignifies a deſpotic monarch; that Joſeph did afterwards inſtruct him in the knowledge of the true God; but that his ſucceſſor, named Rabous, the ſon of Maſſaab, proved a wicked prince: that the Iſraelites continued 430 years in Egypt, from the time of Jacob's firſt coming down, to their being delivered out of it by Moſes, who took care to carry away the bones and coffin of Joſeph, which had lain buried in the bottom of the Nile.

Ebn Batrick, otherwiſe called Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria, tells us, that Joſeph married Azimah, the daughter of the Kahen of Aen Shem, that is, the prieſt, or diviner of the fountain

theirs, having continued 80 years in that pinacle of grandeur, to which Pharaoh, or rather his great wisdom and merit, had raised him. However, he had the pleasure to see of his offspring to the third generation, which none of his fathers did, viz. Shuttelah and Tachan, the sons of Ephraim, and Hadan the son of Shuttelah; as likewise Machir the son of Manasseh, and Gilead Machir's son. These five are those the Septuagint version adds to the number of the seventy that came down into Egypt, though 'tis plain they were not born 'till some time after*.

How the Israelites, after the death of their great patron and protector, became by degrees as dreadful and odious to the Egyptians, as they grew numerous and powerful, 'till they were at length brought under most cruel slavery, will be seen in the next section. In the mean time, we hope, our readers will not be displeased, if we make a short retrospection on their forefathers, and add some few observations on the simplicity of their religion and manner of living, which were neither so obvious, nor could be interspersed in their history, without too frequently interrupting the thread of it. Sure it is, that if we examine them impartially, compare them with those of the most polite and celebrated nations of antiquity, such as were the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and many others, and make a candid allowance for the distances of time, place, and other obvious circumstances, they will appear to be the most natural and perfect pattern of civil society, and of a happy life. If therefore their posterity, after they became possessors of that happy land, did so strangely deviate from them, as it will appear by the sequel of this history that they did, it can be attributed to nothing but to that unavoidable degeneracy, which their long

* Vid. sup. p. 476. not. (B).

tain of the sun, which was the name of the city of On, called also by the Greeks Heliopolis. He assures us likewise, that the Nilometer, which is in the city of Memphis, the description of which has been given, vol. i. p. 488, &c. and the canal in the city of Cairo, for the discharge of the waters of that river, were Joseph's own works. In a word, they attribute to him all the curious wells, cisterns, aqueducts, and publick granaries, as well as obelisks, pyramids, and other antient monuments, all which are still called by his name, and pretended, that he had something shining like a star upon one of his shoulders, which was an indelible character of the gift of prophecy, and a sure token of his future grandeur.

long and horrid thraldom had cauſed in them, which took ſuch deep root, that neither their forty years wandering in the wilderneſs, during which time a new generation was, as it were, ſprung up, nor the wholeſome laws, which providence had calculated for their welfare, nor the example of their forefathers, which Moſes had ſet before them in ſuch lively colours; nor, laſtly, all the heavy judgments, which their invincible obſtinacy brought upon them, could effectually cure.

It muſt be owned, however, that unleſs we can diveſt ourſelves of that fond partiality which we have for the cuſtoms of our own times and country, we ſhall be apt to condemn, not only thoſe of the antient patriarchs, and of the many nations who have cloſely followed them, but likewiſe all thoſe who have commended them for it: that part of their religion which conſiſted in the butchering of a number of living creatures; their plainneſs and ſimplicity; their wandering and laborious life; their ſeeming contempt of arts and ſciences, their real one of eaſe, luxury, and high titles; all theſe, and many more, will be apt to be cenſured by the lump, and every deviation from it will be looked upon as an improvement in ſociety, and a refinement of their dull and inſipid taſte, which ſome will be apt to attribute to the increaſe of arts and ſciences, and others more abſurdly to religion. But it is not to ſuch partial judges that we appeal, for the juſtneſs of theſe remarks, but the more thinking and unprejudiced ſort, whoſe judgement is not warped by emulation, cuſtom, and example.

And here we need remount no higher, than where we began our hiſtory, that is, to Abraham. He had converſed with ſome of the antediluvian patriarchs, and was well acquainted with their way of living; or rather, he had been educated in it, and was ſo great an admirer of it, that he preferred it to that of thoſe nations he lived amongſt, and brought up his children the ſame way. For here we muſt remember that in thoſe days every family did as it were compoſe a kingdom or free ſtate, of which the chief was in all reſpects, if we except the name and a few needleſs ceremonies, ſupreme and abſolute monarch, and as ſuch made either war or peace, and alliances either offenſive or defenſive with his neighbouring kings, as he thought fit [a]: if there was any difference between them, it was only this, that the latter did begin betimes to live in walled and

[a] Gen. xiv. 13. ibid. xxvi. 26, & ſeq.

fortified towns, whereas the former chose to live more at large, and after the primitive way. In other respects it is plain, they were inferior to none of the cotemporary princes, though they despised those pompous titles, and other marks of royal grandeur, which their neighbours so much affected.

Their riches consisting chiefly, in a prodigious quantity of cattle [b], such as sheep, oxen, camels, and asses (horses we read of none), they were obliged to have a proportionable number of servants and slaves to look after them. Accordingly we find, that Abraham was able to arm upwards of three hundred of his men-servants to Lot's rescue, besides those he left behind to guard his substance, and his old men, women, and children [c]. As for gold, silver, jewels, and such like valuable things, we do not find, that he was possessed of any, till afterhis return from Egypt, where Pharaoh had heaped those rich presents on him, though they might probably barter some of the wool of their flocks for bullion, which was already current in those days; but neither this, nor his other kind of riches, did exempt him or his posterity from a laborious life, to which their chusing to live in tents for the benefit of their often shifting their habitations for the sake of their numerous herds, did unavoidably oblige them. To this pastoral life they likewise joined agriculture, as often as the fruitfulness of the country, the time of their sojourning in it, and other concurring circumstances permitted it. Thus we find Isaac sowing his land in the country of Gerar, where the situation and the king's friendship invited him to make a considerable stay [d]; but it is plain, they always gave the preference to the former, whenever the two kinds proved incompatible; and how laborious that was in those hot countries, where water was scarce and where it rains so seldom, may be gathered from the complaint which Jacob made to his father-in-law [e]. Neither was the fair sex exempt from bearing their share in it; and thoughAbraham's posterity doth not afford us any instance of it in his own family, where we meet but with one female, viz. Dinah, Jacob's daughter, and she only remembered for her fatal curiosity; yet if we look back into those of his kindred, whom he left in Padan-haran, we shall find, that neither their birth, youth, or beauty, exempted them from going to the well with their pitchers, and watering their

[b] Gen. xiii. 6. & seq. ibid. xxxii. 16, & seq. [c] Gen. xiv. 24, &c. [d] Gen. xxvi. 11, 12, & seq. [e] Gen. xxxi.— 40, & seq. vid. sup. p. 446.

their flocks at proper ſeaſons. This we find to have been the caſe of Rebecca, Rachel, and other fair damſels of that country, and of Jethro's daughter ſome hundred years after them. And how diſtaſteful ſoever this primitive ſimplicity may appear to our preſent age, yet Homer [f] will tell us, how much, and how long, it was imitated by the Greeks, whoſe politeneſs is to this day ſo juſtly admired; inſomuch, that the chief employment of the ſeven ſons of Eetion, king of the Cilicians, was the keeping of their father's flocks [g]; and we find that kind of life extolled, not only in Sicily and Greece, but likewiſe in Syria and other countries above 1500 years after Abraham, in ſome of the moſt beautiful paſtorals of antiquity.

THIS laborious life ſeldom failed to keep both men and women in a good ſtate of health; and as they never wanted a good appetite, nor a good digeſtion, ſo they were the more ſimple in their way of living: the milk of their kine, the fruits of the earth were their common diet; a kid, a fatted calf, or a diſh of veniſon, were reckoned a rich feaſt; and one would think, that Homer had drawn the pictures of his heroes in his Odyſſeis, after that of the patriarchs, ſo far was he from thinking ſuch a life unworthy of the greateſt men. Whoever conſiders that Jacob had been his mother's favourite, and conſequently more tenderly brought up than his brother Eſau, will no doubt wonder at his being ſuffered, at the age of forty, to take a journey of above 500 miles, for ſo far it was at leaſt from Beerſheba to Padan-haran, without a ſervant, or any other conveniency for travelling than his bare ſtaff; but yet it appears, that he had been ſo well inured to that laborious life, that he made no difficulty of laying himſelf down in the open field, as ſoon as night came upon him, and taking the firſt ſtone that came to hand to ſerve him for a pillow [h]. That he took care to breed up his ſons in the ſame hardy way, is plain by his ſending his favourite Joſeph at the age of 16 as far as Hebron, to enquire after his brethren, which was above 80 miles from Mamreh, where he dwelt. Neither did Joſeph's hearing, that they were removed about 30 miles further, diſcourage him from continuing his journey 'till he had met with them [i].

THIS laborious life did not only contribute very much to their health and vigor, but was likewiſe an effectual means to

[f] Homer Iliad. Δ [g] Idem Iliad Z. [h] Gen. xxviii. 11.
[i] Ibid. xxxvii. 17.

to lengthen their days, and to make their deaths ſweet and eaſy. If we except Iſaac, who is deſcribed rather as a contemplative than a laborious man [k], and began to fail in his ſtrength much ſooner than the reſt; we read of no diſeaſes they were ſubject to, nor of any phyſicians they needed, except to embalm their dead bodies. All thoſe, whoſe age is ſet down by Moſes, lived to above 150 years, except Joſeph, whoſe courtly way of living may probably have ſhortened his days [l].

THEIR conjugal temperance was in no ways inferior to their other virtues, how far otherwiſe it may appear at firſt ſight: Abraham lived in a country where polygamy was allowed, and a numerous offspring eſteemed one of the greateſt earthly bleſſings; he ſaw himſelf unfortunately yoked to a barren woman, and though maſter of vaſt poſſeſſions, yet choſe to make his ſervant his heir, rather than to marry another; neither doth he take Hagar to his bed, 'till he is promiſed an heir that ſhould come out of his loins, and is perſwaded to it by his wife [m]. The children he had by Keturah, after Sarah's death, ſhew, that his continence was far from being the effect of old age and impotency. Iſaac and his promiſed poſterity had the nobleſt title to all the bleſſings that were denounced to Abraham; Rebecca proves barren for a conſiderable time, and had but two ſons at laſt, and yet we do not find, that ever he expreſt a deſire of taking another wife [n]. Jacob indeed was unwarily drawn in to marry two ſiſters, and afterwards to take their maids to be his concubines; but whoever conſiders how contented he would have been with Rachel alone, that Leah was, as it were, forced upon him; that Rachel's barrenneſs, and deſire of children, and his fondneſs for her, made him accept of her handmaid; and when he had once done it for one ſiſter, he could not decently refuſe it to the other [o]; that it was the cuſtom of the country for the wives to adopt their handmaids children, and that it was looked upon as conſiſtent with the laws of conjugal fidelity; whoever, I ſay, conſiders all theſe, will not lightly tax him with incontinency upon that account: however, it is plain, that the jealouſies and diſcords between the two ſiſters, and probably between the miſtreſſes and their handmaids, gave but little encouragement to his ſons to follow his example, ſince we do

[k] Ibid. xxiv. 63. xxvii. 1 & ſeq.
[l] Gen. I. 26.
[m] Gen. xv. 3. ibid. xvi. 2.
[n] Ibid. xxv. 21, & ſeq.
[o] Ibid. xxix, & xxx. paſſim.

do not read of one that did not reſt contented with one wife. Judah indeed is juſtly taxed with incontinency, but it muſt be remembered, that his adventure with Tamar was wholly accidental, and unſought for by him, and that he did not give himſelf that liberty, 'till after his wife's death [p]. However, we are far from undertaking to vindicate all their actions, much leſs do we intend to write panegyrics upon them; for which reaſon we ſhall forbear expatiating upon their extraordinary hoſpitality to ſtrangers, their faithfulneſs to their allies, and many other eminent virtues they were conſpicuous for, and ſhall content ourſelves with adding a few words concerning their religion, and ſhewing, that that, joined to their ſimplicity, afforded an excellent pattern for a civil and a happy life; and that every deviation of theirs from it doth indeed give us a lively inſtance of the early depravity of mankind, but caſts no reflexion on their excellent and admirable rule of life, which gave every head a full and abſolute ſway over his whole family, obliged him to breed them up in the knowledge and fear of the true God, and a ſtrict obſervance to his laws, which was the moſt effectual means to make them live in that peace and plenty, that eaſe and tranquillity, for which they are ſo juſtly admired.

As for their religion, it was not only the freeſt from idolatry and ſuperſtition, but the ſimpleſt and pureſt in the world, or, at leaſt, that the world was then capable of. It conſiſted chiefly in a ready obedience to God's commands, under whoſe immediate guidance they continually were, in a firm reliance on his promiſes under all dangers and difficulties, and in a thankful remembrance and acknowledgment for all his bleſſings and deliverance. This laſt part ſeems to have introduced the religious cuſtom of tithes, if they were not of a much older date: accordingly we find Abraham giving the tenths of all the ſpoils of the late gotten victory to Melchiſedech [q], and Jacob vowed the like portion of all his poſſeſſions to God, if he would bleſs, and bring him back ſafe to his father's houſe [r]. How theſe were at firſt paid, or to whom, is not eaſy to gueſs, whether to Shem or Eber, or any of their deſcendants, who ſtill held the high prieſthood; or, as is moſt likely, by conſecrating a tenth part to religious uſes, ſuch as building of altars, rearing of pillars and monuments, and offering of ſacrifices to God, ſince ſuch

[p] Ibid. xxxviii. 12, & ſeq. [q] Gen. xiv. 20. [r] Ibid. xxviii. ult

such things as are consecrated to God's worship are, in the language of scripture, said to be given to God. These sacrifices have indeed something in them that is shocking and unnatural, as we observed before, and when we consider how soon they began, and how universally they spread themselves, reason will be at a loss how to account for their introduction and progress, any other way than by supposing them to be of God's own instituting, as types of that grand sacrifice which Christ was to offer up for the sins of the world: but this is rather a point of divinity than history, and so out of our sphere. In all other cases, it is plain, their religion was pure, simple, and uniform, and might have continued such after their deliverance out of Egypt, had not their degeneracy and stubbornness obliged their divine lawgiver to clog it with a numerous train of rites and ceremonies, in order to prevent their intermixing those of other nations with their own, as the sequel of their history will shew. We shall only add, that as other nations seem to have received from the antient partiarchs the ceremony of sacrificing beasts to their gods; that is, of substituting an innocent lamb, sheep, &c. in their guilty stead, without retaining the notion of the design, or typical institution of them; so it is very probable, that the intended sacrifice of Isaac, by the father of the faithful, by which he gave such a glorious testimony of his faith and reliance on God's promises, may have given birth to the bloody custom of sacrificing of children, which became afterwards so universal, not only among all other nations, but even among the Israelites themselves. The notion of its being enjoined to that patriarch, only as a trial of his faith, might wear off by degrees, and nothing more be remembered of it than the great applause and blessings he received upon that account; from which they might conclude as it were a fortiori, that if his bare intention proved so meritorious, much more would the real sacrificing of their own children be: and when they had once imbibed that notion, that the main merit of such a bloody ceremony consisted chiefly in the stifling all sense of humanity and natural affection, it was easy for them to infer, that the more they did so by the cruel torments they put the poor infants to, the more it would enhance the value of the sacrifice; but this we submit to the reader's judgment.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The hiſtory of the Jews, from their Egyptian bondage, to their entrance into the land of Canaan.

The great increaſe of the Iſraelites in Egypt.

WE return now to the Iſraelites in Egypt, who did ſo prodigiouſly increaſe both in number and in ſtrength, during the 215 years of their abode there [a], (A) that the jealous Egyptians had already long ago looked upon them as a dangerous, if not formidable, people. And indeed if we conſider to what a prodigious multitude theſe ſeventy ſouls, which came down with Jacob, were increaſed, inſomuch, that Moſes tells us, they amounted to 600,000 men, from twenty years and upwards [b], all able to bear arms; beſides thoſe under 20 years of age, old men from ſixty to a hundred and upwards, for they lived even much longer than that, and women, which may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been much more numerous than the men, who were allowed a plurality of wives. I ſay, if we conſider this wonderful increaſe (which in a proportionate and moderate computation, allowing them to have brought 70 wives with them, which is the utmoſt that can be ſuppoſed) will be as 140 to 280,000, that is as 20,000 to one) we ſhall not wonder at Egypt's fearing, leaſt they ſhould in ſhort time cover the whole face of it. Neither need we have recourſe to

[a] Exod. i. 7. [b] Numb. i. 46.

(A) Moſes was ſo ſurprized at this wonderful increaſe of his people, when he came to take an account of them, that he makes uſe of the ſtrongeſt verbs in the whole Hebrew tongue to expreſs it, viz. פָּרָה Pharù, they fructified, or multiplied like the fruit of trees; יִשְׁרְצוּ Jiſrezzù, they multiplied like fiſhes; רָבָה Rabbù, they daily increaſed in number; יִעְצְמוּ, Jahatzmù, they grew ſtronger and ſtronger (1). Had their hard bondage ſuffered them to have increaſed as much in wiſdom and greatneſs of mind, they had not given him ſo much trouble, as we find they did, both in Egypt and in the wilderneſs.

(1) Exod. i. 7.

to miracles, as the Jews do [c], for this prodigious increaſe (B). We have already given in a former chapter ſome tables* of the probable increaſe of mankind in any number of years; and if this ſeems to out-do that calculation, it muſt be remembered, that they had a peculiar promiſe for it, and a peculiar bleſſing from God attending them. Neither was their courage or ſtrength leſs to be feared than their number.

The ſons of Ephraim's incurſion on the Gathites

The ſons of Ephraim had already given a proof of it to the Egyptians, when they made that bold, though unſucceſsful, attempt upon the Gathites, in one of the cantons of the land of Canaan, even before their father's death, who, as we hinted before, lived upwards of 90 years in Egypt. This

[c] Vid. Aben-Ezrah, & Munſter in loc.

* Vid. vol. i. p. 311.

(B) St. Auſtin (2) thinks, that this prodigious increaſe of the Iſraelites was altogether miraculous, in which many of the Jews agree with him. Aben-Ezra tells us, that they brought forth 3 or 4 at every birth; and affirms, that a woman may bring forth as far as ſeven children at once (3). This he ſeems to have taken from Ariſtotle (4), or from Trogus, who ſays, that in Egypt the women were ſometimes delivered of 7 children at once: but, without having recourſe to ſuch prodigious births, which happen but ſeldom, we need but ſuppoſe, that the Iſraelites, both men and women, were very fruitful, that they began ſoon, and continued long in begetting, which has been ſhewn in the former ſection to have been the fact. We ſee no impoſſibility for 70 males, in the compaſs of 215 years, to have multiplied to this degree, even at the rate of one child every year; for, according to Simler's computation, 70 perſons, if they beget a child every year, will in 30 years time have above 2000 children; of which admit that one third part only did come to procreate, in 30 years more they will amount to 9000; the third part of it will in 30 years more be multiplied to 45,000: according to which moderate calculation, in 210 years, the whole amount will be at leaſt 2,760,000. If therefore there was any thing miraculous or extraordinary in all this, it was, that they ſhould be able to multiply at that rate, notwithſtanding their hard labours and cruel bondage.

(2) Aug. de civit. lib. xviii. cap. 7. ap Munſt. in loc. Pelican & al.

(3) Aben-Ezra.

(4) Hiſtor. animal, lib. vii. c. 4.

This adventure, though not recorded by Moſes, has been preſerved to us by the author of the firſt book of Chronicles[d], and might eaſily let the Egyptians ſee, what the united force of twelve ſuch fructifying tribes might do in proceſs of time, when one ſingle one, of ſo ſhort a ſtanding, could venture upon ſuch a hazardous enterprize. However that be, it is not eaſy to fix the time when their bondage began, nor how long they had groaned under it, when Moſes was born; ſure it is, that from, or even before, that time they began to be more and more cruelly oppreſſed by the Egyptians, whoſe unheard of treatment towards that oppreſſed people might be owing to more cauſes than one; ſuch as their contempt of all nations but their own; their hatred of the Iſraelites, both as ſhepherds and Hebrews, who killed and lived upon thoſe beaſts that were worſhipped in Egypt; the great difference of religion; envy to ſee them ſo ſucceſsful and the like; but the main, and indeed ſufficient, motive mentioned in the text, was, their being grown more mighty than the Egyptians, and the danger there was, left upon any war they ſhould join with their enemies, and drive them out of the land [e]. This laſt made ſuch an impreſſion upon them, that though they were reſolved to cruſh them as much as poſſible, if not totally to deſtroy them; yet they did not dare to come to an open rupture with them, but made it their chief endeavours to weaken them by degrees, by hard labours, taxes (C), and all kind of oppreſſion, as the ſequel of this hiſtory will ſoon ſhew.

They are hated by the Egyptians.

THIS

[d] 1 Chron. vii. 21. Oſiand in loc. [e] Exod. 1. 9, 10.

(C) It is to be obſerved, that the original words שרי מסים Sarè Maſſim, which we tranſlate taſk-maſters, do properly ſignify tax-gatherers; the burthens are mentioned afterwards under another name; ſo that they lay heavy tributes upon them to impoveriſh, and heavy burthens to weaken, them. Philo tells us (5), that they were made to carry burthens above their ſtrength, and to work night and day; that they were forced to be workers and ſervers; that they were employed in brick-making, digging and building: that if any of them drop'd dead under their burthens, they were not ſuffered to bury them. Joſephus tells us moreover (6), that they were made to dig trenches and ditches; to drain rivers into

(5) Philo in vit. Moſis. (6) Antiq. l. ii. c. 9.

Their cruel bondage.

THIS terrible perſecution, if we may be allowed to call it by that name, began under the reign of a new king [f], who knew not Joſeph (D), or had forgot the

[f] Ibid. ver. 8.

into channels; to wall whole towns, caſting up dikes and banks to keep off inundations; nay, to erect phantaſtical pyramids; that they obliged them to learn ſeveral laborious trades, and confined them to perpetual reſtleſs labour. Another author tells (7), that, in order to render them more odious to the Egyptians, they made them go differently apparelled. But, without troubling ourſelves further than with what Moſes tells us, we ſhall find their work hard enough (8); they were forced to work in clay and brick, and compelled at length to go and ſeek out for ſtubble inſtead of ſtraw, without the leaſt diminution of their taſks, of which if they chanced to come ſhort, which could not poſſibly be avoided, their overſeers were ſeverely beaten for it(9). Thus they tried by theſe three ways to bring them under, viz. by exacting a tribute to leſſen their wealth, laying heavy burthens on them to weaken their bodies, and thereby to prevent their generating and increaſing.

(D) There was nothing extraordinary in this forgetfulneſs, taking the words of Moſes in their literal ſenſe, if we conſider, that kings were then only elective, and all the ſubjects looked upon them as their ſlaves (10). Archbiſhop Uſher mentions ſeven kings between Joſeph's death and this who knew not Joſeph, i. e. in about 60 years, which was more than ſufficient to obliterate all his ſignal ſervices. Some indeed, thinking this impoſſible, there being ſtill ſo many monuments extant of them, have underſtood Moſes's words in a leſs ſtrict ſenſe, as if he had not forgot, but refuſed to acknowledge them. Thus St. Paul is made to ſay (11), that he knew not that it was the high-prieſt that cauſed him to be ſmitten, when every child might have known him both by his particular dreſs, and the place wherein he ſat: whereas it is thought, that he meant, he did not acknowledge him to be the high-prieſt, becauſe he had obtained the mitre by bribery (12); but as Moſes calls this a new king, becauſe he was of another family, if not a ſtranger, there will be no reaſon to depart from the literal ſenſe. Who this new king was is not ſo eaſily agreed. Cajetan thinks him to have been an Aſſyrian born, from

(7) Eupolem ap. Euſeb. de præp. (8) Exod. i. 14.
(9) Ibid. c. v. paſſim. (10) Diod. Sicul. l. ii. c. i.
Gen. xlviii. 19, 20. (11) Act. xxiii. 5. (12) Le Scene Eſſay d' une novelle verſion & al

the great ſervices which that glorious miniſter had done, both to the crown and nation of Egypt. This we need not wonder at after ſo many years, when Ahaſhuerus could ſo ſoon forget Mordecai, who had ſo lately ſaved his life [g]. Though

[g] Eſther vi. 23.

from the words of the prophet (13) *My people went down into Egypt to ſojourn, and an Aſſyrian oppreſſed them.* But we don't find, in the Egyptian chronicles, any Aſſyrian kings either before Moſes, or for above 1000 years after. Neither could it be Mephres, in whoſe ninth year Joſeph is ſuppoſed to have died, and the bondage to have began (14); becauſe Levi outlived Joſeph above 23 years (15); whereas the thraldom did not commence till all the patriarchs were dead. Some therefore ſuppoſe, that it was Amenophis, becauſe Euſebius thinks, that Moſes was born in the 18th year of his reign, and ſo doth St Jerom (16). This king is alſo called Memnon, the ſpeaking-ſtone, whoſe ſtatue did uſe to ſpeak at the ſun-riſing, and is thought by ſome to have continued 'till our ſaviour's time (17). Archbiſhop Uſher, after Mercator, thinks, it was Rameſes Miamun, the latter part of whoſe ſirname ſeems to have been deduced from the forepart of Amen-Ophis, by which name ſundry of his predeceſſors, as well as his ſon after him, were called. This king the above-mentioned Primate affirms to have reigned 62 years and 2 months; during which, being frighted at the number and ſtrength of the Iſraelites, he began to oppreſs them with a cruel bondage, laying upon them, beſides their continual labour and tillage of the ground, the building alſo of royal magazines, ſtorehouſes, and the whole cities of Raamſis, or Rameſis, and Pithom; the former of which took its name from the king, and the latter probably from the queen (18), but we ſhall find a great difficulty here, viz. how to reconcile that learned prelate with what Pliny ſays (19), that this Rameſes reigned in the time of the Trojan war, that is, about 300 years after the death of Moſes. Upon the whole, the reader is deſired to remember, what we ſaid in the hiſtory of Egypt concerning the difficulty of adjuſting their chronology, and particularly, who thoſe kings were under whom the Iſraelites ſuffered this ſlavery †. As for thoſe

(13) Iſai. lii. 4. Exod. vi. 16. Simler. & al.
(14) Vincent in loc.
(15) lib. xxxvi. c. viii.
(16) Euſeb. Hieron. in Chron.
(17) Perrer.
(18) Uſher's annal. p. 12.
(19) Plin.
† Vid. ſup. p. 44. not I.

Though it muſt be owned, that had Joſeph's merit been never ſo freſh in their memory, yet that prince's conduct, if politically conſidered, had nothing ſtrange or uncommon, ſince it would rather have been a prodigy, if his gratitude to a man, that had been dead above 50 years, had prevented his taking all the cautious meaſures to ſecure his own kingdom, againſt the danger it ſeemed threatened with from a people, who from an indigent family were become ſuch a numerous and formidable hoſt. The religion of the Iſraelites ſo oppoſite to Egyptian idolatry; their ſtrict union among themſelves; the great riches they had heaped up during Joſeph's life; their indefatigable induſtry in feeding their numberleſs herds, in trade, and agriculture; their bodily ſtrength and warlike temper; in all which, and many other reſpects, they ſeem to have been far ſuperior to the Egyptians: all theſe I ſay did ſufficiently juſtify Pharaoh's fears, if not, in ſome meaſure, to authoriſe thoſe violent meaſures which he took againſt them (E). We have ſeen in our days chriſtian princes take as cruel and inhuman precautions againſt their own natural ſubjects, of whoſe fidelity and loyal attachment they had much greater proofs, than ever the kings of Egypt had from the children of Iſrael; and yet theſe perſecutions have been juſtified, nay canonized, whilſt Pharaoh's have

thoſe who pretend, that the Iſraelites continued above 400 years in Egypt, as Genebrard (20), or that they groaned under that ſlavery all that time, as Joſephus (21), they'll ſend us ſtill farther to ſeek for a king that will fit them; but we hope, we have ſufficiently proved their error in our notes in the former ſection, p. 402. not. K. and made it more than probable, that they did not continue there above 215 years.

(E) Joſephus, not thinking all theſe ſufficient to alarm the king of Egypt, tells us (22), that there was a certain ſcribe famous for his predictions, who went and told him, that there was a Hebrew child to be born about that very time, that would prove a ſcourge to the Egyptians, and advance the glory of his nation, and that, if he lived to grow up, he would be eminent for his virtue and courage, and make his name famous to poſterity: that Pharaoh was ſo ſtartled at this prediction, that he ordered the Egyptian midwives, under pain of death carefully to attend the labour of all the Hebrew women, and to deſtroy all their males. But, as Moſes doth not hint any thing like it, the reader may as ſafely reject as admit it.

(20) Genebrard chronogr. p. 11. ſub An. M. 2660. (21) Antiq. l. ii. c. ix. (22) Ibid.

have been branded with the worſt of epithets, and are not mentioned without horror.

HAD indeed the Egyptian court been leſs a ſtranger to the Iſraelites, they would have had little cauſe to fear being driven out of their own country, againſt which theſe were ſo far from deſigning any attempt of that nature, that they never looked upon themſelves but as ſojourners for a while, ſtill waiting for the happy day when God ſhould call them out of it, to go and conquer another land. But perhaps they wiſely concealed this ſecret from the Egyptians, who would be too loath to loſe the ſervice of ſuch a numerous people, not to prevent their going by all poſſible means. Beſides, had it been known, there was ſtill that danger of their joining with their enemies, upon any war or invaſion, in order to facilitate their eſcape. Pharaoh indeed makes the great advantage of their ſervitude a pretence for not letting them go where Moſes deſired [h]; but had that been all, it is not likely, he would have taken ſuch effectual methods of depriving himſelf of it, by totally deſtroying them: for when he found, by the experience of at leaſt ten years, that neither the hardſhips he laid upon them, nor all the cruelties which his officers and people uſed towards them, could prevent their multiplying as faſt as, if not faſter, than ever [i], he ſent for the two chief Hebrew midwives, Shiprah and Phuah, (F) and ſtrictly charged them, that, when they performed their

Pharaoh's cruel orders to the Hebrew midwives.

[h] Exod. xiv. 5. [i] Ibid. c. i. 12.

(F) Though Moſes mentions but two midwives, yet we muſt not ſuppoſe, that they could ſuffice to ſuch a vaſt number of women. Some therefore think, that theſe two only attended on the nobler ſort of Hebrew women, whoſe children Pharaoh chiefly intended to cut off (23): whereas his charge was to kill all the males, none excepted. Others think, that the Hebrew women, being ſtrong and eaſily delivered (25), might probably ſhift with two midwives; but it is to be conſidered, that this was not ſo much the real fact, as an excuſe of the midwives for not obeying the king's orders. It is therefore more probable, that theſe two were the chief ones, who had the charge and direction of all the reſt (25); and that there was ſuch a precedency or ſuperiority among the midwives, whatever Cajetan ſays to the contrary,

(23) Cajet. in loc. Vatabl. Outram. & al. (24) Exod. i. 9. (25) Pelican.

their office to the Hebrew women, they ſhould deſtroy all the males, and let the females take their chance. But theſe women, who feared God and abhorred ſuch a cruel office, neglected the king's commands, and ſaved all the children that were born, males as well as females. Pharaoh, being extremely provoked at it, commanded them to be brought before him, and in a threatening tone aſked them, how they dared to diſobey his orders? The women had not their

They are reproved for their diſobedience.

trary, appears very probable at leaſt from what Plutarch tells us, that among the Grecians, there were ſome, to whom the care of that buſineſs was committed, and that public ſchools were kept for that purpoſe (26). Several learned expoſitors, eſpecially among the Romiſh (27), following the Septuagint and Vulgate verſions, which read המילדות העבריות Hamialedoth haghibrioth, the midwives of the Hebrew women, inſtead of the Hebrew midwives, as the grammatical conſtruction rather requires, have fancied, after Joſephus (28,) that they were Egyptian midwives, as being moſt likely to obey the king's bloody command, and that the Iſraelites had no midwives among them. This laſt is wholly improbable, and contrary to ſeveral places of ſcripture; beſides, their being influenced by the fear of God to diſobey the king's order, is more applicable to the Hebrew, than the Egyptian, midwives. Laſtly, their names, which were wholly Hebrew, ſhows them to have been ſuch; for the word Shiphrah comes from שפר Shaphar, which ſignifies to be, or to make, beautiful; and therefore the Jewiſh etymologiſt gives us this reaſon for her being called ſo, viz. becauſe שמשפרת את היולד ſhe ſhaped the babe into form. The other was called Phuah, from פעה to cry out, either becauſe they generally make the women to cry out luſtily, that they may be the ſooner rid of their burthen; or becauſe they are moſt accuſtomed to the cries of the mothers and their children. And whereas Joſephus ſays, that Hebrew women would have been too partial to their people, the ſame reaſon did hold againſt Pharaoh's ſetting up Hebrew taſkmaſters over them, which yet we find he did, and the fear of death might as eaſily influence the one as the other nation to obey the king (29). As for thoſe who think, with ſome Hebrew rabbies (30), that theſe two midwives were Jochabedh, Moſes's mother, and Miriam her daughter, and that they are here only ſirnamed in alluſion to their office; they are not worth confuting, ſince Miriam could not be above five or ſix years old when this order was given, as we ſhall ſee by and by.

(26) Vid. Jun. in analys. Villet & al. (27) Perrer. Aret. Simler, &c. (28) Ant. l. ii. c. ix. (29) S. Aug. lib. contr. mendac. cap. xv, xvi. (30) Rab. Abr. Sepharad. & al.

their anſwer to ſeek, for they readily told his majeſty, that the Hebrew women did not, like the Egyptian ones, want a midwife to deliver them, being luſty and ſtrong, and bringing forth more like the beaſts of the foreſt than like women (G); ſo that their children were born before they could come to them. Moſes tells us, that their piety and mercy did not go unrewarded, and that God bleſſed them with a numerous poſterity [k] (H): not becauſe their having told

and rewarded by God for their piety.

[k] Ibid. ver. 21.

(G) The word חיות chaioth, which we tranſlate lively, doth likewiſe ſignify wild beaſts, and may be taken in that ſenſe in this place, ſeeing the midwives wanted to throw the fault upon the pregnant women, who, like the beaſts of the field, needed no help to be delivered. A great deal of learned duſt has been raiſed about this anſwer of the midwives; as, 1. whether it was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, a lye. 2. Whether, and how far, it was excuſable in them. 3. Whether the reward mentioned by Moſes was given them for the lye, or for their mercy, or both. It is plain, this anſwer of theirs was the effect of their fear of the king's diſpleaſure, and not of their merciful diſpoſition which they ſhewed towards the poor children: this laſt was the virtue here rewarded, whatever betided them for the lye they told, if it was really ſuch; for it is very probable, that the Hebrew women, who were kept more ſtrictly than the looſe and maſterly Egyptian dames, might have much eaſier labours than they, and ſo have leſs need of midwives. Their anſwer might therefore be true in part, though not in the whole, and as to their ſtretching the truth a little beyond its due bounds, upon a good deſign, they had the examples of Abraham and Iſaac, who made their wives paſs for their ſiſters, though they were only ſo in a far-fetched ſenſe.

(H) Our Engliſh, and ſeveral other verſions, having followed the Hebrew too literally, have rendered this place the lord made them houſes, which though it may imply the ſame ſenſe we have given it, yet it is too obſcurely expreſſed, and has led ſome expoſitors, for want of attending to the Hebrew idiom, into ſome abſurd notions. Thus St. Jerom underſtands it of houſes in heaven (31); others of ſtrong houſes built by the Iſraelites, to defend them againſt the rage of Pharaoh (32); others, thinking them to have been Jochabedh and Miriam, have underſtood it of the kingdom and prieſthood which was afterwards ſettled upon their poſterity; becauſe Jochabedh was mother to Aaron, and Miriam

(31) Hieron. in cap. lxv. Iſai.

(32) Sepharadi in loc.

told a lye to the king made them worthy of no better than a temporal reward, exclusive of any other, as some antient fathers have thought [1]: but Moses records this temporal recompence, as best suiting the carnal people he had to do

[1] Gregor. lib. viii. moral.

Miriam to Caleb (33); but, besides that Miriam was too young for such an office, it is not certain, she was Caleb's mother; on the contrary, Josephus tells us (34), that she was the wife of Hur. Some again, taking them to have been Egyptians, have understood it of their being incorporated into the common-wealth of Israel (35), as Rahab afterwards was. Others think, that their families were enriched by a particular blessing (36); but the truest sense is, that their houses or families were greatly increased. For the word בן Ben, a son in the Hebrew, comes from בנה Banah, to build, because he is as it were the builder of the house or family: in this sense Sarah gives her maid to Abraham, that she might be built, that is be made a mother by her (37). Accordingly the psalmist (38) says, who maketh the barren woman to become a house or family, and to be a joyful mother of children (39).

There is still one difficulty more in the text, which is, that the word להם lahem, to them, is of the masculine gender; whereas if it had related to the midwives, it should have been להן lahen, from which some have imagined, that it refers to the Egyptians who built themselves strong houses to put the pregnant Hebrews in, that they might not elude the king's design: but if that had been the case, he must rather have built large cities to have sufficed the vast multitude of Hebrew women. Others think, that it was the Israelites, and not the midwives, that were so multiplied; because, say they, women cannot be said to build families, but men (40); but the contrary of this is plain, by the blessing which was given to Ruth (41), that *she might prove like Rachel and Leah, which two did build the house, or family, of Israel.* We rather therefore think it more probable, that the Mem is put for the Nun, which very often happens, and the masculine for the feminine, as we find it in the next chapter (42), where the masculine relative is applied to Jethro's seven daughters, and many other places besides (43); and that the masculine pronoun is given to the midwives by way of excellency, which is no uncommon thing in the sacred tongue.

(33) R. Salom. & al. (34) Ant. l. iii. c. 9. (35) Vatabl. Pined, &c. (36) August. Theodor. (37) Gen. xvi. (38) Ps. cxiii. 9. (39) D. Kimchi, Perrer, Le Scene, &c. (40) Simler. Jun. Villet in loc. (41) Ruth iv. 11. (42) Exod. ii. 17. (43) Vatabl. Piscat. Munst. & al. in loc.

do with, who ſeem to have had little thought of another life, if they could but make themſelves comfortably happy in this.

HOWEVER, Pharaoh, finding that theſe underhand ſtratagems proved ineffectual, reſolved to act more openly againſt the Iſraelites, and to make the parents become the executioners, of their own children. To this end he iſſues out an order under the ſevereſt penalties, that every Hebrew male child that was born, ſhould be caſt into the Nile, and that none but the females ſhould be ſuffered to live; by which the people ſaw themſelves obliged either to drown their own children, or to ſee it done by the Egyptians, as ſoon as they were diſcovered, and themſelves ſeverely puniſhed for not obeying the king's edict. Such a bloody command could not but cauſe the greateſt conſternation in the afflicted Iſraelites, too prone naturally to deſpond and deſpair of God's promiſes. They thought themſelves on the eve of their deliverance from the hardeſt of ſlaveries; a glorious deliverer was promiſed to them, whom they now ſee condemned to die as ſoon as born. But God, whoſe deſigns could not be fruſtrated either by the private artifices, or open violence of the king of Egypt, made *him* the inſtrument of bringing up that very child, whom he took ſuch pains to deſtroy.

The Iſraelites commanded to drown all their male children.

AMRAM, the ſon of Kohath and grandſon of Levi, had married Jocabedh, the daughter of Levi, his own aunt (I), by

(I) We have ventured to call Jocabedh Amram's aunt, though the Septuagint Vulgate, and after them many learned expoſitors, both Papiſts and Proteſtants, have thought, that ſhe was no more than his uncle Kohath's daughter, and conſequently his couſin-german, becauſe the marriage of an aunt was afterwards forbidden in the Levitical law (1). For though the word דוד Dod in the original, doth ſometimes ſignify an uncle's ſon (2), and דודה Dodah, an uncle's daughter or couſin-german; yet ſeeing Moſes tells us (3), that ſhe was born unto Levi, and accordingly calls her Amram's aunt (4), in another place, we thought we might ſafely give her that name after many learned men (5). And here we cannot forbear taking notice

(1) Nic. De Lyr. Montan. Cajetan. Ferrer. Calvin. & al. in loc. (2) Jerem. xxxii. 12. (3) Num. xxvi. 59. (4) Exod. vi. 20. (5) Vatabl. Pagnin. Simler Uſher. & al.

by whom he had had two children before the king's edict, viz. Miraim and Aaron (K); but Moſes not being born 'till ſome time after the promulgation of it, and he proveing a lovely and beautiful child, God inſpired them with a more than ordinary reluctancy to obey it; ſo that they ventured to keep him privately during the ſpace of three months (L), 'till at laſt, fearing the extreme danger of a diſcovery,

Moſes is born.

tice of a miſtake, which Calmet muſt have been led into by ſome Ammanuenſis, who mentions the learned Uſher in the number of thoſe who think, that ſhe was firſt couſin to Amram; whereas the contrary appears by the very place quoted by him, where that prelate calls her Levi's daughter, and Amram's aunt and wife. Some Hebrew writers (6) pretend, that ſhe was born about the time that Jacob came down to Egypt; at which rate ſhe muſt have been 135 years old when Moſes was born, that is, above 40 years older than Sarah was when ſhe bore Iſaac: but had Moſes's birth been ſo miraculous, we need not doubt, but he would have recorded it as well as that of Iſaac. It is therefore more likely, that Levi begot her in Egypt in the 100th year of his age, which was nothing wonderful, ſeeing Abraham begot ſeveral children of Keturah after the 137th of his; and Jacob begot Benjamin when he was 107; and as for Jocabedh, ſhe may be ſafely ſuppoſed to have bore Moſes when ſhe was 68 years of old, nothing being more common than for the Hebrew women in thoſe days to bear children at, and even after, that age (7); and then we need not to go ſeek for another Jocabedh, to make her coincide with the time of Moſes's birth, as ſome have done, ſince whatever other of that name were found, ſhe muſt be Amram's aunt, as the text calls her in the places above quoted.

(K) Though Moſes doth mention nothing of the age of his ſiſter, either when ſhe was born, or when ſhe died, yet it is plain, ſhe was the eldeſt of the three, becauſe ſhe was old enough to watch Moſes when he was expoſed; whereas Aaron was but three years older than he; but that ſhe ſhould be ſo old as the Jews make her, viz. to have been one of the two mid-wives mentioned in a former note, is both improbable, and contrary to the opinion of our chronologers and expoſitors, who makes her but ten years old at moſt when Moſes was born.

(L) This pious concealment is ſufficiently juſtified by St. Stephen and the epiſtle to the Hebrews (8), not only on the account

(6) Calm. Hiſt. O T. lib. ii. p. 296. not. b: Uſher Annal. ad An. Mund. 2385. (7) Vatabl. in loc. (8) Act. vii. 20. Hebr. xi. 13.

discovery, which would have proved fatal both to the child and themselves, they were forced, though with the utmost regret, to expose him like the rest. However, nature, shrinking at the thoughts of his immediate death, made them contrive to make him a small ark of bull-rushes, or rather of the flags of the tree of which the Egyptians made their paper [m], which was strong enough to hold

Year of the Flood, 1428: Year before Christ, 1571 and concealed three months.

[m] Joseph. Ant. l. ii. c. 9.

account of the child's beauty, which is also mentioned by Justin out of Trogus, but also upon the account of their faith, they looking upon him as the future deliverer of their nation. However, Josephus tells us, that Amram, finding his wife with child, and being solicitous about the king's edict, prayed earnestly to God to put an end to this dreadful persecution, and that God appeared to him and told him, that he would shortly free his people from it, and that the son, that should shortly be born to him, should prove the happy instrument of their glorious deliverance, and eternise his own name thereby——that this made them conceal him as long as they could, but fearing a discovery, they resolved to trust him to the care of providence ——who accordingly conducted Pharaoh's daughter to the river's side, and inspired her with such sentiments of pity, that she adopted him for her son. He calls that princess Thermuthis, and after him Epiphanius in Panario, and others: Artaphanes (10), Meris, and the Alexandrian chronical Myrrina. Josephus adds farther (11), that Thermuthis having sent for several wet nurses one after another, the child did scornfully turn away his head from their breast, and that Miriam, who was then present, told that princess, that if the nurse and the child were of different nations, her milk would never agree with it, but that if an Hebrew woman was fetched, he would probably take the breast from her. Upon which she was bid go for one, and quickly brought the child's mother, whom he fell a sucking most heartily, to the admiration of the princess and all the bystanders. Thus far Josephus. The Jews observe further, that the word river here used, is not נָהָר Nahar, which signifies a great river such as the Nile was, but יְאוֹר Jeor, which signifies a river, or rather canal, that is drawn from the great one to water the country (12); and as the land of Egypt abounded every where with the latter, the Israelites needed not to go far for a place to drown their children in.

(9) Ant. l. ii. c. ix. (10) Ap. Euseb. de præp. lib. ix. cap. iv. (11) Ant. loc. citat. (12) Ibid.

hold out the water, and ſmooth enough to receive the pitch and tar with which it was beſmeered, and by its lightneſs fitteſt to ſwim with the child's weight. This ark being daubed with pitch within and without, they put the child in it, and committing him to the mercy of the waves, or rather to the care of providence, they left Miriam his

and expoſed to the common fate.

ſiſter, who was then about eight years of age, at a convenient diſtance to watch and ſee what would become of him. The reeds and flags, with which that river abounds [n], ſoon ſtopped the cradle from being carried by the current, and here it was that God ſent him a happy deliverance, from all future dangers on account of the king's edict.

Whilst his ſorrowful mother was retiring from him, providence directed thither the princeſs, whom he had made choice of to breed him up as her own. It was Pharaoh's daughter, who, being come to the river with a deſign to bathe herſelf, ſpied the ark as ſhe was walking along the ſhore. Her curioſity ſoon made her ſend one of her retinue to fetch it to her. It was not long before her ſur-

and taken up.

prize, at the ſight of ſo beautiful a child, was ſucceeded by an irreſiſtible love and pity for him, whoſe cries and tears would have reached a heart leſs gentle and pitiful than hers. She immediately concluded, that it was the child of ſome of thoſe unfortunate Hebrews, who groaned under her father's heavy thraldom; her pity told her, that ſo lovely a boy deſerved a better fate, and that it was her duty, ſince chance had thus thrown him in her way, at any rate to ſave him from the common ruin.

and brought up by Pharaoh's daughter.

Providence, which conducted all this ſcene, put it into her heart to have him educated as her own ſon, and into young Miriam's head to approach the princeſs, and to offer herſelf to fetch her an Hebrew nurſe to ſuckle him. She was no ſooner bid to go, but ſhe flew with all imaginable joy to call the mournful Jocabedh, who did not make them wait long, before ſhe came and received the dear infant from the hands of the princeſs, and with him an expreſs order, to take the ſame care of him as if it had been her own. At the ſame time ſhe told her, that as ſhe did not know the boy's name, ſhe would give him that of Moſes,

[n] Iſai. xviii. 2. Herodot. lib. ii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. i. & al.

Moſes, ſeeing ſhe had drawn him out of the water (M); and having promiſed her ample reward for her care of him, ſhe returned to the palace without acquainting any one with the adventure, whilſt the joyful mother went home to impart to her huſband the news of this happy accident.

THIS ſignal care of providence failed not to make them look upon Moſes as a child deſigned for ſome glorious purpoſe, and to give him an education ſuitable to the idea they had conceived of him, whilſt he ſtayed with them. They brought him in due time to Pharaoh's daughter, who adopted him for her ſon, and had him brought up in all the kinds of learning which that country was famous for [q] (N). How- His education.
ever,

[q] Acts vii. 22.

(M) Moſes is here thought to have hebraized his name, in order to expreſs the ſenſe of the Egyptian one, which had been given him by Pharaoh's daughter †. The word Mo, or Moy, in the Egyptian tongue, according to Joſephus (13), ſignifies water; and Yſes or Iſes ſignifies preſerved, and ſo Mo-yſes one preſerved out of the water. But Aben-Ezra (13) tells us, out of an Arabic book, entituled, עבירת האדמה, or the cultivation of land; that Moſes was called מרביום Monios, or Monious, which in the Egyptian tongue ſignifies drawn out (13), but it is very likely, that if his name had differed ſo much, and had been altogether Egyptian, Moſes would have taken notice of it, as he doth of the new name that was given to Joſeph, or as Daniel doth his own, and that of his three friends. It is therefore moſt likely, that the word Moſeh is derived from the verb משה Maſſah, which ſignifies to draw out, and is taken in that ſenſe by the Pſalmiſt, Pſ. xviii. ver 17. ממים רבים ימשני *he ſhall draw me out of many waters.* Which verb might probably be common both to the Hebrew and Egyptian tongues, both in ſound and ſignification (14), only with this difference perhaps, that in the Egyptian it may be in the paſſive, and ſignify drawn out; whereas in the Hebrew, it is the participle active, drawing out, and may allude to his bringing the Iſraelites out of their bondage.

(N) Clemens Alexandrinus, tells us (15), that Moſes was taught arithmetick, geometry, phyſic, muſic, and hieroglyphicks, or otherwiſe called enigmatical philoſophy: to which *Philo* adds (16), aſtronomy, which he learned from the Chaldeans, and the Aſſyrian

† Vid. Vol. I. p. 435 (13) Aben Ezra in loc (14) Simler, Oſiander in loc. Vilet in Exod. ch. ii. queſt. 17. (15) Clem. Alex. lib i. (16) Philo in vit. Moſis.

ever, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that his parents had ſo well inſtructed him in their religion, and taken ſuch care to let him know both what relation they bore to him, and what hopes they had conceived of his being deſigned by heaven to be the deliverer of his nation, that he made no other uſe of the education which the princeſs gave him, but to confirm himſelf more and more againſt the ſuperſtitions and idolatry of the Egyptians, and to make himſelf fit to anſwer thoſe ends, for which he ſeemed deſigned by providence. It was this noble motive, which made him ſympathize with the oppreſſed Hebrews, and prefer the reproachful and deſpiſed name of Iſraelite to all the pomp and grandeur of Pharaoh's court [r]. It was this generous love to his people, which made him venture to viſit and commiſerate them, and, where it was in his power to relieve them from their intolerable oppreſſion, though at the hazard of his own life. For having obſerved one day an Egyptian uſing an Hebrew with ſome uncommon barbarity, being perhaps one of thoſe cruel taſk-maſters whom Pharaoh had ſet over the Hebrew ones, and who uſed to beat them, upon the leaſt default of thoſe that were under his inſpection; Moſes was ſo exaſperated at it, that he had only patience enough to look about and ſee that the coaſt was clear, before he fell upon him, killed him, and buried his carcaſs in the ſand. If what Joſephus tells us [s] be true, that he had before this time been at the head of Pharaoh's troops, and made ſeveral ſucceſsful campaigns againſt the Æthiopians, who had ravaged and

He kills an Egyptian.

[r] Hebr. xi, 24, &c. [s] Ant. lib. c. x.

Aſſyrian characters, from the Aſſyrians, and that they ſent for the beſt maſters from Greece, to inſtruct him in all liberal arts and ſciences: but that was not a time for the Egyptians, who excelled the reſt of the world in all ſorts of learning, to ſend for maſters from Greece, which rather ſtood in need of Egyptian teachers; ſo that when Moſes is ſaid to have been inſtructed in all the learning of Egypt, it plainly implies, that he had the beſt and moſt learned education, that the whole world could then give him. If it be aſked how the Egyptians came by all thoſe ſciences, as we can affirm nothing certain or new concerning it, we ſhall content ourſelves with referring the reader to what has been ſaid of it, in the deſcription of that country in a former chapter. An antient author, quoted by Clement biſhop of Alexandria, and by Euſebius

and plundered ſome provinces of Egypt (O), we ſhall not wonder at his martial temper ſhewing itſelf upon ſuch an occaſion

Euſebius (17), calls Moſes the firſt of all the ſages or wiſemen, and ſays, that he was the firſt inventor of the art of grammar, which he taught to the Iſraelites, from whom the Phœnicians received it, and the Greeks from them.

(O) A great deal of pains have been taken to find Moſes ſuitable employment for thoſe forty years of his abode in Egypt. Joſephus has given us ſeveral remarkable particulars of his life during that time, which having nothing contrary to the text, but ſeeming rather to have been univerſally known and believed by the Jews of his time, the reader may perhaps be glad of an abſtract of them. He tells us, that the princeſs Thermuthis, having no children of her own, and having adopted Moſes on the account of the ſingular beauties of his body and mind, brought him to her father, who took him into his arms, and received him with great tenderneſs, and taking his crown off his head, laid it on that of the boy's; but Moſes, inſtead of being pleaſed with it, took it off, flung it to the ground, and ſet his foot upon it: whereupon the ſame prieſt, who had foretold his birth, cried out, that he ought to be put to death immediately, and that Egypt could not be ſafe otherwiſe. But Thermuthis ſoon ſnatched him away, the king no ways oppoſing it, and left the old prophet to rave at his leiſure, who ceaſed not to contrive means to be rid of a perſon ſo dangerous to the kingdom.

After this Moſes, being grown to man's eſtate, had an opportunity offered him of ſhowing his courage and conduct. The Æthiopians, who inhabited the upper lands, on the ſouth ſide of Egypt, had made many dreadful incurſions, plundered, and ravaged all the neighbouring parts of the country, and beat the Egyptian army, which Pharaoh had ſent to oppoſe them, in a ſet battle, and were become ſo proud of their ſucceſſes, that they began to march towards the capital of Egypt. In this diſtreſs the Egyptians had recourſe to the oracle, which anſwered, that they muſt get an Hebrew general at their head. As none was more promiſing than Moſes, the king deſired his daughter to conſent, that he ſhould go and head his army; but ſhe, after having firſt expoſtulated with her father, how unreaſonable it was for the Egyptians to emplore the aſſiſtance of a man, whom they had been ſo long plotting againſt, did not give her conſent, 'till ſhe had his promiſe and oath, that no attempt ſhould be hatched againſt her ſon. Moſes's firſt care, as ſoon as he was at the head of the Egyptian army, was, to reach the enemy as ſoon as poſſible, and inſtead

(17) Eupolem ap Clem Alexandr. ſtrom. lib. i. & ap. Euſeb. de præp. lib. ix. cap. xxvi.

occaſion as this; but, as we are not ſure, that what this hiſtorian ſays is really fact, ſeeing Philo, who had purpoſely wrote Moſes's life, and had as great opportunities of being informed

inſtead of going up to the Nile, as was uſual before, he choſe to croſs the country, and thereby ſhorten the way, and ſurprize the Æthiopians, who could not expect him to come by that way, becauſe that whole country was infeſted by flying and other poiſonous ſerpents, which did even poiſon the very air, but Moſes found out a method to rid his army of that danger, by carrying with him a vaſt number of birds, called Ibis, in iron-cages, whoſe nature is to devour all ſorts of ſerpents, and to be friendly to all other creatures. His project ſucceeded to admiration, and the birds being once let looſe, made a ſpeedy end of all thoſe venomous creatures, and opened to him a quick and ſafe paſſage to the enemies army, which having taken at unawares, he cut it all in pieces. He afterward entered their country, took ſeveral of their cities, and obliged them to retire into the city of Saba, called afterwards Meroe by Cambyſes, where he cloſely beſieged them. The place being ſtrongly fortified, and ſituated in the middle of an iſland, kept him employed ſome conſiderable time, and the ſiege would in all probability have laſted much longer, had not Tharbis, the king of Æthiopia's daughter, fallen in love with him, as ſhe ſaw him fighting, with the utmoſt gallantry and valour, from the top of the city wall. She therefore ſent privately to him to let him know, that the city ſhould be ſurrendered to him, upon condition that he ſhould marry her immediately after. Moſes conſented to the conditions, and, having taken poſſeſſion of the place and of the princeſs, returned with his victorious army to Egypt, where, inſtead of reaping the fruits of his lawrels, the ungrateful Egyptians accuſed him of murder to the king, who, having already taken ſome umbrage at his valour and great reputation, was reſolved to rid himſelf of him. Moſes, having ſome ſuſpicion of it, made his eſcape, and not daring to go by the common roads for fear of being ſtopped by the king's guards, was forced to go through a great deſart to reach the land of Midian *. Thus far Joſephus, from whoſe account we may gather, that there were three motives why Pharaoh and his people ſought Moſes's death. Namely, 1. their envy at his great ſucceſs and conſummate wiſdom in this warlike expedition. 2. Their jealouſy, leſt he ſhould attempt to make ſome dangerous inſurrection in Egypt And laſtly, the prophecies, which that country was threatened with from an Hebrew. To which Philo (18) adds a fourth, namely, his being too great a friend and favourer of the Hebrews, whom Pharaoh did already look upon as his moſt dangerous enemies.

* Ant. lib. ii. cap. x. & xi. (18) Philo in vit. Moſis.

informed of all the particulars of it as Joſephus had, is altogether ſilent about it, and Moſes himſelf is ſo far from mentioning any ſuch warlike proweſs, that he rather deſcribes himſelf as a man of the utmoſt meekneſs and patience; we ſhall be forced to ſuppoſe, that he was ſtirred up by ſome divine impulſe, as being the perſon choſen by heaven to be the deliverer of Iſrael. This ſeems to be hinted at by St. Stephen [s], and we may probably ſuppoſe, that the injury done to the Hebrew was of ſuch a nature, that it deſerved death; or that it could not be prevented but by the death of the Egyptian. However that may be, Moſes was not ſo ſafe as he thought himſelf, for endeavouring ſoon after to compoſe a difference between two Hebrews, whoſe cruel ſlavery could not hinder them from injuring one another, the moſt guilty of the two gave him a very ſaucy anſwer, aſking him, whether he deſigned to kill him as he had done the Egyptian (P)? Finding therefore that the fact was known, and fearing, leaſt, if it ſhould come to Pharaoh's knowledge, he would ſuſpect him of being too much in the intereſt of the Iſraelites, and puniſh him for the death of the Egyptian, he was forced to fly into the land of Midian; not daring to rely too much upon the protection of his adoptive mother, or having perhaps already diſclaimed her adoption, as ſome are inclined to think. It is ſuppoſed, however, that

[s] Acts vii. 15.

(P) A jeſuit who has lately written the hiſtory of the people of God, thinks it highly probable, that theſe two quarrelling Hebrews were that Jannes and Jambres, mentioned by the apoſtle (19) to have withſtood Moſes, becauſe they would not acknowledge him to have been a proper judge of their quarrel, though God had made him the judge of all his people (20). What induces him to think ſo is, that their names are Hebrew ones; for which reaſon he thinks, that they could not be the Egyptian magicians, whom Pharaoh made uſe of in oppoſition to Moſes. But in order to make theſe names Hebrew, he muſt with ſome Jews call them Jochanan and Mambri, or Jona and Jambri (21); but we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel of this hiſtory, that theſe two men, let their right names be what they will, were the magicians who mimicked ſeveral of Moſes's miracles, though they could not follow him throughout.

(19) 2 Tim. iii. 8.

(20) Berruyer Hiſtoir. du peuple de dieu. tom. ii. p. 25.

(21) Buxtorf, Lexic. Talmudic. Fabric. de Apocryph. vet. teſt.

that he had made uſe of that princeſs's intereſt long before, to get that bloody edict againſt the Hebrew male children recalled, ſince the ſequel of the hiſtory ſhews, that that order had not been put in force for ſome time. It was well for him, however, he left Egypt ſo ſoon; for the news of the ſlain Egyptian was brought to the king, and in all likelihood aggravated with the blackeſt circumſtances by the courtiers, who could not but hate a man in ſo high eſteem as he was; ſo that if Pharaoh could have caught him, he would infallibly have put him to death: but Moſes was out of his reach, having paſt thoſe great deſarts that lay between Egypt and Midian (Q), and being ſafely got near hoſpitable Jethro's

and is forced to fly into Midian.

(Q) We muſt remember not to confound this land of Midian, of which an account has been already given *, with another of that name, whoſe chief city was alſo called Midian, and might be a colony of the other, which was ſituate by Arnon and Areopolis, according to St. Jerom, who tells us, the ruins of it were ſtill to be ſeen in his days (22). Whereas this, which Moſes went to, was in Arabia Petrea, whoſe Metropolis was called Petra, not far from mount Horeb, where he kept Jethro's flocks (23); which mountain was either near that of Sinai, or more probably Sinai and Horeb were two tops of the ſame mountain (24); the former of which St. Paul places in Arabia (25); though it is more probable, that Horeb was the common name of the whole ridge of mountains on which Sinai was ſituated; and that it was called Horeb, or, as the original has it, Choreb, from the exceſſive drineſs of it (26). Philo adds (27), that it was full of buſhes, and that at the bottom of the mountain grew that in which God appeared to Moſes, which the original calls סנה Sinah, which ſignifies a buſh or ſhrub, that is ſo full of thorns, that the birds cannot perch in it without being ſtripped of their feathers. The Hebrews ſay, that mount Sinai had that name from it (28). However that be, this mount is alſo called the mount of God, not from any religious worſhip that had been performed there before that time, as Joſephus thinks (29), or becauſe of its height and ſupereminency, as ſuch things are frequently ſo called in ſcripture, as the cedars of God, &c. (30) but it is ſo named by anticipation, as it became famous upon many accounts, ſuch as 1. God

* Vid. ſup. p. 113. & ſeq. (22) Hieron loc. Hæbraic. (23) Exod. iii. 1. (24) Joſ. Antiq. l. ii. c. xli. (25) Galat. iv. 5.. (26) Cajetan. Villet. Jun. in loc. & al. (27) Philo in vit. Moſis. (28) Vid. Munſt. in loc. (29) Ant. lib. ii. c. xii. (30) Pſal. civ. 16.

Jethro's habitation. At his arrival in that country he met with much ſuch another adventure as Jacob had in Padan-Haran [s], at the well where the damſels uſed to come to water their flocks. An account of which, and of his forty years abode there, has been given in the hiſtory of the Midianites [t] *.

How he ſpent his time in thoſe forty years retirement, ſave that he kept Jethro's flocks, is what he has not thought fit to acquaint us with. Thoſe who ſuppoſe that he wrote the book of Job during this interval, have certainly this ſtrong argument on their ſide, that it appears to have been written before the deliverance of the Iſraelites out of Egypt; otherwiſe it were abſurd to ſuppoſe, that either Job or his friends, conſidering what kindred and country they were of, could be either ſo ignorant of the wonders which God had wrought in favour of that oppreſſed people, or ſo forgetful of them, as not to have urged them in the ſtrongeſt terms, during their long and intricate controverſy about the various diſpenſations of providence. And indeed, were not Job ſo often mentioned by Ezekiel † with Noah and Daniel, much might be ſaid for thoſe who look upon this hiſtory as a parable, or rather a dramatic piece, written on purpoſe to comfort the afflicted Iſraelites under their heavy bondage. But the words of the prophet will not admit of ſuch a ſuppoſition.

[s] Gen. xxix. 9. [t] Exod. ii. paſſ. * Vid. ſup. p. 135.
† Ezek. xiv. paſſ.

1. God appearing to Moſes in the buſh. 2. His being afterwards worſhipped there, and ſhewing himſelf by the moſt wonderful viſible ſigns at the delivery of the law (31). 3. The ſtriking the rock with Moſes's rod (32). 4. Moſes lifting up his hands to make Joſhua prevail againſt the Amalekites (33). 5. The law being given to Moſes there (34). 6. His faſting twice forty days and nights (35). 7. Bringing the two tables of ſtone from thence (36). 8. The noble viſion which the prophet Elijah had there (37). and ſome others of leſs conſequence.

(31) Exod. iii. 2. & cap. xix. & xx. paſſ. (32) Numb. xx. 11. (33) Exod. xvii. 11. (34) Exod. xxiv. & ſeq. paſſ. (35) Ibid. xxxiv. 28. Deut. ix. 9. (36) Exod. xxxii. 15, 16, & alib. (37) 1 Kings xix.

We have already taken notice in the hiſtory of Edom [u] §, how uncertain and unſatisfactory every thing is that relates to the genealogy of this holy man, or the author of his hiſtory; but as ſome of our readers have expreſſed a deſire to know all the probable particulars that can be gathered on that ſubject, we ſhall beg leave to ſubjoin them here in few words.

A digreſſion concerning Job.

The moſt antient monument we have concerning the genealogy of Job, and which has been received and allowed by Ariſteus, Philo, Polyhiſtor [w], and ſeveral antient fathers of the Greek and Latin church [x], is an addition to that hiſtory, which is to be met with at the end of the Greek, Arabic, and Vulgate verſions, and affirmed to have been taken from the antient Syriac one, to this purpoſe; that Job dwelt upon the confines of Idumæa and Arabia; that his firſt name was Jobab, and that he married an Arabian, by whom he had a ſon named Ennen. As for Job he was the ſon of Zerah, and the fifth in deſcent from Abraham by Eſau, and reigned in Idumæa. The order of the kings, that reigned before and after him, is as follows; Balac the ſon of Beor reigned in the city of Denabah; after him reigned Job, called alſo Jobab; who was ſucceeded by Aſom prince of Teman. His ſucceſſor Adad the ſon of Bedad was he, who overthrew the Midianites in the plains of Moab; the name of his city was Jethem. Job's friends, who came to viſit him, were Eliphaz king of Teman, of Eſau's poſterity; Bildad king of the Zeucheans, and Zophas king of the Mineans. Thus far the additions, which have been perſerved by Theodotion, in his verſion of the book of Job [y]. If this genealogy be admitted, and that Job is the ſame with Jobab, mentioned in Geneſis [z] and Chronicles [a], it will follow, that he and Moſes were cotemporary, being both but three generations removed from Iſaac thus;

Iſaac,

[u] Gen. xxxvi. p. fot. § Vid. ſup. p. 159. [w] Apud Euſeb. de præp. l. ix. c. xxv. [x] Vid. Fred. Spanheim in vit. Job c. iv. Mercer Pineda Dieg. de Stunica & al comm. in Job. [y] Vid. Calm. diſſert, in Job. [z] Gen. xxxvi. 32. [a] 1 Chron. i. 43, 44.

Iſaac,

Jacob,	Eſau,
Levi,	Reuel,
Amram,	Zerah,
Moſes,	Jobab or Job.

It will likewiſe be plain, that he reigned in the city of Denabah or Dinhabah; for ſo the author of the firſt book of the Chronicles expreſly affirms [b]; but how to find ſuch a city in the land of Uz, ſeeing Euſebius and St. Jerom place Dinhabah in the land of Moab, between Areopolis and Heſhbon [c]; whereas they affirm the land of Uz, or the place where Job dwelt, to have been, according to the antient tradition of the inhabitants of Paleſtine, the city of Aſtaroth Kernaim on the other ſide of Jordan, upon the brook Jaabock, between Mahanaim and Edras [d], is not ſo eaſy to determine. However that be, thoſe who embrace the notion that Job is the Jobab mentioned in thoſe two places of ſcripture above quoted, and conſequently, that he was cotemporary with Moſes, have with much ſtraining pumped out two paſſages in his hiſtory, which, they pretend, to make expreſs mention of Pharaoh's pride and overthrow, and of the Iſraelites paſſing through the red ſea. The firſt is, where Eliphaz ſays of the wicked, that *trouble and anguiſh ſhall make him afraid, and prevail againſt him as a king ready to battle* [e]. Which words they apply to Pharaoh's pride and hardneſs of heart, though 'tis plain, by what goes before and after thoſe two verſes, that Job's friend ſpeaks only of the wicked in general, ſuch as he ſuppoſed him to be from the afflictions which had befallen him. The other text is, where Job ſays, that God *divideth the ſea with his power, and by his underſtanding ſmiteth through the proud* [f]. And this they think to allude to the paſſing of the Red Sea, and to Pharaoh's overthrow in it. But here, beſides that the word in the original doth more properly ſignify to ſtill than to divide, it is plain from the tenour of the whole chapter, that Job ſpeaks only of the wonderful power and providence of God in general, and not of this miracle in particular. Beſides, it is hardly probable, as we obſerved a little before, that had this conference between Job and his

[b] Ibid. xvi. 24, 25. [c] Loc. Hæbr. [d] Id. ibid. [e] Job [f] Ibid. xxvi. 12.

friends happened after so remarkable a deliverance as that of the Israelites, a more ample and express mention should not have been made throughout the book, than we find in these two obscure passages; especially if we consider, that Job's desire of vindicating his own integrity did naturally lead him to it; and that the afflictions, as well as the deliverance, of the Israelites, were a full confutation of what his friends alledged against him, and if he had not been guilty of some great crimes, God would never have inflicted such heavy punishments on him [g]. Neither do we see any necessity for making Job to have lived since this miraculous deliverance of the Israelites, in order to adjust the genealogy above-mentioned, since it will be sufficient to suppose, that those four generations on Esau's side, were by some few years shorter than those on Jacob's, which is not at all improbable, seeing the latter were remarkable for their long lives [h], and then it will be possible enough for Job to have seen an end of all his sufferings before Moses left the land of Midian; in which case, he being justly supposed to be the most antient writer, he has been likewise thought the author of his history, by the majority of writers. That his poetic genius was equal to this excellent performance, those few canticles, which he has left us in the Pentateuch, will not permit us to doubt of. However, there is one main objection against this notion, which is, that if Jobab be the same with Job, and he cotemporary with Moses, it will be impossible for the latter to have outlived him by so many years as to be able to give us an account of his death, and of his numerous posterity: for it is said, that Job lived an hundred and forty years after his sufferings were ended, and that he saw his sons children to the fourth generation: whereas Moses lived but forty years in the land of Midian, and forty more after he was come out of it. This difficulty therefore cannot be removed, but by supposing, that the three or four last verses of the book were added afterwards by some inspired person, in order to make the history complete; in the same manner as Joshua, or some other, added the account of Moses's death and burial at the end of Deuteronomy: but how far this supposition may be allowed, we choose to submit to our reader's judgment.

Before we close this digression, we shall beg leave to say something of the book itself. Though some learned men

[g] Vid. particularly cap. xxii. 25, & alib. pass. [h] Vid. sup. p. 505. [i] Vid. Exod. xv. p. tot. Deut. xxviii. 31.

men have thought it to have been writ originally in Syriac or Arabic, either by Job himſelf, or by one of his friends [k]; yet it is now univerſally allowed to have been written in Hebrew. What has given birth to the former notion is, its being ſo blended with Syriac and Arabic expreſſions and idioms, as makes it very difficult to be rightly underſtood [l]. It is juſtly ſuppoſed to be written in verſe, from the loftineſs of the ſtile, the ſublimeneſs of the thoughts, the livelineſs and energy of expreſſion, the grandeur of its imagery, and variety of characters; though the metre and cadence of it be altogether looſe and unconfined. Thoſe who have been moſt converſant with it, will readily allow, that antiquity cannot produce a more lofty and magnificent, a more florid, eloquent, pathetic, and learned performance, whoever the author of it was. A bold critic, indeed [m], has not ſcrupled to tax him with oſtentation, and with making a vain ſhow of prophane learning and poetic fiction, and for putting ſuch expreſſions in the mouth of that holy man, as are not only incompatible with his character, but even of a dangerous nature, being, in his opinion, more fitted to corrupt than to edify his readers. But it is certain, that that learned author was only acquainted with the Greek verſion of it, which abounds, it muſt be owned with expreſſions that allude too much to the fables and fictions of the poets. Had he been acquainted with the original, he would eaſily have acquitted it of ſuch an unjuſt imputation. Beſides, it muſt be remembered, that the eaſtern nations had a much more lively, ſtrong, and paſſionate way of expreſſing their thoughts than we; ſo that it is impoſſible to come at their true meaning, or to make a right judgment of thoſe hyperbolical expreſſions, without lowering them very much from their literal ſignification. The Jews have added ſeveral particulars to the hiſtory of Job, ſuch as that he was a king and high prieſt in Idumæa, and that he had married Dinah, Jacob's daughter [n]; which latter can hardly be credited, unleſs we ſuppoſe him to have been of much older date than Moſes. The Eaſtern writers, eſpecially the Arabians, have very much improved upon them, according to cuſtom; but we need not trouble our readers with a further detail of them,

[k] Vid. Calm, Diſſ. in Job. [l] Hieron, præfat. in Job.
[m] Theod. Mopſueſt. Vid. Synod. V. OEcum. Collat. iv. art. 63.
[n] Chald. Par. il. Maim more Nevoch. & al.

them, those who are desirous to be informed in that particular, may consult D'Herbelot's Bibliotheca Orientalis °.

We return now to our Jewish Law-giver in the land of Midian, whom we may reasonably suppose to have had such convincing reasons to look upon himself as the deliverer of his afflicted people, that he could not but have many anxious thoughts about them during that long interval, and thinking the time long, till he saw that glorious promised deliverance happily fulfilled. Nay, this long delay seems to have made him conceive quite other notions, as if God had either made choice of some other instrument to work out their deliverance, or had been provoked by their sins to suspend it for some longer time. For when God was pleased to appear to him at the end of forty years, in a burning bush, upon mount Horeb, and by his own voice, as well as by the miracle of the bush not having one leaf consumed, though all over in a bright flame (R), evidences, that it was the God of

God appears to him in the burning bush.

° Bibl. orient. sub. Art. Ajub.

(R) The word flame in this place is לבת Labath, and not Lahebah, which is the common word for flame; and though some Jews do think with us, that it signifies the same thing, yet others will have it, that it is put for לפ Leb, or לבב Lebaf, which signifies the heart or middle of any thing, and that it is here used to express, that it was only the centre of the bush that appeared inflamed. The large comment on Exodus adds, that God was pleased to appear in that manner at this time, to convince Moses (who was afraid lest the Israelites should one time or other be destroyed by the Egyptians, if they were not so already during his forty years absence), that as the bush remained unconsumed in the midst of the flames, so should Israel in the midst of all their fiery trials (38). As to the time when this vision was seen by Moses, St. Stephen (39) tells us, it was about forty years after his flight out of Egypt; that is, in the eightieth year of his age; for so old he was when he came and stood before Pharaoh (40); and it was in the fortieth year of his age; that going to visit his brethren, he committed the fact which obliged him to fly the kingdom, and to go ab aulâ ad caulam, from the court to the cart. It was in this retirement that he is supposed to have wrote the books of Job and Genesis, for a comfort to his afflicted brethren (41).

(38) Elleshemoth Rab. in loc. Philo loc. citat. (39) Acts vii. 23. (40) Exod. vii. 7. (41) Perrer. ex Philon. Villet & al.

of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, that ſpoke to him, and commanded him to go into Egypt, and to execute his deſigns there; Moſes did not leave one plea untried to be excuſed from the difficult taſk, whilſt God was graciouſly pleaſed to diſpel all his fears, to clear all his doubts, and to give him ſuch promiſes of his miraculous aſſiſtance, as would have emboldened the moſt fearful, which was not Moſes's caſe.

THE divine viſion (S) began with telling him, that the afflictions, under which the Iſraelites groaned, were grown to

(S) We need not repeat here what has been ſaid before about theſe apparitions, whether they were angels ſpeaking in the perſon of God, which we think we have ſufficiently confuted, or God himſelf, or, as the moſt received opinion is, Chriſt the Son of God. All that need be added here is, that this, which appears now in the buſh, is the ſame who was afterwards to be the captain and guide of the Iſraelites, in the deſert; that is, not an angel, or God the Father, but Chriſt himſelf, as St. Paul affirms (42); for neither the Father nor Holy Ghoſt are ever called by the name of angel, i. e. a meſſenger or perſon ſent; whereas the ſon is called the angel of the Covenant by the prophet Malachy (43), as a title of his office, though not of his nature (44). As for thoſe who think not only that it was an angel (45), but pretend to gueſs that it was Michael that appeared here, as he did afterwards to Joſhua (46), and to Daniel (47); it is plain their conjecture is not only contrary to what we have quoted out of the apoſtle, but even abſurd, if not impious. For can they prove, that Michael was a created angel, ſeeing that name ſignifies one like unto God, and can only be applicable to Chriſt? can a created angel be ſtiled the captain of the lord's hoſts, as he is called in Joſhua, or the prince of the people of God, as he is in Daniel, which office and title, the apoſtle tells us (48), belong only to Chriſt, who is the captain or prince of our ſalvation? did ever any angel ſuffer himſelf to be worſhipped, as that which appeared to Joſhua did? ſuppoſing, therefore, that it was the ſame that appeared to Moſes, Joſhua, and Daniel, as Perrerius thinks (49), yet it will be far from following, that he was a created angel or miniſtering

(42) 1 Cor. x. 4. (43) Malach. iii. 1. (44) Theodor. Oſiand Simler, & al. (45) Aug. de Trinit. lib. iii. c. xi. & Tractat. 3 in Johan. N. 17, 18. Hieron. epiſt. ad Galat. iii. Greg. moral. lib. xxviii. cap. i. (46) Joſh. v. paſſ. (47) Dan. x. paſſ. (48) Hebr. ii. 10. (49) Perrer, & al.

to such a height, and the cruelties of their enemies so enormous, that the time was now come both for their deliverance, and for their receiving that happy promised land, as a recompence for their long patience and sufferings; bidding him at the same time to go to Pharaoh, and in his name to demand their dismission, and assuring him, that those who sought his life were now all dead, and that he had now nothing to fear from the Egyptians. In vain did Moses plead his weakness and insufficiency for such a work, God told him, that it was not to be performed by an arm of flesh, but by his own irresistible power, which should manifest himself in such miraculous deeds, that not only Egypt, but all the world should be astonished at them. Here Moses objected further, that he very much doubted, whether the Israelites had not so far forgot the God of their fathers, that when he came to acquaint them with his commission from him, they would be apt to ask what his name was, in which case he would be at a loss

Commands him to return into Egypt.

ministring spirit; on the contrary it will be plain, that it was Christ the king of men and angels, blessed for ever (50).

(T) The Cabbalistical Jews, and after them Josephus (51) and some Romanists (52), think, that Moses did not ask for the name of God, but for the true pronunciation of it, which they think had been lost through the wickedness of mankind: for which reason the former affirm, that the word עלם Holam, used by God presently after (53), being written without a ו Vau, should not be rendered for ever, but hid, from the root עלם halem to hide, not considering, that if that was the case it should be written עלום Halum, and not Holam. Upon this account the name יהוה is by all the Jews called Shem Hamphorash, the unutterable name, which Josephus in the place just now quoted says, was never known or heard of before God told it to Moses, and adds, that he dares not so much as mention it: for which reason they never pronounce it, but use the word Adonai, or Elohim, or plainly the word Hashem, the name, to express it. Thus in their letters and common discourse, instead of saying, the Lord bless or protect you, they say, the Name bless you, &c. and they think, that the words used by Daniel in his prayer (54) למען אדני Lemaghan Adonai, do not mean as we understand them, for the sake of the Lord or the Messiah, or as we express it, for Christ's sake, but for the sake of the word, Adonai,

(50) Villet in cap. iii. Exod. quæst. 6. (51) Ant. lib. ii. c. 12. (52) Genebrard. Bellarmin. Berruyer Hist. du peup. de Dieu. tom. 2. p. 36. 53) Exod. iii. 17. (54) Dan. ix. 17.

loſs what anſwer to make them (T). Here God was pleaſed to anſwer a queſtion which he had formerly refuſed to

Adonai, which they were obliged to uſe 'till the Meſſiah came, and taught them the true pronunciation of the name יהוה: not but their high-prieſt did pronounce it Jehovah once a year on the day of expiation, from the time of their return from the Babyloniſh captivity to the laſt deſtruction of the temple; but they had but few diſciples near them that could learn its pronunciation, and during the time of the bleſſing in which this name was repeated, the prieſts and levites did ſing louder than ordinary; that none elſe might hear it. But even then they were very far from thinking it the right pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton; for they think, that any man that could once attain it, might ſhake heaven and earth with it, work the greateſt miracles, and dive into the deepeſt ſecrets of the Deity. They tell us, that Moſes had it engraved upon his rod, and by vertue of that ineffable word wrought all thoſe mighty wonders in favour of his people: that Noah could ſteer the ark which way he pleaſed by it, and that Jeſus Chriſt having ſtolen it out of the temple, or, as others affirm, brought it with him from Egypt, and clapped it between the ſkin and the fleſh of his thigh, had obtained the power of working all his miracles, which they ſay any man elſe might do, that could pronounce that name right (55).

They add, that Simon ſirnamed the Juſt, one of their high prieſts, who flouriſhed about the year of the world 3702, and died 3711, i. e. about 289 years before Chriſt, was the laſt that knew it; but that the number of prophane people encreaſing, they thought it beſt to ſubſtitute another name to it, conſiſting of twelve letters, which the high-prieſt made uſe of when he bleſſed the people (56). Tarpho, a noted Rabbi, ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the Trypho of Juſtin martyr, tells us, that being got one day near the high-prieſt, to hear this bleſſing, he found, that he only muttered the name of God in an articulate manner, whilſt the Levites did drown his voice with their ſinging, that he might not be learned, and abuſed by the wicked. But ſince Simon Juſtus it has been wholly loſt, not to be recovered again 'till the Meſſiah come. In the mean time, the Talmud has left a moſt horrid curſe againſt thoſe that ſhall dare to utter it, becauſe they think, the very angels themſelves are not allowed to pronounce it.

The truth is, thoſe who think that Jehovah is the right pronunciation are far enough from being ſure of it. It is plain, that the antients did write it very differently from them. Sanchoniathon

(55) Vid. Midras Tehillim in Pſal. xii. Druſſ. de nomine Tetragrammat.

(56) Maimonid. More Nevochim. part i. c. lxii.

to Jacob *, though in such terms as might easily make him sensible

* Gen. xxxii. 29.

choniathon spells it Jevo (1); Diodorus Siculus (2), Macrobius (3), Clemens of Alexandria (4), St. Jerom (5), and Origen (6) pronounced it Jao. The Samaritans, and after them Epiphanius (7) and Theodoret (8), Jave, or Jabe. Others of the antients write it, Jahoh, Javo, Jaon, Jaho, and Jahod. Among the moderns, Capellus is for pronouncing it Javo; Drusius, Jave; Hottinger, Jehva; Mercer, Jehovah; Castalio, Jovah, and Le Clerk, Jawoh or Javoh. Something like these the Romans had in their Jovis, to which Varro seems to allude when he says, Deum Judæorum esse Jovem, that Jove was the God of the Jews, as St. Austin alledges out of him in the first book of his defence of the gospel, c. xxii. The Moors likewise call God Juba, or Jubah, and the Mohammedans Hou, which with them signifies the same as Jehovah, i. e. he who is; which name they write at the beginning of all their patents, passes. and the like, and do often repeat in their prayers. Some of their devotees will sometimes repeat that word so often, and with such quickness and vehemence, that they drop down with giddiness. However, it is plain, that the four letters of which that great name consists, may be pronounced in all the above-mentioned ways, and several others, according to the vowels that are joined with them. Thus much for the pronunciation of יהוה.

As to the uttering of it, besides what we have already observed out of the Talmud and Josephus, we have still another witness of the Jewish excessive, and even superstitious, respect for that word, viz. Philo, who affirms (10), that, after the stoning of the blasphemer to death in the wilderness (11), God commanded Moses to publish a new law, that *whosoever should curse the Lord should be guilty of sin, and whosoever should pronounce the name of God should be put to death*; which is the version which the Septuagint and Theodoret have given us of the 15th and 16th verses of the above-quoted chapter: whereas in the original it is, *whosoever curseth* אלהיו *his God, or Gods shall bear his*

(1) Sanchoniat. ap. Euseb. de præp. lib. x. c. 9. (2) Diod. Sic. Bibliot. lib. ii. (3) Macrob. Saturnal. lib. i. cap. xviii. (4) Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. v. (5) Hieron. or some other under his name, in Psal. viii. (6) Orig. contr. Cels. lib. vi. (7) Epiph. Hæres. 40. (8) Theodoret in Exod. quæst. 15. (9) D'Herbelot Bibliot. Orient. p. 460. sub. voc. Hon. & p. 326. sub. Esma. (10) Philo in vit. Mosis. (11) Levit. xxiv. 11, & seq.

ſenſible of the irregularity and unreaſonableneſs of it; for, as

his own ſin; and whoſoever ſhall blaſpheme the name of יהוה *the Lord ſhall ſurely be put to death.* This law, continues Philo, is full of the profoundeſt wiſdom, the firſt part of which forbids the curſing or blaſpheming the falſe gods of the Gentiles; and the ſecond the uttering of the name of God in a vain or looſe manner, or by way of ornament to our ſpeech; which he thinks deſerves the worſt of puniſhments. But as to the part of this law, according to Philo's expoſition, that author ſeems to have forgot, that Jeremiah commands the Jews (12), a little before they were carried into the Babyloniſh captivity, that, when they came thither, they ſhould not only ſpeak againſt the gods of Babylon, but even denounce death and deſtruction againſt them all, as being no gods; and that not in their native Hebrew, which was not underſtood there, but in plain downright Chaldee, the language of that country. And it is obſerveable, that this verſe is the only one in that prophet, that is written in the Chaldee, all the reſt being in Hebrew. But to return from this digreſſion: it is not eaſy to determine, whether the ſeventy had loſt the right pronunciation of the name יהוה; whether they purpoſely concealed it under the name of Κύριος Lord, or whether they did make uſe of that Greek word at all. For firſt, the could not be ſenſible, that the word יהוה was no relative word as Κυριος, or Lord, is; for though we can properly ſay, Κύριος μοῦ, Κύριος ὑμῶν, &c. i. e. my Lord, our Lord, &c. yet יהוה has never any pronoun affixed to it: whereas Elohim and Adonai have as Elohai, Elohenù, &c. for which reaſon, even St. Jerom chooſes to render it by Adonai, in Exod. vi. 3. and nomen meum Adonai non indicavi eis, where it is in the Hebrew ובשמי יהוה לא נודעתי להם *but by my name Jehovah was I not known to them* Thoſe verſions therefore, which have rendered that word by Dominus, as the Vulgate, or Lord, as our own, do not ſeem to have ſufficiently attended to what we have juſt now obſerved; for יהוה not being a relative, ought not to have been rendered by one that is ſo. The French Geneva tranſlation has made uſe of a much better word to expreſs it, viz. L' Eternel, the eternal Being; which name in the firſt place is not relative (for we cannot properly ſay, Mon Eternel, vôtre Eternel, &c.) and ſecondly, expreſſes, the etymon of Jehovah far better than Κύριος Dominus, Lord, as we ſhall ſhew by and by. But ſecondly, it is very probable, that the Septuagint left this, as well as ſome other names of God, ſuch as Jah, Sadai, Zabaoth, &c. untranſlated, 'till the ſecond reviſion of that verſion; and that they concealed the true reading of יהוה under the Samaritan characters) as being leſs underſtood by the reſt of the world

(12) Jerem. x. 11.

as Juſtin Martyr rightly obſerves, names are given only to ſhew

world than the Hebrew or Aſſyrian ones were), or under the Greek capitals H I H I. which bore a reſemblance to the four letters of יהוה and yet had a ſound ſo different from it, that they would never lead the Heathen reader to the true pronunciation of it. St. Jerom (13), Origen (14), and Euſebius (15) aſſure us, that they had ſeen copies of the Septuagint written in the two above-mentioned ways, and that even in their time the Jews choſe to write that name, as often as it occurred, in the old Samaritan letters; their reaſon for which was, leſt that venerable name ſhould be abuſed by the Heathen to ill purpoſes: though Origen adds, that theſe precautions did not prove ſo effectual; but that they made uſe of it in their exorciſms, in their charms againſt diſeaſes, and other ſuperſtitious rites (16). And Clement of Alexandria informs us (17), that thoſe Egyptians, who were allowed to enter into the temple of the Sun, did wear the name Jaou about their middle. We find likewiſe in ſome magic verſes againſt the gout mentioned by Trallian the names Jas or Jaath. Something like this we meet with in Pythagoras's golden verſes, where there is an oath by Τετρακτὸς, i. e. by him whoſe name is ſpelt with four letters (18); as alſo the inſcription, Tu es, in that famous frontiſpiece of the temple of Delphos, mentioned by Euſebius (19), which alludes to the Hebrew name of God. Such was alſo that of the Egyptians, I AM, written over one of theirs (20). Cicero gives an inſtance (21) of ſome names of the heathen gods which they did not dare to pronounce, to which Lucan adds, that the very name of them would have ſhook the earth (22).

There remains, that we enquire into the ſignification of the name יהוה in which we ſhall not find ſuch a diſſonancy among expoſitors, as we did about the pronunciation of it. For firſt, they are all agreed, that it is derived from the root היה hajah, he has been, and denotes God's ſelf-exiſtence and eternal nature. Accordingly in this place we are annotating upon, he calls himſelf אהיה אשר אהיה Ehjeh, Aſher, Ehjeh, I am that I am, or rather I am becauſe I am. Where the verb, though it be in the future, yet, according to the genius of the

(13) Jerom. præfat. in lib. Reg. & in Ezek. ix. (14) Orig. Fragm. in paleograph. Græc. lib. ii. c. i. (15) Euſeb. in Chronic. ad an. 4740. (16) Orig. cont. Celſum lib. i. (17) Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. v. (18) Vid. Selden de Diis Syr. Synagog. ii. c. i. (19) Euſeb. de præpar. lib. xi. c. x. (20) Plutarch Tract. de εἶ inſcript. forib. Temp. Delph. cap. ii. (21) Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. (22) Lucan l. vi. ver. 744, 745. ap. Calmet, ſub voc. Jehovah. Villet. c. vi. in Exod. & al.

ſhew the difference of things: whereas God being one, and there-

the Hebrew tongue, is applicable to the preſent or perfect tenſe, and implies his immutability as continuing the ſame that he has been, and is to all eternity (23). It is likewiſe more than probable, that God chooſes to expreſs himſelf in the future tenſe, to ſhew that he is the only Being that can truly ſay, I ſhall or will be what I am, &c. (24). Aretius makes the two words Ehjeh to be proper names (25); but it ſeems to be only in the firſt Ehjeh in the ſenſe in which it is taken in the latter part of the verſe. I am Ehjeh, has ſent me, and the ſecond Ehjeh to be aſſigned as the cauſe of the firſt; namely, I am becauſe I am (26). Neither was this name unknown to the wiſer ſort of heathens, as we have ſeen by ſome of their inſcriptions, to which we ſhall add one more mentioned by Egubinus, written on the doors of the Egyptian temples, and exactly agreeing with this wonderful name of God, viz. I am whatſoever was, is, and ſhall be. According to which, Thales of Mileſium, being aſked what God was, replied, that which always is, and has neither beginning nor end. Thus Plato truly ſays (27), that nothing really exiſts but that which is immutable; for which, and ſome other of his wiſe ſayings, he is ſuppoſed to have read Moſes's books, or converſed with ſome of his diſciples when he was in Egypt; which is not improbable, ſeeing Ariſtobulus, who flouriſhed in the Maccabees's time, writes to Ptolemy Philometor, that Moſes's books having been tranſlated into Greek in Alexander's time, Pythagoras and Plato had taken many things from them (28). Some divines, and in particular our learned Ainſworth, think, that Jehovah is the participle of Hajah in piel, and that it doth not only ſignify to be, but to cauſe to be, or to give being; by which not only his omnipotence, but likewiſe his faithfulneſs and truth are plainly intimated and implied, as being alone able and ſure to make good his promiſes (29). Upon all theſe accounts therefore Jehovah is looked upon to be the incommunicable name of God, there being no created beings unto whom it can be properly, or indeed at all, applied in any of theſe ſenſes; whereas thoſe of Elohim, Adonai, Gibbor, &c. have been given to angels and men (30).

We

(23) Greg. Nazianz. Homil. in loc. S. Auguſt. in loc: Revel. i. 8. (24) Simler, Villet. & al. (25) Aret. in loc. (26) Simler. Jun. Pined, Munſt. & al. (27) Plato in Timæo. (28) Ap. Perrer. Villet. & al. (29) Simler, Outran, Burratius, Ainſworth, & al. (30) Perrer. Jun. Munſt &c.

there being none other but him, there needs no name to

We ſhall not trouble our readers with all the myſtical notions, which cabaliſts have raiſed from the letters that compoſe this awful name, nor with the preference they give to it, above all the other names of God, as being, as it were, a monarch upon his throne, and the other only as guards or officers under him (31); but conclude this note with a ſhort enquiry, why the word Jehovah is thought ineffable, not only by the Jews, but alſo by ſome Chriſtians. Firſt, Genebrard confidently affirms, it is neither a Hebrew nor chriſtian word or name; that it is neither received by the fathers, nor by the rabbies, nor ever known or uſed by Chriſt or his apoſtles. But to this it may be anſwered, that they all were forced to uſe the Septuagint verſion then in vogue, which every where tranſlates that word by Κύριος Lord, as has been already obſerved. Secondly, Bellarmin pretends, that becauſe St. Jerom and Origen in his Hexapla after him, read it Adonai, and that the vowel points are the ſame in both; therefore it ought to be read and pronounced Adonai, and not Jehovah. But had theſe gentlemen conſidered, that theſe two words are of different originals and ſignifications, and written with different letters, that the one is relative, and the other not; that the one is communicable and the other incommunicable; that the points, or vowels, being almoſt univerſally acknowledged to be of human invention, can be of no authority here, and that their likeneſs, though not ſameneſs, in both theſe names was owing to a ſuperſtitious reſpect which the Mazorites had for one of them; that St. Jerom might be too much influenced by his Jewiſh maſter in this, as well as in many other caſes; and that both he and Origen have not ſcrupled to pronounce it Jao, as we have hinted above; that their writing it by Adonai might be more owing to a ſuperſtitious fear, than to any judgment or conviction of the unlawfulneſs of pronouncing that name; and laſtly, that they have no where ſaid that it was ineffable; had they, I ſay, conſidered theſe things, they could never have fallen into that Jewiſh ſuperſtition. As for the general reaſon that is given on all hands by thoſe of that ſide of the queſtion, viz. that the right pronunciation having been loſt, whether during the captivity, or at any other time or place, it is unlawful to ſubſtitute any other inſtead of it, it may be ſafely anſwered, that the deſign of words or names being to convey ideas into the mind of thoſe things of which they are but types, the differences will be very ſmall, whether the pronunciation be right

or

(31) Perrer. & al.

to diſtinguiſh him *. God therefore ſaid to him I AM

* Dial. cont. Tryph.

or wrong, provided the idea it conveys be right. And we are much miſtaken, whatever theſe gentlemen ſay, if in this caſe the pronouncing the word Jehovah, which conveys the moſt perfect idea we can have of the Godhead, let the pronunciation be never ſo wrong, is not much ſafer than their pronouncing it Adonai, which, being a word of a vaſtly inferior ſignification, and applicable to every man that has any maſtery or ſuperiority over another, conveys a much more imperfect idea of the Godhead, and is therefore liable to be uttered with leſs awe and reſpect. This is ſo true in fact, that one may obſerve thoſe ſcrupulous gentlemen, eſpecially of the Jews, who would be ready to ſwoon at the hearing the name Jehovah, pronounce that of Adonai, though carrying the ſame idea, with leſs ſeeming reverence than they would that of a king or lord-mayor, and one would hardly think they can be in earneſt, when we find them branding their adverſaries with the epithet of Jehovaiſts. However, it muſt be owned, that though all the names of God ought to be uttered with the utmoſt awe, yet this, if poſſible, with a greater, and that we ought to be cautious not to uſe it without a warrantable occaſion. And when we converſe with Jews, or with ſuch Chriſtians as are againſt pronouncing of that name, if we make uſe of the word Adonai in complaiſance to them, it will be much better than to make them uneaſy, or break off converſation by pronouncing it in our own way. The main text which terrifies the Jews againſt uttering this ſacred name is that of Leviticus (32), where it is ſaid, he that blaſphemeth (which they read nameth) the name of God ſhall be ſtoned: where the word נקב Nakab, which in its primitive meaning ſignifies to pierce, and is therefore often uſed for writing, engraving, or enrolling, doth more properly forbid the writing than the ſpeaking it: for Nakab never ſignifies to utter, unleſs it be in a bad ſenſe, as curſing, or blaſpheming; and therefore if the prohibition is to be ſtretched beyond that, it muſt be only againſt doing it irreverently or lightly, which is a lighter degree of prophaning; but as they allow the name may be lawfully writ, though the word Nakab do ſignify alſo to write; nay, ſince they allow, that the high prieſt may and doth actually uſe it in that public bleſſing, which is preſcribed by God himſelf (33), *Jehovah bleſs thee and keep thee*, it is plain, the prohibition is not againſt naming, but againſt blaſpheming, or uſing it with contempt or diſdain.

(32) Levit. xxiv 16. (33) Numb. vi. 24.

AM THAT I AM, and bid him tell his brethren, that I AM had sent him to them, that he was the God of their fathers, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (V), and that he

disdain, or to an ill purpose, as to curse our neighbours and the like; as the word Kallal, used in the foregoing part of this prohibition sufficiently shews (34).

(V) It is asked here why God calls himself so particularly the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, seeing he was the God of all the Israelites, as well as of those three; for first, it could not be upon the account of their sanctity, nor excellent virtues, seeing Abel, Enoch, and Noah, whose God he likewise was, were at least as holy as they; nor secondly to hint unto Moses the mystery of the trinity, as Perrerius imagines (1), because the word God is there thrice repeated; for it is rather repeated four times; viz. the God of thy father, that is of Amram, the God of Abraham, and so on, It is more probable therefore, that they are particularly mentioned, because it was to them that the promise of a numerous posterity, of their being strangers in Egypt, and brought out of it, of their inheriting the land of Canaan, and especially that of the Messiah, had been made.

And now we are upon this text, it will not be improper to enquire, why our Saviour chooses to alledge it against the Sadducees, rather than some others in the Old Testament, which do more fully prove the resurrection of the body; to this it may be answered, that the objection, being made by the Pentateuch, was more fitly answered by it, especially to the Sadducees, who, as St. Jerom tells us, (3), admitted of no other books of the old Testament. The main question therefore will be, how these words, I am the God of Abraham, &c. which seem at most to prove only the immortality of the soul, can be urged here to prove the resurrection of the body? to which some ancient fathers answer (4), that these names being given to them, whilst they consisted of soul and body, and the former of them being here plainly affirmed to be living with God, it follows, that the latter cannot be dead, but asleep for a time, and that they will be reunited and live again, and both together enjoy the reward of their labour. Others say, that if the immortality of the soul be granted, the resurrection of the body must follow of consequence, by reason of the natural desire which the former has to the latter, without which it cannot be said to be perfectly happy; and this induced Pythagoras,

(34) Simler, Villet. Munst. & al. in loc. (1) Perrer in loc. (2) Matth. xxii. 31. Mark xii. 26. Luke xx. 37. (3) Hieron. in Job xix, & alib.

he would be remembered and acknowledged by that name throughout generations, as their great redeemer and deliverer: not continued he, that Pharaoh will let you go at your firſt and ſecond aſking, nor indeed at all, till I have convinced him both of my juſtice and power, by the terrible puniſhment I ſhall ſend upon him and his land, for their oppreſſion of my people; neither ſhall theHebrews come away altogether unrewarded for their long and cruel ſervitude; for I will inſpire the Egyptians with ſuch ſentiments of pity and humanity towards them, that they ſhall part with their ſumptuous raiments and choiceſt jewels to them, and make them thus far amends for their paſt labours and hardſhips * (X).

and to bring his people out of bondage.

AFTER

* Exod. iii. p. tot.

Pythagoras, Plato, and other philoſophers, who held the immortality of the ſoul, to provide her with a conſtant ſupply of bodies, either by remigration or returning into its own body again, or tranſmigration or paſſing into ſome other body (5). But the beſt ſolution ſeems to be that of St. Jerom (6), that the Sadducees believing neither the immortality of the ſoul, nor reſurrection of the body, both which were received by all the reſt of the Jews, the moſt effectual way to remove the ground of their error was, to prove by the text the being and living of the ſoul after death (7).

As to thoſe places where God commands Moſes to put off his ſhoes, and of Moſes covering his face, we hope, we need not acquaint the reader, that they were both marks of reverence uſed then, and ſince, by all the eaſtern nations. The firſt of theſe, viz. putting off their ſhoes, has a threefold ſignification in ſcripture, viz. firſt, it was common and uſual to put them off in token of mourning and grief, as David is ſaid to have gone from Jeruſalem barefoot when he fled from Abſalom; whilſt his retinue went with their faces covered in token of reſpect (8). Secondly, it ſignified the yielding of one's right to another, and is ſo preſcribed in Deuteronomy (9), and practiſed by Boaz (10); the third was in token of reſpect and reverence, as appears by this command of God to Moſes, and the reaſon aſſigned for it, viz. that the ground whereon he ſtood was holy, or ſanctified by God's immediate preſence.

(X) That ſome retaliation was due in ſtrict juſtice from the Egyptians to the Hebrews, for the great ſervices they had done to them,

(5) Th. Aquin. cont. Gent. cap. lxxix. (6) Hieron. Com. in Mat. xxii. (7) Cajet, Villet. & al. (8) 2 Sam. xv. 30. (9) Deut. xxv. 9. (10) Ruth. iv. 3.

After such ample assurances, one would hardly expect, that Moses would have started any new difficulties, at least without receiving some severe rebuke for it; nevertheless he freely owns, that his doubts were far from being wholly dispelled; he knew the temper of the Israelites too well, not to foresee, that they would most likely call his mission in question. He therefore begged to be informed what he must do in such a case, and God was pleased to clear this doubt also by two miracles, which he wrought in his presence. The first was by turning his rod into a frightful serpent, and then into a rod again. The second was by smiting one of his hands with leprosy upon his pulling it out of his bosom, and then healing it again by the same way; adding moreover, that if the working of these two miracles before the Israelites did not give a sufficient sanction to his message, he should then have liberty to try the success of a third, by taking some water out of the Nile and spilling it upon the ground, which would immediately turn the river into blood.

Moses had still, he thought, one material objection to make, namely, an impediment in his speech, which, he said, rendered him unfit to speak, either before Pharaoh and his court, or even to the Israelites. He had probably raised many more, had not God removed this difficulty also by telling, that his brother Aaron, who was now by his appointment to meet him, should be his interpreter both to Pharaoh and to the Hebrews, and commanded him immediately to prepare for his journey, and not spend any more time in raising new scruples and objections[u]. There was certainly

[t] Exod. iv. 9. [u] Ibid. ver. 13 ad 17.

them, is what can hardly be denied; however, we do not pretend to answer all the objections which have been raised against this action. We think it sufficient to say, that the former were spoiled with the same justice for their unheard of oppression to the latter, as the Canaanites and other nations were destroyed for their abominable wickedness. God indeed could alone appoint those punishments, and make use of what instruments he pleased to inflict them; but, since Moses gave sufficient proof of its being authorized by God, we cannot see where the injustice is in either case, nor the pretended ill tendency of such a precedent, since it is allowed on all hands, that it is in no case to be followed, unless it be evidently commanded by the same diving authority.

certainly ſomething very ſurprizing in this reluctancy of Moſes, as well as in the patience with which God heard him; yet, when he found that he had removed all the obſtacles which his diffidence had ſuggeſted to him, he could not forbear having recourſe to prayers, earneſtly begging of God, who certainly knew many among the Hebrews more fit for the work than himſelf, to make choice of ſome other to execute his command, and leave him to ſpend the remainder of his days in ſolitude and obſcurity. Had Moſes been leſs ſincere, he would hardly have recorded this extreme weakneſs of his, ſo little to his credit; and which nothing could excuſe or extenuate, but this free and ingenuous confeſſion of it. Being therefore afraid, leſt he ſhould incur the divine diſpleaſure by a further refuſal, he made the beſt of his way towards Midian, reſolved for the future to be as ready, as he had before been backward, to obey the divine command.

Moſes begs to be excuſed.

WHETHER he acquainted Jethro with his commiſſion, or, as he tells us [x], only expreſſed a deſire to go and viſit his brethren in Egypt, he eaſily obtained his diſmiſſion from him, and taking his wife Ziphorah (Y) and his two ſons with

Obeys at laſt and leaves Midian.

[x] Ibid. ver. 18.

(Y) This Ziphorah, having afterwards a ſquabble with her ſiſter-in-law Miriam, in which Aaron took the latter's part, is by them called a Cuſhite, or Ethiopian (11), though it is plain ſhe was a Midianite, being one of Jethro's daughters. To reconcile which, ſome have affirmed, that Midian was in the land of Cuſh, or at leaſt very near it, from the words of the prophet (12) *I ſaw the tents of Cuſhan in affliction, and the curtains of the land of Midian did tremble.* Others think, that it was not Ziphorah, but Tharbis the Ethiopian princeſs, whom Moſes is affirmed by Joſephus to have married, and whom he would now have forſaken (13). But it ſeems more probable, that Cuſhite was a term of reproach or contempt, as Gipſey is with us; and that they called her by that name with no other view. The words therefore might be properly rendered thus; *and Miriam and Aaron reflected upon Moſes, upon the ſcore of his Cuſhite, becauſe he had taken a Cuſhite to wife*, there being nothing more frequent than ſuch repetitions in the Old Teſtament. As for the

(11) Numb. xii. 1. (12) Habak. iii. 7. (13) Hieron. Perrer. Jun. & al.

with him, the leaſt of which, being too young to walk, he ſet upon an aſs; with this mean equipage, and the miraculous rod in his hand (Z), he marched directly to Egypt.

During

the reaſon of this quarrel, 'tis likely, that Ziphorah had ſpoken, as they thought, too much in praiſe of her huſband, upon the account of his having converſed ſo often with God, which made them reply, *has God ſpoken to him alone, has he not ſpoken to us alſo?* Upon this God called them to the tabernacle, ſharply reproved Miriam and Aaron, and highly extolled Moſes's merit, but not a word is mentioned about his wife.

(Z) Concerning this ſtaff, from which Ziphorah had her name, the Jews tell us a wonderful ſtory; viz. that it grew in Jethro's garden, was called Zaphir, and had the Tetrogrammaton written upon it: that it had been created in paradiſe on the ſixth day, and brought away by Adam, and had paſſed from him to Noah, Abraham, Iſaac, Jacob, and Joſeph, and from him to Pharaoh. That Jethro had been one of his mildeſt counſellors, and daily adviſed him to lighten the burthen of the Iſraelites, whilſt Baalam, courtier like, peſtered him with contrary counſels: that being forced to fly the court, and retire into land of Midian, he had privately conveyed this miraculous rod away, and ſtuck it in his garden, where it took ſuch deep root, that no force could pluck it up. That when Moſes came firſt to him and acquainted him with what happened to him in Egypt, Jethro cauſed him to be cloſely confined, intending to ſend him back to the king of Egypt. In the mean time, Ziphorah being fallen in love with him, and having acquainted her father with it, he conſented that he ſhould be ſet at liberty and marry her, if he could pluck up the Zaphir rod which grew in his garden, and at the ſame time iſſued out a proclamation, that the man that could pull up the plant ſhould have his daughter in marriage. That immediately a great number of luſty men came and tried their ſtrength in vain; for Moſes alone was the man that could perform the feat, which he did with wonderful eaſe by vertue of the name of God, with the true pronunciation of which he was perfectly acquainted, and ſo obtain'd Jethro's daughter. They add, that he got the rod into the bargain, by which he afterwards wrought all his wonders in Egypt (14). Theſe abſurd fables would hardly be worth mentioning, were it not to ſhew, into what monſtrous extremes of credulity men are apt to fall, who have once denied the plaineſt truths. Were thoſe reverend gentlemens heads as long

(14) R. R. Tanchum. Mechit. & Scip. Sgambat. L. ii. Arch. Vet. Teſt.

DURING Moſes's retreat in Midian, Aaron his brother had married Elizabeth, the ſiſter of Naaſſon, both deſcended from Judah, by their father Aminadab, the ſon of Ezron. He had already had four ſons by her, viz. Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar [y], the firſt of whom had likewiſe a ſon named Phineas, by a daughter of Phutiel [z]. This was the ſtate of Aaron's family, when God commanded him to go to meet his brother [a]; but before he could reach to the mount of God (Horeb), a dreadful accident was like to have happened to Moſes, the particular occaſion and circumſtances of which we are left to gueſs at, he not having thought fit to commit them to writing. The account we have

Aaron's children during his brother's abſence.

He goes to meet him at Horeb.

[y] Exod. vi. 23. [z] Ibid. ver. 25. [a] Ibid. cap. ix. 27.

long as their beards, they could never think, that ſuch ſtories can be of any credit either to their great law-giver, or to the inventors of them. Neither have the Arabians been more ſparing of their curious, though fabulous, conceits of Jethro and his rod. As for Jethro, he was, they ſay, the ſon of Taſkir, the ſon of Midian, whom they make the immediate ſon of Iſhmael (15), though Moſes mentions no Midian among the ſons of Iſhmael *. They tell us, that he made a preſent of this wonderful rod to his ſon-in-law: that he had the gift of prophecy, and was ſent by God to preach the unity of the God-head to the Midianites (16), which, as Mohammed tells us (17), he confirmed to them by miracles, and that when he went up to the top of a mountain to pray, it lowered its head to receive him. Another of his commentators adds, that Jethro made it his chief buſineſs to reprove the Midianites for their horrid robberies, falſe weights, and meaſures; but that thoſe incorrigible wretches, inſtead of taking his wholeſome counſels, threatened to drive him and his diſciples out of the country: that God, provoked at their wickedneſs, ſent the angel Gabriel to deſtroy them by an earthquake, in which none were ſaved but Jethro and his diſciples, who went afterwards to meet his ſon-in-law in the wilderneſs (18), as we have it in the book of Exodus (19). They add, that the advice, which he gave to Moſes there, got him the name of preacher to the prophets (20).

(15) D'Herbelot's Bibli. Orient. ſub. voc. Schoaib. p. 790.
* Gen. xxv. paſſ.
(16) Ex. lib. Acab. Leb. Tarik.
(17) Koran Araf.
(18) Comment. in ſupradict. cap.
(19) Exod. xviii. 1, &. ſeq. Jethro.
(20) Vid. Calm. ſub voc.

have of it being but darkly expreſſed in the original, and having been miſunderſtood and miſtranſlated in moſt verſions, and particularly our own, we ſtill venture to depart from it, where the original and the authority of thoſe, who, by their diligent application to it, have been able to give it a better light, will bear us out, not forgetting to make our exception good by proper marginal notes.

Moses was upon his firſt day's journey, as is probably ſuppoſed by the ſmall diſtance between Midian and Horeb, where he afterwards met his brother, when God appeared again to him, and charged him to perform all thoſe wonders which he had ſhewed him before the king of Egypt, and to demand of him the diſmiſſion of his people Iſrael, whom he calls here by way of excellency his firſt-born, aſſuring him, that he would be with him, and that in caſe of an obſtinate refuſal, which he foreſaw he would certainly meet with, he would ſlay all the firſt-born of Egypt. Moſes was by this time got to the end of his firſt day's journey and arrived at the inn, when God appeared to him again, but with an angry look, and ſtruck him with a terrible diſeaſe (A).

Moſes ſmitten by the angel in the inn.

Moſes

(A) The reader may remember, that we have already hinted ſomething concerning this adventure, in the hiſtory of Midian †, but reſerved the examination of the particulars of it to this place, to which they more properly belong. The greateſt part of commentators and expoſitors have ſuppoſed, that Moſes was troubled with a turbulent wife, which is the caſe of many a meek man, and that ſhe had conceived ſuch an averſion to the ceremony of circumciſion, that he had been forced for peace and quietneſs to neglect the performing it upon his youngeſt ſon, 'till the danger ſhe ſaw her huſband or the child in (for the text is not plain which of the two it was) obliged her, not without great reluctancy and ill language, to perform the operation. We ſhall therefore endeavour to ſet this matter in a clearer light, and ſhew, that they have quite miſtaken the ſenſe of the original, and that there was neither quarrel nor ill-language in the caſe, but that the ceremony was performed with all the decency and decorum, that the ſolemnity of it, and their imminent danger, could poſſibly require.

Firſt then, as to the words, *the Lord met him at the inn and ſought to ſlay him*, which the Septuagint and Vulgate, and ſome other verſions render (21), *The angel of the Lord &c.* it is plain, that

† Vid. ſupr. pag. 136.

(21) Pelican, Jun. & al.

Moſes doth not tell us, whether the divine anger was occaſioned

that they relate to Moſes, and not to the child, as Tertullian thinks, becauſe if it had been the latter, Moſes, rather than his wife, would have performed the operation. This ſhews likewiſe, that the words import no more, than that God ſmote him with ſome grievous diſeaſe, which ſo diſabled him from circumciſing the child, that Ziphorah was forced to do it herſelf, though otherwiſe unfit. Thoſe who are acquainted with the genius of the Hebrew tongue know, that the phraſe here uſed ſignifies no more. Some antient interpreters have indeed underſtood it in a different ſenſe, ſome thinking, that the angel appeared with a drawn ſword ready to kill Moſes (22). Others among the Jews telling us (23), that the viſion was a monſtrous large ſerpent which ſwallowed up Moſes's body מרושו ועד המילה from the head to (the place of) circumciſion, where he ſtuck, by which ſhe gueſſed at the cauſe of his danger, and having forthwith circumciſed the child with the uſual form of התן דמיכם לי אתה (which words we miſtranſlate a bloody huſband thou art to me); ſhe obſerved with joy her huſband ſpewed up again unhurt; upon which ſhe began to exclaim in praiſe of circumciſion, which ſhe ſaw accompanied with ſuch virtue. All that is worth obſerving from this Jewiſh comment is, that Ziphorah expreſſed no paſſion againſt her huſband during the whole action, much leſs in the words ſhe ſpoke, ſeeing they were part of a form uſed in circumciſion, as will appear in its proper place.

Secondly, As for the cauſe of God's anger againſt Moſes, St. Auſtin and ſome others (24) ſuppoſed it to have been becauſe he had taken his wife and children with him, the encumberment of whom did not ſuit with the buſineſs he was ſent about; for which reaſon, ſay they, he diſmiſſed her as ſoon as ſhe was delivered from his danger. But, unleſs there had been ſome indication of God's forbidding it, it is plain, it was his duty to take her and them with him, ſince man is to forſake all other relations to cleave to his wife (25). Theodoret thinks (26), that Moſes was afraid to go on for fear of Pharaoh, but that doth not appear, ſeeing he was on his journey thither. The true reaſon therefore ſeems to be the neglect of circumciſing the child, ſince Moſes was delivered from the danger as ſoon as Ziphorah had done it (27).

(22) Theodoret in loc. (23) Elleſhemoth Rab. R. Sal. & al. (24) Auguſt. Seren. de tem. (25) Geneſ. ii. 24. (26) Theodoret in loc. (27) D. Kimchi Rupert. Toſtat. Perrer. Munſt. Villet, & al.

oned by his incumbering himſelf with a wife and two children

Thirdly, it is not eaſy to gueſs, how long, or why, Moſes deferred the circumciſing of the child. Thoſe who follow the Jeruſalem Targum, which ſays, that Jethro and Ziphorah took offence at it (28), ſeem to forget, that Jethro was a Midianite, deſcended from Abraham by Kethurah, and conſequently, that circumciſion was moſt probably adopted by them, as it was by the Iſhmaelites and all other deſcendants of that patriarch. Beſides, they are fallen into this notion, by miſtaking the words and action of Ziphorah, and thinking, that there was a ſharp diſpute between Moſes and her about it, which we ſhall preſently ſhew not to have been the caſe. Some think, that Moſes did not ſuppoſe circumciſion ſo neceſſary in a ſtrange land, eſpecially his children, being only Iſraelites by the father's ſide (29). But the moſt learned of the Jews rather think moſt probably, that the child was not above eight days old, or ſo much, and that Moſes, being in haſte to fulfil God's commands, would not ſtay 'till ſhe was brought to bed, and took her along with him, though ready to lie in (30). Neither is it plain from the text, that ſhe went that firſt day's journey with a deſign to follow him quite to Egypt; for ſhe might only accompany him thus far, thinking to have been back time enough to have lain in at her father's houſe. Though it fell out otherwiſe, and her labour came upon her ſooner than ſhe expected, being perhaps accelerated by the fatigue of the journey.

Fourthly, We come now to enquire into her behaviour and words after ſhe had performed the ceremony, which have proved the main ſtumbling block of moſt tranſlations. For firſt, they have underſtood it, that ſhe flung the child's fore-ſkin at his (Moſes's) feet, though the text doth not ſay whether it was at his, the child's, or the angel's feet, and the words be ſo far from ſignifying flinging, eſpecially in anger, that they rather imply a laying the prepuce down in a decent or humble manner: for the literal ſenſe is, ſhe made it touch his feet. This has made Lud. Brugenſis and ſome others think, that ſhe humbly laid it at the angel's feet, beſeeching him, that, for the ſake of that circumciſion-blood ſhe had now drawn, her huſband's life might be ſpared: and that her prayer having been heard, and ſhe ſeeing Moſes free from the danger, congratulated him and herſelf with the words in the text, which he renders, *thou art now become, as it were, a new huſband or bridegroom to me by this child's blood*

(28) Targ. Jeros. in loc. Jun. Simler, Pelican. Piſcat. & al.
(29) Feru & al. (30) Aben-Ezra R. Tanchum.

dren, when he was ſent upon ſo glorious and important a meſſage,

blood (31). But we are going to ſhew, that the words were neither ſpoken to Moſes, nor to the angel, but to the child. Only let it be obſerved here by-the-by, that it is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that ſhe ſhould fling the child's fore-ſkin in anger at her huſband, who could not be blamed for the misfortune that had happened to him; much leſs likely is it, that ſhe would have dared to have flung it at the angel, if any ſuch had appeared to him at the inn; whereas, as we hinted before, the words do not imply an apparition, but Moſes being ſmitten with a deadly diſeaſe.

Fifthly, as to the words, *A bloody huſband art thou to me*, &c. one of our learned divines has fully proved them not to have been ſpoken to Moſes but the child (32). He very judiciouſly obſerves, firſt, that the word חתן Chatan, which we tranſlate huſband, ſignifies only a bridegroom, and it is not likely, that Ziphorah ſhould call him by that name after having been married ſo long, and having had two children by him, that appellative ceaſing immediately after the eight days of the nuptial ſolemnity were over. Another obſervation he makes is, that this word Chatan doth properly ſignify a ſon-in-law, and ſo expreſſes not the relation the man has to his wife, but to her parents; for which reaſon it never has any affixed pronoun, unleſs it be with relation to the latter. The ſame may likewiſe be ſaid of the word כלה Calah, bride, or rather daughter-in-law; it being uſed only with relation to the huſband's parents, who alone can properly call the married woman כלתי Calathi, my daughter-in-law, but the bridegroom never calls her by that name to ſignify his bride; it being certain, that the Hebrew language has no word to expreſs a bridegroom or bride, with reſpect to the relation they bear to one another. It would therefore have been nonſenſe in Ziphorah to have called him by the name of Chatan, which neither expreſſed an old or a new huſband; the queſtion then will be, how it could be applied to the child? and herein the Hebrew doctors are beſt able to help us out, who tells us, that it was the cuſtom of the women to call the circumciſed child Chatan, חתן חנשים לקרא לבן כאשר ימול (33). Kimchi ſays, that it ſignifies originally one that gives joy, and is therefore uſed to expreſs the joy that attends a wedding, or the circumciſion of a child (34). Accordingly we find, that the Arabians called the circumciſed מחתון Machtun, or one that is made a Chatan, in the

(31) Lud. Brug. in loc. & in Oper. Criticor. tom. ix. (32) Jos. Med. ſermon on the words. (33) Idem ibid. (34) D. Kimchi in Radic.

meſſage, or becauſe he had deferred to circumciſe his youngeſt ſon, either out of regard to his tender age, or in complaiſance to his wife, who might fear leſt ſuch an operation ſhould make him unfit to travel for a while, if not endanger his life in that hot country. Ziphorah, however, taking it in the latter ſenſe, made what haſte ſhe could to get a ſharp ſtone, with which ſhe cut off the child's prepuce, and laid it at his feet, telling him at the ſame time, that *he was now become a joyful bridegroom to her by the blood of this circumciſion.* The ceremony was no ſooner over, but Moſes was reſtored again, and able to purſue his journey towards mount Horeb, whilſt his wife took the two children back to her father Jethro, reſolved to wait there, 'till a more favourable opportunity offered to rejoin her huſband.

Ziphorah circumciſes her ſon, and Moſes is reſtored.

In the mean time, Moſes and Aaron met at the foot of mount Horeb, and after the firſt embraces of two brothers who had not ſeen, or perhaps heard from, one another during the ſpace of forty years, Moſes acquainted him with the commiſſion he had received from God. Aaron expreſſed a ſenſible joy at the news, and was ſo far from conceiving they

Joins his brother at mount Horeb.

the ſame manner as we call a baptized child chriſtened. The words then uſed by Ziphorah ought to have been tranſlated, thou art (now) to me a joyful circumciſed ſon. To which if we add the laſt obſervation of the ſame learned author, that the word לי Li, which we tranſlate, to me, doth more properly ſignify here by me, as it doth in a great many other places of ſcripture, the ſenſe will be ſtill more plainly this; thou art now by me made a circumciſed child, which was the form of words uſed in the circumciſion, and might be more properly rendered, I do pronounce thee circumciſed. Neither is it at all improbable, that this word חתן was originally uſed in this form, not only to expreſs the uſual joy of a child's circumciſion, but likewiſe his admiſſion into the alliance made by God with Abraham and his poſterity, or his ſpouſal with the church of God; in both which ſenſes that word is very fitly applied; from which it is moſt probable, that it was at the child's feet that ſhe laid the foreſkin, when ſhe ſpake the words above-mentioned. This is ſo far from being a new or peculiar notion of Mr. Mede, that we find ſeveral antient verſions expounding it after the very ſame manner (35); from all which it plainly appears, that there neither was any ſquabble between Moſes and his wife, nor any indecency or ill-language uſed by her.

(35) Chald. Septuagint. &. al.

the leaſt uneaſineſs to ſee his younger brother ſo far preferred before him, that he promiſed to be obedient in all things to the divine will. After this they continued their journey towards Egypt, and being happily arrived at the land of Goſhen, their firſt care was to aſſemble the elders or heads of the Iſraelites, and to impart to them the joyful news of their ſpeedy deliverance; whilſt Moſes, to confirm their heſitating belief, failed not to work thoſe miracles before them, by which God had commanded him to eſtabliſh his credit and authority among them. Theſe firſt eſſays were received with incredible joy by the whole aſſembly, every one of them bowing themſelves in token of gratitude and adoration to the divine goodneſs, which had at length taken pity of their miſerable ſlavery [b]. But this docile diſpoſition laſted no longer than they thought their deliverance would coſt nothing but miracles, and that the care and danger of it would only fall upon Moſes and Aaron; but when it came to touch them a little nearer, they became ſo reſty and deſponding, that Moſes, found them as hard to be perſuaded to embrace their freedom, as Pharaoh was to grant it to them (B).

Declares his commiſſion to the Iſraelites.

Moses and Aaron, however, did not delay to open their commiſſion before the Egyptian king, but the preamble of it, *Thus ſaith the Lord God of the* Hebrews, ſounded ſo ſtrangely in his ears, unuſed to ſuch an expreſſion, and perhaps to the naming of any other God beſides himſelf, that he could not forbear wondering at their boldneſs, telling them, that he knew no ſuch God, and that as to the Iſraelites, they ſhould

Delivers his meſſage to the king of Egypt.

[b] Exod. iv. p. tot.

(B) Some hiſtorians have ventured to give us the name of this Pharaoh. Apion calls him Amoſis, or Amaſis; Euſebius, Chrencris; but archbiſhop Uſher thinks after Manetho, that it was Amenophis the ſon of Rameſes-Miamun, and father of Sethoſis, called alſo after his grand-father Rameſis. He is alſo of opinion, that this Amenophis is the ſame monarch whom the Greeks call Belus, the father of Egyptus and Danaus, though the fable writers have confounded him with Belus the Aſſyrian and father of Ninus (36); the truth is, that we have ſo little light from hiſtory as to this point, that it is very dangerous to affirm any thing about it*.

(36) Uſher. An. p. 13.

* Vid. ſupr. vol. i. p. 607. & ſeq.

should not find him so easy to part with them. This was indeed what they were bid to expect; nevertheless they ventured to tell him, that they knew that great God of whom they spoke, though he did not; and that he had charged them, that they should all go three days journey to celebrate a festival to him, and that if they should omit complying with his command, he would soon punish their disobedience, either by pestilence or by the sword. Moses could not expect, that Pharaoh should concern himself about their danger upon that account; but he was not perhaps as yet commissioned to make use of more urgent motives. He was therefore dismissed with his brother Aaron, with a severe reprimand, for putting such idle notions into their people's heads, and debauching them from their work, bidding them to return to their own tasks, and they should soon know the success of this wise embassy. As this proved the beginning of that famous contest between Moses, or rather the God of Israel, and the king of Egypt, so it did likewise the fatal source of new sorrows and complaints to the Israelites. For Pharaoh, fearing their excessive numbers, and thinking, or at least pretending, that idleness and wantonness were the cause of this rambling fit of religion, ordered their task-masters to harden their work still more, and instead of giving them straw to dry their bricks with, to make them wander over the land, since they had such an inclination for a change of air, and to gather themselves stubble instead of it, without diminishing one tittle of their work. This was indeed expecting impossibilities from them, but their merciless task-masters, not regarding it, failed not to punish their overseers, whenever they found them come short of their appointed task. These therefore, not thinking perhaps, that Pharaoh could be the author of so cruel and unreasonable an order, went in a body to make their grievances known to him; but he, instead of minding their piteous complaints, only accused them of being grown idle and wanton for want of work, and dismissed them with the utmost concern. They were scarce got out of Pharaoh's palace before Moses and Aaron met them, probably to enquire of their success, but if they had not read it in their dejected looks, they could not fail of hearing of it, for the poor overseers had no sooner cast their eyes on them, but they began to inveigh against them in the bitterest terms, as the authors of this new addition of misery, which could terminate in nothing but death and despair. It would have been

The Israelites hardens increased.

been in vain for Moſes to have offered any thing either in his own defence, or by way of comfort to them at that time; he thought it more adviſeable to apply himſelf to God, and in the humbleſt terms to expoſtulate with him for the ill ſucceſs of this firſt meſſage.

Moses had no ſooner made an end of his complaint, but God gave him freſh aſſurances of his love and compaſſion for his groaning people. He bid him go to them, and aſſure them from him, that he would ſpeedily let all Egypt ſee that he was their God, and would be their deliverer and conductor into that land, which he had promiſed to their fathers, to whom he had indeed appeared, and been known heretofore by the name of El Saddai, God Almighty or All-ſufficient, though never 'till now by his great name Jehovah (C). But, continued he, I will ſignalize their deliverance, by ſuch tokens of my juſtice on that obſtinate monarch and his cruel people, that they ſhall be forced at laſt to acknowledge the divine hand that ſmiteth them, and diſmiſs my people, though never ſo much againſt their will. This was more than enough to give a new life to Moſes, though all too little and inſufficient to adminiſter the leaſt comfort to

Moſes is bid to go again to Pharaoh.

[c] Exod. v. p. tot.

(C) Thoſe who conclude from this paſſage, that the name Jehovah (37), or the genuine meaning (38), or laſtly the true pronunciation, of it (39) had been unknown to the patriarchs Abraham, Iſaac, &c. and that Moſes uſed it by way of anticipation, and ſpoke according to the time in which he wrote, when God had made it fully known to his people, ſeem to forget that Abraham called the mountain on which he was to have ſacrificed his ſon Jehovah jired. However, it muſt be owned, that there is a great obſcurity in the words of Moſes, out of which many Hebrew and Chriſtian commentators have endeavoured to bring ſome myſteries, which we ſhould be loath to vend after them. The moſt natural expoſition is, that which renders the Hebrew word Shem by character inſtead of name, and then the ſenſe will be this; In my character of El Shadai, or omnipotent, was I only known to them; that is, they only relied on my word and all-ſufficient power for the fulfilling my promiſes to them; but now I'll be known by the character of Jehovah, or performer of thoſe promiſes (40). Vid. our notes under the word Jehovah, pag. 536, not T.

(37) Kimchi, Aben-ezra, Oleaſter, &c. (38) Paul Burg. Rupert. Lyra. Cajetan Toſtat. (39) Oleaſt. Gloss. Berruyer, &c. (40) Simler, Junius, & al.

to his unhappy people, who, sinking under the weight of their oppression, did hardly give an ear to what he said to them. Moses was going away from them, grieved at his heart to behold their misery and despair, when God commanded him to go immediately to Pharaoh, and to renew his demand in his name, not to detain his people any longer at his peril. But Moses was so disheartened at his ill success, that he could not forbear showing an excessive reluctancy to obey. Alas, said he, if my words can find so little credit with thy own people, how can I expect, that they will be regarded by that faithless king, especially considering with what difficulty I am forced to utter them. To which God was pleased to answer, behold Moses, I give thee a miraculous, a divine power, over Pharaoh, and thy brother shall be as thy prophet and interpreter to him. And though I suffer his heart to continue hardened (D), 'till thou hast wrought all the miracles I have charged thee with; yet be assured, that I will bring Israel out of their bondage like a triumph-

(D) We have ventured to depart from our own, and almost all other versions, which make God the chief hardener of Pharaoh's heart, that he might inflict the more severe punishments on him. A notion, which, however embraced by the Predestinarians, seems so shocking to reason, that one would sooner choose to say with the fool there is no God, than to believe him capable of such manifest injustice. We shall have occasion to resume this subject in the sequel of this history upon another occasion, and to shew, that the Jews have been the first broachers of this monstrous doctrine, and, by their versions and paraphrases, have led the way to others to render these, and many other texts of the old testament, in a sense, in which neither the original, nor the whole tenour of scripture, nor the notion of a deity, nor even the context in this particular case, could bear them out, For who can deny, but what God did to Pharaoh and the Egyptians, was much more proper to soften, than to harden, his heart, especially when it is observable, that it was not 'till after seeing the miracles, and after the ceasing of the plagues, that *his heart* is said to be *hardened?* we think ourselves therefore obliged to do justice to those learned critics, who have been at the pains of clearing the scriptures from charging the great judge of heaven and earth with such foul injustice, by proving, even against the Jews, that the verbs here used are in the conjugations Piel and Hiphil, as they are called by the grammarians, and signify often a bare permission, of which they have given us very many unquestionable instances, which we shall not trouble our reader with here, seeing he may consult the authors themselves

triumphant army, and the Egyptians ſhall know that I am the Lord. Pharaoh indeed will not conſent 'till he is forced to it. For, ſince he refuſed to acknowledge me and hardeneth himſelf againſt my commands, it is but juſt I ſhould ſo far forſake him, that, though my wonders are multiplyed before him, and the whole land is aſtoniſhed at them, he alone ſhall continue obdurate and inſenſible of them. Go then, let your mighty works convince that proud tyrant at leaſt, that your meſſage is from a greater and more powerful monarch than he [d]. Moſes and Aaron did forthwith obey, and, having preſented themſelves before Pharaoh, confirmed their meſſage by the firſt miracle, and Moſe threw down his rod, which turned immediately into a ſerpent. Pharaoh though ſomewhat ſurpriſed at it, yet failed not to try what his magicians could do, who were no ſooner come, but their rods were likewiſe turned into ſerpents, ſo that all the ſuperiority which Moſes ſhewed over them at that time was, that, whilſt the king and court were applauding their ſkill, his rod ſwallowed up thoſe of the Egyptians (E). However, this

First Miracle. Moſes's rod turned into a ſerpent.

The Magicians do the ſame by theirs.

[d] Exod. vi. p. tot

themſelves whoſe names he will find in the margin (41). From all theſe and many more authorities, it is plain, that the words ought to have been tranſlated, as we have, that God *ſuffered the heart of* Pharaoh *to be hardened*, as all thoſe who are never ſo little verſed in the Hebrew will readily own. As for thoſe places where it is ſaid, *for this cauſe have I ſet thee up, that I might ſhew my power*, &c. it is plain, they ought to have been rendered; for this cauſe have *I ſuffered thee to ſubſiſt or to ſtand*, &c. that is, I have forbore to cut thee off, or ſpared thee from the common ruin, &c. which bear quite another ſenſe, and only ſhew, that though he had long ago deſerved to be deſtroyed, yet God thought fit to let him ſubſiſt, 'till he had by his many wonders delivered his people in ſpight of all his oppoſition.

(E) The Talmud has preſerved us a tradition of a proverbial taunt, with which the Egyptians flouted Moſes, when he began to work his miracles among them; thou bringeſt ſtraw to Affra, a place in Egypt where ſtraw abounded; meaning, that he

(41) Arr. Montan de Idiom Hæbr. N. 42. fin. can. theol. cent. 2. Gerhard de provid. Calov. & Rung. in Exod Hunnin. qu. de provid. 57, 91. Meitzer. diſp. Gieſſ. tom. ii. p. 745. Meſner Anthropol. dec. 1. Pfeifer dubia V. T. cent. 1. l. 87. Pelling & Whitby againſt predeſt. Le clerc in loc. Grot. Le Seeus eſſay & al.

this advantage made no great impreſſion on Pharaoh, who might attribute it only to his ſuperior ſkill in magic. This

he had choſen the wrong place to play his conjuring tricks, in a country that was ſo well ſtocked with conjurers. Origen ſays, that they (the Egyptians) did not abſolutely deny the miracles of Moſes, but only pretended, that they were done by deluſion, and not by a divine power (1). And Philo introduces the Egyptian magicians ſpeaking to Pharaoh and his court to this purpoſe? *why are you frighted, we are not ignorant of ſuch things, ſeeing we profeſs the ſame ourſelves (2)?*

And here, ſince we are entering into a long ſcene of Moſes's miracles, the greateſt part of which were imitated by the magicians of Pharaoh, it will not be amiſs to enquire, who the latter were, by what power they did perform thoſe wonders, and why they came ſhort of ſome of thoſe of Moſes. As to the firſt we promiſed in a former place to prove that they were Jannes and Jambres *, mentioned by St. Paul to have withſtood Moſes (3), or as Pliny calls them Jamnes and Jotapha (4), when ſpeaking of the ſect of the magicians, he ſays, that Moſes, Jamnes, and Jotapha, were the heads and founders of it. They were celebrated in the Talmud † under the names of יוחני וממרי Jochani and Mamri. The targum of Jonathan (5) affirms them to have been Balaam's ſons, and that they went along with him to Balak king of Moab. Some Jewiſh authors call them Janes and Jambres; others Jochanan and Mamre, and others Jonah and Jombres (6), and pretend, that they were drowned in the red-ſea with the Egyptians, though others think, that they were not deſtroyed 'till the war which Phineas waged againſt the Midianites (7). The apocryphal book entitled Jannes and Mambres, quoted by Origen (8), and by Hilary the deacon (9), affirm them to have been two brothers; and Numerius quoted by Euſebius (10) gives us this account of them, "Jannes and Jambres, interpreters of the myſteries "of Egypt, were in great repute at the time when the Hebrews were "driven out of Egypt, being in the opinion of all men inferior to "none in the art of magic. For, by the general voice of the "Egyptians,

(1) Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. iii. (2) Phil. in vit. Moſ. vid. Warren cont. Burnet, p. 40. * Vid. vol. i. p. 585. (3) 2 Tim. iii. 8. (4) Lib. xxx. c. i. † Tract. מנחות cap. ix. (5) Targ. in Num. xxii. 22. (6) Buxtorf Lexic. Talmud. Fade Apocr. Vet. Teſt. (7) Num. xxv. 17, 18. (8) Orig in Matth. Tract. xxxv. (9) Ambroſ. in 2 Tim. iii. 8. (10) In Ariſtob. ap. Euſeb. de præp. evang. lib. ix. c. viii.

This miracle therefore was ſoon followed by another, which was turning all the running andſtanding waters of Egypt into blood; Second miracle. The waters turned into blood.

" Egyptians, they two were choſen to oppoſe Moſes, ring-
" leader of the Jews, whoſe prayers were, of all others, moſt
" prevalent with God; and they were able to fruſtrate and
" undo all thoſe moſt grievous plagues which Moſes brought
" upon Egypt, in the open view and ſight of all the Egypti-
" ans." Thus much for the names and character of thoſe magicians.

The Mohammedans, however, have not failed, according to cuſtom, to ſtuff this part of Moſes's hiſtory with ſome of their fables. We ſhall juſt give a ſhort ſketch of what they have writ of it. They tell us, that Moſes having wrought ſome miracles before the king of Egypt, and very much ſurpriſed him with them, he was adviſed by his council to amuſe him with fair hopes, 'till he had ſent for ſome of the moſt expert magicians from Thebaide. Accordingly Sabeur and Gadour, two brothers renowned for their magic ſkill, were ſent for; but before they repaired to Pharaoh's court, they went to conſult the Manes of their father about the ſucceſs of their journey, acquainting him withal, that the two magicians, whom they were ſent to oppoſe, had a rod which they turned into a ſerpent, and devoured all that made head againſt it. Their father's ghoſt anſwered, that if that rod turned itſelf into a ſerpent whilſt they were aſleep, they muſt never expect to prevail againſt them. Upon their arrival at Memphis, their firſt care was to inform themſelves about this material circumſtance, and found, that their rod did guard them in the ſhape of a ſerpent whilſt they ſlept, and let none come near them. However, this did not hinder them from appearing before Pharaoh, at the head of his other magicians, to the number, as ſome make it, of 70,000. Beſides theſe there were two other excellent ones with their diſciples, and laſtly, the Egyptian high-prieſt at the head of all the magicians of that country. All theſe had prepared rods, and cords filled with quick-ſilver, which, being heated by the ſun, imitated the winding of a ſerpent, but they were ſoon deſtroyed by that of Moſes, to the great ſurprize of all the beholders, but eſpecially of Sabour and Gadour, who thereupon renounced their profeſſion and embraced Moſes's religion, and were put to death for it by order of the Egyptian king, as holding ſecret correſpondence with Moſes (11),

From

(11) D'Herbelot Bibliot. Orient. p. 648, & ſeq. Monoſah ap. Calmet. ſub. voc. Jannes.

blood; so that there was not a drop of water left in the whole land for the Egyptians to drink: how long they continued so Moses has not told us; for what is added afterwards in the last verse of this chapter, that seven days were

From this account it is plain, that the Mohammedans looked upon the wonders wrought by the Egyptians rather as Hocus Pocus tricks than super-natural works. However, though this opinion has been likewise maintained by several eminent persons, both Jews and Christians (12); yet that of St. Austin (13), that they were done by the power of the devil, has been more universally received, that for the two following reasons; first, because the scriptures of the old and new testament seem to attribute some such power to evil spirits; and secondly, because Moses expresses himself in such terms as manifestly shew, that they really imitated him in all those wonders they wrought. For in this case of their rods being turned into serpents he doth not say, that they made them appear to be such by a deceptio visus; but that וישליכו איש מטהו ויהיו לתנינם *they flung down every man his rod, and that they became serpents.* And in all the other cases wherein they imitated him, he expresses it thus; ויעשו גם הם and יעשו גם הם *and the magicians did so likewise*; or, and the magicians, even they, did so likewise. If it be asked why God did suffer them to borrow this power from the devil to invalidate, if possible, those miracles, which his servant wrought by his divine power, the following reasons may be given for it, namely, first, it was necessary, that these magicians should be suffered to exert the utmost of their power against Moses, in order to clear him from the imputation of magic or sorcery; for as the notion of such an extraordinary art was very rife, not only among the Egyptians, but all other nations, if they had not entered into this strenuous competition with him, and been at length overcome by him, both the Hebrews and Egyptians would have been apter to have attributed all his miracles to his skill in magic, than to the divine power. Secondly, it was necessary in order to confirm the faith of the wavering and desponding Israelites, by making them see the difference between Moses's acting by the power

(12) Jos. Ant. lib. ii. c. xiii. Justin Mart. quæst. Orthod. xvi. Tertul. lib. de anima. Greg. Nyssen. Ambros. Hieron. cont. Jovin. lib. ii. & al. (13) August. lib. xxxviii. quæst. 79, 98, & lib. iii. de Trinitate cap. vii. Theodoret in Exod. lib. xviii. Aquin. Tostat. Lyra. Burg. Cajet. Usher. Ann. in loc.

were completed after the turning of the waters into blood, is rather the ſpace between this miracle and that of the frogs, which they are bid to perform in the beginning of the next chapter. For as the diviſion of the bible into chapters was of later invention, and introduced for the better conveniency of reading it, if we join the laſt verſe of the ſeventh with the beginning of the eighth, it will run thus; *And ſeven days were fulfilled after the turning the waters into blood, and the Lord ſpake*, and ſo on, which is the ſame as if he had ſaid, and ſeven days after the turning of the waters into blood God ſpake to Moſes. However, this change continued long enough to kill all the fiſh, and oblige the Egyptians to dig round about the river for freſh water to drink, none of the reſt being fit for that or any other uſe. The miracle was likewiſe imitated by the magicians, but whether upon ſea-water brought on purpoſe, or ſome freſh water fetched from the land of Goſhen, or ſome of that which they had drawn out of their new-digged wells, is not eaſy to gueſs; though it is more probable, that they ſtaid 'till the waters of the Nile and other places were reſtored to their former colour and taſte. However that be, Pharaoh was not one jot the nearer being convinced [e]; wherefore Moſes again ſent to him to threaten him, that if he did not let Iſrael go, his whole kingdom ſhould be ſo filled with frogs, that their ovens, their beds, and tables ſhould ſwarm with them; but Pharaoh ſtill deſpiſing their threats, and bidding them defiance, was ſoon made ſenſible of his raſhneſs. His magicians indeed went on to perſuade him, that Moſes was only ſuch another miracle-monger as they were, by imitating alſo this miracle and bringing a freſh ſwarm of frogs. They might indeed have ſhewed their ſkill to a better purpoſe, if they had tried to have removed thoſe inſects, of which the Egyptians did not want this freſh ſupply, but it ſeems they

Third miracle. Frogs.

[e] Exod. vii. p. tot.

power of God, and the ſorcerers by that of Satan. And laſtly, in order to preſerve them afterwards from being ſeduced by any falſe miracles from the true worſhip of God (14).

(14) Rupert. Perrer. Simler. Ferus, Villet, Tremel, & alii in loc.

they had not power enough to do that. Wherefore Pharaoh was reduced to send for Moses, and to promise him, that he would let Israel go, if he would but deliver him and his country from that plaguy vermin. Whether there was any sincerity in this promise, or whether it was only forced from him by the present calamity, Moses took him at his word, and, desiring him to name the time when he should rid the land of those creatures, did precisely perform his part; so that by the next day, the time appointed by the king, there was not one frog left alive in all the land. But whilst his subjects were gathering them up in heaps, in order to carry them off, their stench being like to have bred an infection, Pharaoh was thinking how to elude his promise, not considering, that he only made way for another plague.

Fourth miracle. Lice.

For when Moses found himself baffled, he touched the dust with his rod, which was immediately turned into lice, or, as some think, into gnats, which small insect, they say, is more common, and their sting more tormenting in Egypt than any where else. But our version seems to us more agreeable to the original, and to the generality of antient and modern translations and expositors [f]. These infected man and beast in such quantities, that one would have imagin'd, that all the dust of Egypt had been turned into lice. Pharaoh sent for his magicians, and bid them try their skill; but in vain, for either their power proved too short, or was curtailed by a superior hand, so that they were forced to acknowledge, that the finger of God did plainly display itself in this miracle (F). However, Pharaoh

[f] Chald. Targ. Joseph. Ant. l. ii. c. xiv. Rabbin. Montan. Munster Vatabl. Jun. Bochart. & al.

(F) What has been said under this head in the last note, will easily lead us to answer to the next question, why the magicians could not go through stitch with all the miracles of Moses, and in particular in not being able to bring forth lice, when they had been able to bring swarms of frogs and other insects. For without having recourse to the common solution, this was a new creation of a new kind of vermin, which therefore could not be imitated by the devil, for which we have no warrant from the text, which expresly calls them lice, it will be sufficient to say, that herein Moses shewed his superior power, in tying their hands from working a miracle in all respects as easy as any they had done 'till then. For this was more than

raoh not regarding their words, Moſes and Aaron met him the next morning, as he was going down to the river, and told him, that his obſtinacy would only bring more and worſe plagues upon him, the next of which would be ſuch mixed ſwarms of flies as would darken the air; that God, however, would put a difference between his people and the Egyptians, and that there ſhould none be found in all the land of Goſhen, though the reſt of the kingdom did ſwarm with them; adding, that the next day ſhould bring this new plague upon him. Accordingly, by the next morning, the air was filled with thoſe inſects, whoſe bite was ſo venemous and painful, that the miſchief which they did to Egypt became intolerable [g], and forced the king to ſend for Moſes and Aaron, and to tell them, that he would give them leave to ſacrifice to their God, provided it was done within his dominions. To this they anſwer'd, they could not comply with his command, without imminent danger of their lives, ſeeing they ſhould be obliged to ſacrifice ſuch creatures as the Egyptians worſhipped, who would therefore be ready to ſtone them, as guilty of the moſt horrid and abominable ſacrilege. They therefore inſiſted upon going three days journey out of the land, that they might ſafely perform their God's command. This anſwer, which gave him juſt reaſon to ſuſpect, that they had a mind to go away for good, put him to a terrible nonplus. On the one hand he was very unwilling to hazard the loſing of the Iſraelites, and on the other the flies did ſuch an incredible deal of harm, that he heard nothing but complaints on all ſides. At length, being become more ſeemingly flexible, he promiſed, that they ſhould go, provided it was at no great diſtance from Egypt, and they promiſed him faithfully to return again in a little time, and he, to their great ſurpriſe, deſired that they would pray for him. He could not indeed have choſen a more powerful or a more ready interceſſor, had not the tokens of God's clemency, as well as thoſe of his ſeverity, been equally

Fifth miracle. Swarms of flies.

[g] Vid. Pſal. lxxviii. 45.

than ſufficient to extort this confeſſion from them, that he acted by a ſuperior power, and that the finger of God was in it (15). *

(15) Exod. viii. 19.

* Vid. Leſley's eaſy method with the Deiſts.

loſt upon him. However, Moſes aſſured him, that he would immediately go out, and intreat the Lord for him, and deſired him to keep his word; but no ſooner had his prayer obtained a reprieve, and delivered the kingdom from the plague of thoſe venemous inſects, than the king drew on another by his obſtinacy and breach of promiſe [h].

Sixth miracle. The cattle of the Egyptians killed by murrain.

THE next judgment fell, according to Moſes's word, on all the cattle of the Egyptians, the greateſt part of which died by the next day, whilſt that of the Iſraelites remained unhurt. But this not touching the king near enough, the next that followed was more effectually felt by him. It was a violent and painful boil which brake out upon man and beaſt, by Aaron's throwing a handful of the aſhes of the furnace into the air. Pharaoh, according to cuſtom, had recourſe to his magicians, who, being themſelves ſmitten with the boils, and being perhaps afraid of ſomething worſe, dared not appear before Moſes. Notwithſtanding this, Pharaoh continued obſtinate, and choſe rather to endure the ſmart of his boils, than the loſs of Iſrael. However, it was not long before Moſes was ſent to threaten him with a more terrible one, in which the voice of the God of Iſrael ſhould be heard in thunder, and his vengeance felt in ſuch dreadful ſtorms of hail, as had not been known ſince the foundation of Egypt. He adviſed him likewiſe not to exalt himſelf againſt the Iſraelites, ſeeing their God hath hitherto preſerved him from ruin, only to convince him of his almighty power by all theſe ſigns and wonders, and to perſuade him to confeſs and adore him, and prevent thereby the future effects of his wrath; for, added he, if all theſe judgments will not humble thee, know, that God hath a great many in ſtore againſt thee, which ſhall force thee at laſt to ſubmit, tho' never ſo much againſt thy will. He, who alone did ſet thee on the throne, might indeed have cut thee off from thy firſt refuſal, but, ſince he hath ſpared thee hitherto, remember, it is either to force thee to glorify him by thy ſubmiſſion, or to be glorified by this and future ages, by the puniſhment which thy pride and obſtinacy do force from him, after ſo many gracious invitations and miraculous warnings

Seventh miracle. Boils upon men and beaſts.

Eighth miracle. Hail-ſtorms and thunders.

[h] Exod. viii. p. tot.

warnings (G). He gave him but that one day to consider of it, assuring him, that the next day would prove a dismal one to the Egyptians, unless he resolved to dismiss the Israelites before that time, between whom and the Egyptians God would put such a difference, that the land of Goshen should be entirely free from the terrible punishment, with which Egypt would be half undone. However, finding the king still too hardened and incredulous to prevent this new judgment, he forewarn'd him and his court to send for such cattle as they had left out in the fields, since all that was not under some strong shelter would certainly be killed by the hail. Moses was no sooner gone from him, but those who gave credit to his words sent to have their servants and cattle safely lodged, whilst the rest, lightly regarding it, left them to perish in the field. For no sooner had Moses lifted up his rod towards heaven on the next morning, but the thunders, lightnings, and hail followed one another so thick, that Egypt was half destroyed by them. The hail that then fell was of such prodigious bigness, that it killed man and beast, broke all the trees, and destroy'd all the barley and flax it chanced to fall upon. The wheat only and the rye escaped, because they were not sufficiently grown, for the barley harvest in Egypt begins about the middle or latter end of March, whereas that of the wheat and rye doth not begin 'till six or seven weeks after. As for the land of Goshen, it was found, upon enquiry, to have been as free from this, as it had been from all the former plagues.

These thunders and lightnings, but especially the hail, which was the more extraordinary, because it seldom or never rains in that part of Egypt, so frighted the proud king, that he sent for Moses and Aaron out of hand, and express'd himself in such terms to them, as might have past for sure tokens of a real conversion: he own'd himself an obstinate sinner, justly punished for his disobedience, and begged, that they would but deliver him from the noise of those dreadful thunders, after which he promised not to detain them one moment longer. Moses was too well acquainted with him by this time, to depend upon his pro-

(G) This version, wherein we have departed from all others and kept close to the original, the reader may see justified in a former note †.

† Vid. supra, p. 559. Not. D.

miſe, which, he ſaw, was only extorted from him by his preſent dread. He made no ſcruple to tell him ſo. However, he promiſed him to obtain a ſpeedy ceſſation of them as ſoon as they were gone out, which he accordingly did, and gave the Egyptians an opportunity to examine the miſchief that had been done by the hail, which they found to be much greater than they had imagined. This inſpired many of them with a real fear of the God of Iſrael; but this was not the caſe of Pharaoh and his council, who no ſooner perceived that the ſtorm was over, but they returned to their old way [i]. Moſes therefore was ſent to ſignify to them what judgment they were to expect next, which was to be ſuch an infinite number of locuſts, as ſhould cover the face of the earth, and eat up what the hail had left undeſtroyed. There were ſome about the king then, who took the liberty to repreſent to him the unconceivable damage which his kingdom had already received; that Egypt was already deſtroyed, and that it was high time the Hebrews were ſent away to ſerve their God. Pharaoh was almoſt perſuaded to let them go, but having ſent for Moſes and Aaron back to enquire who of them were to go, and who were to ſtay, he was ſo highly provoked at their inſiſting upon taking with them their wives, children, cattle, and all they had, that he could not forbear upbraiding them with their ill intentions, which though concealed with ſo much art, and cloak'd with the ſpecious pretence of religion and the ſervice of God, yet did but too plainly ſhow, that they had no mind ever to return into Egypt again. He warn'd them of the danger they ran themſelves into, and adviſed them to content themſelves with taking only the men with them, and leaving their wives and children behind; and, having threatened them ſeverely, cauſed them to be turned out of doors.

The great miſchief done by it.

Ninth miracle. Locuſts.

Moses was no ſooner got out, than he lifted up his rod over the land of Egypt. This was quickly followed by an eaſt wind, which blow'd all the night, and brought ſuch a numerous ſwarm of locuſts by the next morning, as had never been ſeen before; and theſe, ſpreading themſelves all over the land, did in a little time eat up every blade of graſs, and every thing that had eſcaped the ſtorm of hail. Pharaoh did not fail to ſend for Moſes, to own his fault, and beg for one reprieve more; but having obtained

[i] Exod. ix. p. tot.

tained it by means of a weſt wind, which blew all the locuſts into the ſea, he continued as inflexible as ever. This new provocation did not go long unpuniſhed, and Egypt was preſently after ſmitten with ſuch horrid darkneſs, that Moſes chooſes to expreſs it by a darkneſs that may be felt. During the three days it laſted, the Egyptians did neither ſee one another, nor dare to ſtir out of their place, but continued fix'd and immoveable, as if they had been thunder-ſtruck, whilſt the land of Goſhen enjoy'd its uſual day-light. The horror of this obſcurity, which could not be removed by the common methods then uſed to ſupply the abſence of the ſun, cauſed ſuch dreadful apprehenſions in the king and all his ſubjects, and was ſo heightned by the diſmal outcries of men, women, and children, that their conſternation may be much eaſier imagined than expreſſed. However, it made ſo deep an impreſſion upon them, that he was willing to grant their requeſt, and that they might go with their wives and children, but inſiſted, that their flocks ſhould be left behind. Moſes, after having repreſented to him the unreaſonableneſs of ſuch a demand, ſeeing they only knew that they were to offer up a ſolemn ſacrifice to God, but were not yet acquainted what kind of beaſts he would chooſe to have ſacrificed to him, obſerving Pharaoh's unwillingneſs to conſent, told him in expreſs terms, that they would take all their cattle with them, and that not a ſingle hoof ſhould remain in Egypt. We need not to wonder, if ſo proud a king as Pharaoh was could not hear ſo bold a demand without the higheſt reſentment. He cauſed him to be thruſt from his preſence with the higheſt indignation, threatening him, that if he dared to come before him any more, it ſhould certainly coſt him his life. Such impotent threatenings had nothing in them that could frighten a man like Moſes; who therefore contented himſelf with ſaying, Amen to his never ſeeing him more [k]. However, it is reaſonably ſuppoſed, that it was in this laſt interview, that he foretold the king the finiſhing ſtroke of the divine vengeance upon all the firſt-born of men and cattle throughout all Egypt, which ſhould cauſe ſuch a conſternation among all his ſubjects, that they ſhould come with bended knees to the Iſraelites, and beg of them in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms to depart out of their country [l]; whilſt God would ſtill ſhow ſuch a regard to the latter, that

Tenth miracle. Great darkneſs during three days.

[k] Exod. x. p. tot.

[l] Exod. xi. 8. & ſeq. Vid. Uſher. Annal. p. 14.

that they ſhould enjoy their uſual calmneſs and tranquillity, not a dog daring to open his mouth againſt any of them. Moſes had no ſooner finiſhed this laſt prediction, and promiſed him, that, according to his word, he would ſee his face no more, than he retired to his people into the land of Goſhen, where the Iſraelites celebrated the paſſover that very night [m], according to God's command. In this night alſo Moſes bid them to borrow what jewels, fine raiment, and other precious things they could, from their Egyptian neighbours, aſſuring them from God, that they ſhould find them very willing and forward to accommodate them with the beſt things they had [n] (H).

The paſſover celebrated.

How-

[m] Id ibid. Villet, & al. [n] Exod. xi & xii. p. tot.

(H) Before we enter into the inſtitution of the paſſover, which was attended with the laſt and moſt dreadful plague, the death of all the firſt-born, it will not be amiſs to enquire, how long a time Moſes took in bringing all the plagues upon Egypt, eſpecially, becauſe ſome chronologiſts have ſpun it out to ten (16), and others to twelve months (17); but, beſides that, their reaſons are very jejune, and unwarranted by ſcripture, it is more likely, that they happened all within the ſpace of one month; firſt, becauſe their following ſo thick upon one another, would both more viſibly diſplay the power of God, and more effectually work upon Pharaoh to diſmiſs the Iſraelites; and this ſeems to be hinted at by Moſes in a former chapter (18). 2. Theſe plagues were ſo grievous, that, if they had laſted much longer, the Egyptians could never have endured them; but, 3. we read that the Iſraelites continued full forty years in the wilderneſs (19), that Moſes was full eighty years old before he appeared the firſt time before Pharaoh (20) and that he was 120 years old when he died, that is, at the end of their 40 years travel (21), ſo that there could not be much time ſpent in bringing all theſe plagues. However, arſhbiſhop Uſher has included them all within the ſpace of one month, from Moſes's own account, as follows, (22)

About the 18th day of the ſixth month, which in the year following, and after, was reckoned the twelfth month, was ſent the plague of the waters turned into blood, which ended ſeven days after (23). About the twenty fifth day came on the ſecond plague of the frogs, which was removed

(16) Boorh. ap. Villet. (17) Judæi fere omnes. Vid. Uſher an. p. 13. Genebrard, & al. (18) Exod. vi. 1. (11). Joſh. v. 6. (20) Exod. vii. 7. (21) Deut. xxxiv. 7. (22) Annal. p. 14. vid etiam Perrer. & Villet. in loc. (23) Exod. vii. 25.

HOWEVER, it must be observed, that this ceremony of eating the passover, as well as the method of doing it, had been Its first Institution.

moved the day following (24), and about the twenty seventh-day came on the third plague of the lice (25).

About the 28th day Moses threaten'd them with a fourth plague of flies, and other vermin, which came on the 29th day, and were all taken away on the 30th (26).

About the first day of the next month, which was afterwards made the first month of the year, Moses having foretold them of another plague to come, namely, the murrain upon the cattle, brought it upon them the day following (27). About the third day the sixth plague of boils brake out upon man, and beasts, and upon the magicians (28).

About the fourth day Moses foretold them them of a seventh plague, which he brought upon them on the 5th; which was of thunder, rain, and grievous hail mix'd with fire, with which their flax and barley were smitten (29), but their wheat and rye were not hurt; not being yet out of the ground. Whence Nic. Fuller, lib. 3. Miscel. 1. rightly observes, p. 389, that this plague happened in the month Abib.

About the 7th day Moses threatned them with an eighth plague, and accordingly sent it the day following, that was of locusts to devour all, which plague he removed about the 9th day (30).

The month Abib, which hitherto was the seventh month, was from this time forward made the first month of the whole year (31), for a memorial of their departure out of Egypt; from the beginning of which month the Epocha of the Jewish calendar is from thence forward deduced (32), though the end of the former account fell on the middle of the month.

Upon the 10th day of this now first month of the year, which was the 30th of April according to the Julian Calendar upon thursday, was instituted the feast of the passover and sweet-bread, to wit, the paschal lamb was chosen and killed the fourth day after (33).

Moses now brings upon them the ninth plague of three days darkness (34); and upon the 14th day which was May the 4th, upon monday with us, which was the last time he spoke with Pharaoh, Moses foretold him the tenth plague which should come upon him, namely the destruction of all the first-born, which came

(24) Ib. viii. 10. (25) Ib. ver. 17. (26) Ib. ver. 24 & 29. (27) Exod. ix 3, 5, 6. (28) Ib. ver. & seq. (29) Ibid. ver. 18. ad 32. (30) Exod. x. 4. ad. 16. (31) Exod. xii. 2 & xiii. 4. (32) Num. ix. 1, 2. coll. 5. Exod. xl. 17. (33) Exod. xii. 3 ad 21. (34) Ibid. x. 21 & seq.

been prescribed by God to Moses, and by him communicated to the Israelites, during these transactions that pass'd between him and the king of Egypt, though they are postpon'd to the twelfth chapter, to prevent the breaking of the series of those wonders which God had wrought by him. The account, which he has given us of this institution, is prefaced with a command from God, that that month, which was then the sixth of the year, according to the common or civil computation, should from thenceforth be the first month in the year in the sacred calendar (K); and that all the other feasts of the year, which were afterwards to be instituted, should be regulated by that of the passover, the celebration of which was to be as follows. Upon the 10th of the month, which was four days before Moses's last message to Pharaoh, every master of a family was to take a lamb or a kid, of the first year, a male without blemish, and keep it 'till the 14th of the same month. And in case his family was too small for the lamb, he was to call in one or more families to the eating of it. It was to be killed and roasted on the 14th day at evening, and eat with unleavened bread and bitter herbs; they were to eat with their loins girded, their shoes on their feet, and their staff in their hand. They were to eat it in haste, as people who are ready and impatient to be gone. The head and the feet were not to be severed from it, nor a bone of it to be broken: if any of it was left, it was not to be kept till the next day, but thrown into the fire and burnt to ashes, though the eating of unleavened bread was to last seven days. This injunction about the passover was to be perpetual, but on this night they were moreover to save the blood of the lamb in a bason, and sprinkle the two side-posts

The design and manner of it.

came to pass the night following, and then, turning him about in great anger, departed from him (35). At the evening of this day was the passover celebrated (36).

(K) This month, which is called in the Hebrew Abib, and had been 'till then the seventh month, and continued so to be in the secular year, became from that day forward the first month of the sacred year, in memory of this wonderful departure out of the land of Egypt (37); and from the beginning of this month the Epocha of the Jewish or sacred calendar was from thence-forward deduced, though the end of the former account fell on the middle of the month (38).

(35) Ibid. ver. 25 ad 29. & c. xi. 1, 4, 8. (36) Ibid. xii. ad ver. 38. (37) Exod. xii. 2. with xiii. 4. (38) Numb. ix 1, 2. with Exod. xi. 17. vid. Ush Ann. p. 14.

poſts and croſs-poſt of their doors with it, that the deſtroying angel might leave their houſes untouched, when he paſs'd by to deſtroy the firſt-born of Egypt, and execute the divine vengeance on their gods, whether it were their princes, who in the language of ſcripture are often called gods, or thoſe animals which that ſuperſtitious nation did worſhip. This blood upon their door-poſts was to be their ſafe-guard, ſeeing all thoſe which were found unſprinkled with it were to be liable to the common calamity, as well as thoſe who ſhould be caught ſtragling out of their houſes during that whole night. In memory of which great deliverance, they were to keep this feaſt of unleavened bread ſeven days, that is from the 14th day at evening, until the 21ſt day at even; during which whoſoever was found among them eating of leavened bread, whether he was an Iſraelite or a ſtranger, was to be cut off from Iſrael, that is, was either to be put to immediate death, or to be cut off by the hand of providence; or laſtly to be excommunicated, and thereby reſcinded from all the promiſes made to the ſeed of Abraham. The firſt and laſt of theſe ſeven days were to be kept holy and free from all manner of work. Laſtly, no ſtranger was to be admitted to eat of the paſſover, unleſs he conſented to be circumciſed. As for the Iſraelites, they were ſtrictly to remember this great and glorious night, and to inſtruct their children in the meaning of this inſtitution, that they might likewiſe perpetuate the memory of it to future ages.

Unleavened bread.

THE people, whom ſo many dire judgments on the Egyptians had rendered more tractable, received Moſes's orders with the utmoſt reſpect; and, having paid their adoration to God, went to put themſelves in readineſs to execute them. Theſe commands may be properly reduced to three heads, viz. Firſt, To gather themſelves from all the corners of the kingdom into the land of Goſhen; it being unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that ſuch a vaſt multitude, amounting to upwards of two millions and a half of ſouls, as we have elſewhere ſhewn *, could be all contained in that little ſpot of ground; ſo that it required no ſmall diſpatch to communicate the orders of their departure to them all. Secondly, To get all the rich things they could from the Egyptians; and this required ſecrecy, ſince it is not probable, that the Egyptians would have prov'd ſo generous, if they had ſuſpected that this journey was any other than a religious one, that was to laſt but a few days. Thirdly,

The Iſraelites obey, and kill the paſſover.

* Vid. ſup. p. 510. Not. B.

Thirdly, To eat the paſſover at the time, and with all the ceremonies that had been preſcribed; and this was to take up ſome time, four days at leaſt. However, providence ſo ordered it, that they were all ready on that night. And the Pſalmiſt tells [n], that, notwithſtanding the great number of their old men, women, and children, there was not one feeble perſon among all their tribes.

The night, which was to prove ſo joyful to them, and ſo fatal to their enemies, being come, and God's commands being punctually obeyed, whilſt both ſides were in the extremeſt tranquillity, the Egyptians thinking now all the plagues paſt, and Pharaoh flattering himſelf that Moſes's threatening againſt the firſt-born had proved abortive, becauſe four days were elapſed ſince it was denounced, whereas he uſed to give him but one day's warning in the former plagues; and on the other hand the Iſraelites keeping themſelves in the profoundeſt ſilence, knowing what horrid ſlaughter was to be made among the Egyptians; in the middle I ſay of that very night, God ſent his deſtroying miniſters, who ſuddenly diſperſed themſelves all over the kingdom, and ſmote all the firſt-born with immediate death, from the firſt-born who ſat on Pharaoh's throne, to the firſt-born of the impriſoned captive, and even to that of the meaneſt animal in the land. What tongue or pen can deſcribe the horror and amazement, the dreadful outcries and mournful groans of that unhappy nation, where every houſe, none excepted, had one or more dead, and, which was ſtill worſe, a firſt-born, the ſtay and hope of the family (L). How much more diſmal muſt the

The firſt-born of the Egyptians ſlain by the deſtroying angel.

[n] Pſal. cv. 36.

(L) This at leaſt ſeems to have been the caſe, as well from Moſes's own words, who tells us, that there was not one houſe in which there was not one dead (39), as from his command to all the families of the Iſraelites to ſprinkle their door-poſts with the blood of the paſchal lamb; but if it be aſked, how it can be ſuppoſed, that every houſe had a firſt-born, we anſwer, that the Hebrew בכור Bekor being often uſed to imply ſome excellency in perſons who were not really firſt-born, as in Ephraim, it will be more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that where a family

(39) Exod. xii. 30.

the proud monarch's condition be, who not only ſhar'd in the common affliction, but ſaw his palace beſieged by crowds of his unhappy ſubjects, who upbraided him with being the cauſe of all their dire calamities! The firſt expedient he could think of was, to ſend immediately for Moſes and Aaron, who, being ſettled at Rameſes not far from his capital city, were ſoon brought to him, and found the frighted king, inſtead of his uſual threatening and upbraidings, urgent and preſſing for their departure out of his dominions with their children, cattle, and all they had, and to have them go, and ſacrifice to their God, and implore his mercy for him in their prayers. The Egyptians likewiſe were no leſs impatient to ſee their backs, fearing leſt every minute of their ſtay ſhould prove their laſt. The Iſraelites found them as ready to lend them the moſt valuable things they had, as themſelves were to borrow them, and Moſes, who was too well acquainted with Pharaoh's changeable temper to ſtay 'till he relaxed, made all the haſte he could to put it out of his power; and having ſettled the beſt order he could among that vaſt multitude, and in the general confuſion that then reigned, he gave the ſignal for their departure long before break of day. Leaving therefore the Egyptians to mourn for and bury their dead, and loaded with their ſpoils, they begun their march under the conduct of providence and his ſervant Moſes, being to the number of ſix hundred thouſand men able to bear arms, beſides old men, women, and children, ſervants, and an innumerable multitude of ſtrangers, who joined themſelves to them, and followed them in their march. They had continued in Egypt from the time of Jacob's firſt coming thither to this very day, which was the ſame day of the ſame month and week, viz. monday °, the ſpace of two hundred and fifteen years, though Moſes, computing

Moſes and Aaron ſent for and ordered to depart.

The number of the Iſraelites that went out of Egypt.

° Uſher's Ann. p. 14.

mily had no firſt-born, the principal perſon was ſmitten with death (40), than to ſuppoſe with ſome Jews and Chriſtians, that Moſes's words are only applicable to every houſe that had a firſt-born (41), or with St. Auſtin, that providence did ſo order at this time, that every houſe had a firſt-born (42).

(40) Cajet. Jun. Willet. & al. in loc. (41) Aben Ezra, Hug. S. Victor. (42) Quæſt. 44. in Exod.

computing it from the first coming of Abraham into Canaan, reckons it four hundred and thirty years, had been already shewn *. There was yet one main thing wanting, viz. the securing of a sufficient quantity of provisions for all that multitude, and perhaps they expected to have had time enough to have got it before their march, but the Egyptians drove them away with such desperate fury, that the people were forced to carry their paste with them unleavened, with which they baked themselves cakes upon the coals; and what other provision they could get they took with them undressed, and marched from Rameses, Moses's dwelling-place, to their first encampment at Succoth [p], Josephus tells us [q], that their dough and other provision, they carried from Egypt, lasted them a whole month, but it is not likely, that they would load themselves with such luggage, which in all probability they knew not to preserve so long from stinking, when they had so much better things to carry out of the spoils of the Egyptians. As soon as they were arrived at Succoth, Moses made them encamp according to their tribes and families, which was likewise the order in which they had been directed to march. It is to be observed here, that the distance from Rameses to the utmost borders of Egypt, on the side of the land of Canaan, was not much above threescore miles, so that Moses could in a few days march have brought them out of Pharaoh's territories, yet God did so order it, that they were full forty years before they set their foot upon the borders of the promised land.

Their first encampment.

The first-born of Israel consecrated.

Whilst they continued at Succoth, Moses was commanded by God to consecrate the first-born of men and beast to him, to whom they did of right belong; the first-born of men were to be redeemed at the price of five shekels, that is, of the sanctuary, which was worth double the common one, that is, about two shillings and six pence; so that the whole sum amounted to twelve shillings and sixpence; which money was afterwards to be given to the priests. This redemption was founded not only upon the right which God has over all his creatures, but more particularly upon the account of his having spared the first-born of the Israelites, when he smote those of the Egyptians, which was as it were the seal and finishing stroke of his wonderful judgments on that proud and cruel nation. This law concerning the first born of men did not at all regard the women;

The law concerning it.

* Vid. supra p. 403. Not. K.

[p] Exod. xii. p. tot.

[q] Antiq. lib. ii. c. 15.

women ; for if the firſt-fruits of a marriage proved a female, no redemption was to be paid for her. Secondly, as to that of beaſts, it extended only to the clean, the unclean ones were to be either redeemed by a clean one, as an aſs by a lamb, or to be killed and flung away. They were ordered to teach the reaſon of this law of redemption to their children and grand-children, that their poſterity might never be at a loſs to account for it, nor the wonders which were wrought in favour of them be forgot. Among all the cares which Moſes and Aaron had, they did not forget to bring Joſeph's coffin and bones with them, purſuant to the oath which that patriarch had exacted from them. The Jews tells us, they placed them in a new ſumptuous cart, or open hearſe, which they made to march under the guard and conduct of the tribes of Ephraim and Manaſſeh his two children [r]. They likewiſe affirm, that every tribe did bring the bones of the heads of their families with them ; but though they are not always to be credited in matters of this nature (M), and Joſephus doth not ſeem to have dreamed of ſuch an act of filial piety, or elſe

Joſeph's bones carried out of Egypt.

[r] Vid. Elle Shemoth Rabbah. Sect. זאת הברכה & Rabbin mult.

(M) We have already given an account, out of the Elle Shemoth Rabbath, of the extraordinary care which the Egyptians took by the advice of their magicians, to bury Joſeph's coffin, where the Iſraelites ſhould never be able to come at it ‡. The ſame comment adds, that, whilſt theſe were taken up with ſpoiling the Egyptians, Moſes had been three or four days ſeeking for it, and at length, when he began to diſpair of finding it, an old woman, whom he met with by the Nile's ſide, told him, that it was in the bottom of the river, near the place where they ſtood ; but that the heavy coffin was ſunk ſo deep by that time, that it would be abſolutely impoſſible for him to fiſh it out. Whereupon Moſes having addreſſed himſelf to God in a ſhort prayer, and than called aloud to the patriarch Joſeph, reminding him of his prophecy, and the oath which he had exacted from them about his bones, the coffin ſwam to the ſhore, and Moſes having tied a rope round the middle of it, and put his ſtaff through it, threw it acroſs his ſhoulder, and marched away to Rameſes with it.

‡ Vid. ſupra p. 498. Not. W.

elſe he would in all probability have recorded it, yet St. Stephen ſeems to allude to ſome ſuch tradition among them, when he ſaid, that Jacob and the fathers went down into Egypt, and were carried over into Sychem, and laid in the ſepulchre which Abraham bought of the ſons of Emmor[s]. However that were, Moſes had ſtill another care, which was to ſettle the order of their march in ſo regular a method, that there might be no confuſion or ſquabble among that vaſt and mix'd multitude, and that they might be ready to face about and ſtand in their own defence, in caſe of a purſuit (N), or of their meeting with any difficulty or obſtruction, from the nations through whoſe territories they were to paſs. However,

[s] Acts vii. 15, 16.

(N) The word, which our verſion renders harneſſed in the text, and by five in a rank in the margin, in the original is חמושים Chamuſhim, which cannot well be rendered literally in Engliſh, it ſignifying properly five or fifty, diſpoſed in the fifth order or manner, or in ſome way that has relation to the number five, and has puzzled moſt expoſitors, both Jewiſh and Chriſtians. Some underſtanding it of their going πεμπλάζοντες, or five in rank (43), which would have made it ſuch a defile in ſuch a numerous army, as would have taken up near an hundred miles in length, according to Oleaſter's computation; others of their being armed with five different ſorts of weapons, (44); which is monſtrous, ſince that were enough to have made them ſink under the weight of it. Beſides, it is not at all probable, that the Egyptians would have ſuffered them to carry more arms with them than they took by ſtealth, and therefore the vulgate verſion, which tranſlates it armed cannot be maintained, much leſs that of the ſeptuagint, which renders it by πεμπτὴ γενεὰ, the fifth generation, it neither being agreeable to the Hebrew, nor indeed true in fact. Thoſe who render it that they marched in five columns, four of which conſiſted of three tribes, whilſt Moſes and the elders marched in the fifth, and in the middle of all the reſt (45), are ſtill more out of the way, the thing being impracticable in thoſe mountainous parts. As for thoſe who tranſlate it in battle-array (46), they muſt confine the word to the ſix hundred thouſand fighting men, for as for the women and children, and mix'd multitude that went with them,

(43) Theodoret, A. Montan, & al. (44) Rabbin aliquot ap Munſt. in loc. (45) R. al. Abr. Sepharad. (46) Jun. Simler, & al.

However, to prevent theſe, or any other accidents which might make the people run reſty, and take it into their heads to return to Egypt; God was pleaſed to forbid Moſes to take the neareſt way to the land of Canaan, that is through that of the Philiſtines, and ordered him to wheel about along the coaſts of the red-ſea towards Arabia-petrea. He likewiſe made them march, not like runaways in confuſion and diſorder, but like a regular army in battle-array, in which order they went from Succoth to Etham, towards Arabia-deſerta, which is therefore called in the original the wilderneſs, near the borders of which Etham was ſituate, where they arrived on the ſecond day after their departure out of Egypt. This rout Moſes made them take, deſigning probably to get to mount Sinai by the point of the red-ſea (t); but God made him take another on the next day, and to turn towards Pi-hahiroth, which lies between the red-ſea and Migdol and Baal-zephon (O). Herein God was pleaſed

Order of their march. Second encampment.

(t) Exod. xiii. p. tot.

them, which was at leaſt three times as numerous, they cannot be ſuppoſed to have marched in that regular military way. The beſt reading therefore ſeems to be that of Kimchi and Pagninus, that they went accincti, girded or truſſed up. The word Chamuſhim being moſt likely derived from chemeſh, the fifth rib, which is the place of girding, and is often uſed in that ſenſe. But be the meaning of the word what it will, it is certain from Moſes's account, that their march was more like that of a diſciplined army, than that of a band of fugitive ſlaves.

(O) We know but little of the geography of all theſe places. As for the Succoth here mentioned, we muſt not confound it with that which Jacob called by that name, when he came out of Meſopotamia (47); tho' the former may have been ſo called in imitation of the latter, upon account of the booths or tents which the Iſraelites ſet up there. Joſephus calls it Latopolis; where he ſays Babylon was afterwards built, when Cambyſes invaded Egypt (48): it is thought by many to be that region which was called Trogloditis, by the red-ſea (49). As for Rameſes, tho' there ſeems to be mention made of two, and they differently pointed, yet if they differ it is only that the one was a province, and the other the chief town of it (50). Ethum is ſuppoſed to be Buthee of Herodotus. And Pi-hahiroth, the city of Heroum on the extreme part of the Arabic gulph, or the

(47) Gen. xxxiii. 17. (48) Ant. lib. ii. 15. (49) Vid. Simler. Willet. (50) Id. Ibid.

pleased to shew his care for them in another miraculous manner; for though he might have notified to them when and whither to march, or where to halt and encamp, as he did his other commands, by the mouth of Moses and Aaron, yet, considering the untractableness of their temper, and how apt they would be to murmur against them at every supposed wrong step, he condescended to conduct them by a more visible way, namely, by a pillar of light in the night-season, and by a column of smoke in the day-time. This column of fire, which served to them instead of the light of the sun, as well as that of smoke, never forsook them during their forty years wandering in the wilderness; on the contrary, it was their conductor throughout their forty-two encampments, and directed them when, and whither, to march, according as they saw it move before them, and to halt when they perceived it to stop. But whether it was given to them at their first, second, or third march, at Succoth or Etham, is not easy to guess at by the text [u].

The miraculous pillar of fire and smoke.

They are led by the miraculous pillar.

It was natural for them, as we hinted before, to have gone from Etham round the cape of the red-sea, and marching a-cross the wilderness, to have gained the east-border of Jordan, and so to have reached to mount Sinai; and this seems

[u] Ibid. ver. ult.

Phagroriopolis placed by Strabo (51) near the same place. All that we know of Migdol is only, that it signifies a tower; Baalzephon seems wholly unknown to the antient geographers. The Jewish Rabbies, and after them Grotius, believe it to have been an idol set up to guard the confines of Egypt. The former add, that it was a brazen dog, and that it discovered the flight of the Israelites by its barking. The truth is, they are too apt to give into etymologies, though they are known to be the most uncertain and fallacious helps; according to which Baalzephon signifies either the hidden Lord, the northern Lord, the centinel Lord, or, in a more figurative way, the Lord, or revealer, of secrets. But who can depend upon such wild fancies? Eusebius takes it, not for a statue, but a town, and places it (52) near Clysma, though St. Jerom has omitted it it in his translation. It stands upon the most northern point of the red-sea, where the antients, especially the Jews, think the Israelites passed it, and where there stands to this day a christian monastery (53).

(51) Lib. xiv. ap Calm. Dissert. in loc. & Willet in loc.
(52) Loc. Hebr. (53) Vid. Calm. Hist. V. T. Comm. in Exod. xiv. & Dissert. on the passage of the red-sea.

ſeems to have been what Moſes aimed at, probably with an intention to have offered up ſome ſacrifices there, agreeable to what God had formerly told him, when he was ſending him into Egypt; but God, who knew what was tranſacted at Pharaoh's court, and what meaſures that monarch and his no leſs infatuated ſubjects were taking to purſue them, and bring them back by main force, commanded them to wheel about, and to march from Etham towards Pi-hahiroth; which is between the ſea and Migdol, over againſt Baalzephon; and to encamp before it. For by this time the Egyptians began to repent of their too great eaſineſs in parting with the Iſraelites, and loſing the benefit of their ſervitude, and thinking, that they might eaſily catch them intangled between the mountains, and fatigued with their march, had prepared a conſiderable army, together with ſix hundred of the choiceſt chariots, beſides all the chariots of war that could be found in Egypt, and a vaſt multitude of officers and ſoldiers, who were all in full march after them. Moſes has not given us any further particulars concerning that army; but Joſephus, who ſeldom fails to improve the text, whenever it makes for the honour of his nation, makes it amount to ſix hundred chariots, fifty thouſand horſe, and two hundred thouſand foot *, and Ezechiel the poet, quoted by Euſebius, hath increaſed it to a million of men. But whatever the army was, Pharaoh put himſelf at the head of it, and led it with ſuch ſpeed, that he overtook them at Pi-hahiroth, and incamped there in full ſight of the Iſraelites; but whether it were that his army was too much fatigued with their march, or that he thought himſelf ſure of them, there being no viſible way for them to eſcape him, unleſs, they flung themſelves into the ſea; or laſtly, that providence prevented his immediate falling upon them; certain it is, that nothing hoſtile was undertaken againſt them that night. However, it is moſt likely, that ſeeing them hemmed in, as it were, by the ſea on one hand, by impaſſable mountains and his own army on the other, and for want of arms, as well as courage, as incapable of fighting, as they were of flying, might think it more adviſeable to force them to yield themſelves priſoners by famine, than to cut them in pieces, as he might eaſily have done, ſince by the one he reduced them to their former ſlavery, but by the other he ran the riſque of loſing a conſiderable part of them.

God makes them wheel about towards Pi-hahiroth.

Pharaoh purſues after,

and overtakes them

* Ant. l. ii. c. 15.

On the other hand, the puſillanimous Iſraelites, inured to bondage, and ſtrangers to the valuable bleſſings of freedom, could not behold the Egyptian army incamped ſo near, without the utmoſt conſternation and dread; and, inſtead of having recourſe to that mighty arm, that had ſo viſibly ſtretched itſelf in their favour, ran in a tumultuous manner to Moſes's tent, and aſked him, whether he thought, that there were not graves enough in Egypt, ſeeing he had brought them to be butchered in the wilderneſs? and whether it would not have been much better for them to have continued under their Egyptian ſlavery, which, how cruel ſoever, they had always told him, was preferable to the danger of falling into the hands of their cruel tyrants after their flight, ſince it was plain now that they had nothing to expect but the moſt cruel death, in that diſmal place. However, this ungrateful language, to which Moſes had already been uſed, tho' nothing ſo much as he was afterwards, rather moved his pity than his anger. He conſidered it as the effect of their extreme danger and cowardly temper, and, inſtead of upbraiding them with it, comforted them with the aſſurance, that this would be the laſt time of their ſeeing the Egyptians. He exhorted them to ſtand ſtill, and ſee the hand of God fight for them, inſtead of provoking him to withdraw it by their unreaſonable murmurings and deſpair.

Moſes comforts the deſpairing Iſraelites.

He had no ſooner diſmiſſed them, than he went and made his application to God, who was immediately pleaſed to order the people to begin their march towards the ſea, directing him at the ſame time to ſtretch out his rod over it, and aſſuring him, that the waters of it would forthwith divide themſelves, and make way for them to go through it as on dry land; whilſt Pharaoh and his whole army, venturing to purſue them, ſhould be finally overwhelmed by its waves. Moſes obeyed, and whilſt a ſtrong eaſt wind was dividing that arm of the ſea to open a paſſage to them, and the Iſraelites were beginning their march towards it, the angel of the Lord, who conducted them in a pillar of fire, removed from the front to the rear of their army, and ſtood between them and that of the Egyptians, that Pharoah might not be ſenſible of their moving and prevent it by falling upon them too ſuddenly. The column of fire produced a double effect, giving light to the Iſraelites in their march, and caſting a darkneſs over Pharaoh's camp, to prevent his perceiving what was doing in that of the Hebrews. Whilſt theſe were paſſing through the ſea, the ſacred hiſtorian tells us, that the

The red-ſea is divided.

waves

waves arose in heaps and stood as a wall on each side of them (P). By this time the Egyptians, perceiving that the Israelites were

(P) Though it were needless, as well as endless, to trouble our readers with an enquiry into all the particulars, with which the generality of commentators have amused themselves, with respect to this wonderful passage, concerning which Moses has left us wholly in the dark; it will not be amiss, we hope, to make a short enquiry into the main and most material point, namely, whether it was really miraculous or not; that is, whether the sea was really divided by a supernatural power or whether Moses and his host did only coast some part of it, or at best cross only a small nook at low water, and timed it so well, that Pharaoh, endeavouring to do the like, perished in the attempt. This is so far from being a new question, that Artaphanes, an ancient writer (54), assures us, that both these opinions were held by the Egyptian priests; that is, the former by those of Heliopolis, and the latter by those of Memphis. The last of these has been also followed by many eminent men, both Jews and Christians (55), who, without denying the main part of this transaction to be miraculous, have fallen into the notion of the Israelites not passing through the sea, but only coasting it along, and making as it were a semicircle round the sea-shore at low ebb; or crossing it only at one narrow point, whilst the sea was gone off, only to extricate themselves from some difficulties which appeared to them insurmountable; but which we shall forbear inserting here, because they would lead us too far, and swell this note to an unreasonable bulk. We shall therefore content ourselves with observing, that such an opinion cannot be maintained without a manifest deviation, 1st, from the express words of Moses, and several other places of holy writ, where this transaction is mentioned: 2. from reason and experience, founded upon the knowledge we have of the ebbing and flowing of the red-sea and the impossibility of such a numerous host's performing such a coasting, or crossing, in so little a time as that admits of: 3. from the known character of Moses as a bare historian, and from some concurring testimonies of antiquity to his account: and lastly, from the far greater majority of authors of all religions and ages, who have all along maintained, and some of them proved, the contrary opinion. As to the first, nothing

(54) Ap Euseb. l. iv. c. 27. (55) Abenez, & al. Rabbin. ap. Fagium. Gregor. Turon. hist. l. i. c. 10. T. Aquin. in 1 Cor. i. Tostat. qu in Exod. xiv. Ch. xix. Lud. Burgens in loc. Genebr. in chronic, ad ann. 2239. Grot. in ver. 19. Exod. xiv. Vatabl. in loc. Le Clerc. Dissert. de traject. Mar. Idum. & al. mult.

were marching off, and that the cloud which conducted them

is plainer, than that the whole tenor of Moſes's account is point blank contrary to ſuch a notion. We need not mention but ſome few paſſages of it; ſuch as, *that upon his ſtretching out his rod, by God's command, over the waters, a mighty wind aroſe and divided them; that they ſtood upon heaps, and were as a wall on the right and left; that the bottom of the ſea was dried up and that the Iſraelites marched through it as on dry land, and the like (56). That God divided the red-ſea into parts, or diviſions, and made Iſrael paſs through the midſt of it. That he led them by the right hand of Moſes, dividing the waters before them, to make himſelf an everlaſting name; and that he led them through the deep as an horſe in the wilderneſs.* That *he did walk, or rather cauſed Iſrael to walk, through the ſea (57)*; and many more of the like nature, to ſay nothing of the apocryphal books, which abound with the ſame expreſſions. If it be objected, that the laſt quoted paſſages out of the pſalms and prophets are poetical, and conſequently not to be taken in their literal ſenſe, all that can be inferred from thence is, that they convey to us loftier ideas of this wonderful event, than Moſes, whoſe ſtyle is far from being ſwoln, has done in his account of it; but it would be unreaſonable to ſay, that they were only deſigned to expreſs a tranſaction ſo purely natural and eaſy, as the other ſide ſuppoſes it to have been. Upon the whole, the ſcripture repreſenting this action, with all its circumſtances, as altogether miraculous, men muſt either reject their authority, or elſe allow, that this paſſage was more than a bare coaſting along ſome part of the ſea, or croſſing it at ſome narrow nook, when the waters were retired.

Whether Joſephus deſigned to leſſen the miracle, or to make it appear more credible, when he tells us (58), that the Pamphilian ſea did open a way to Alexander in his expedition againſt the Perſians, is not very material; for though we ſhould grant that to be the right meaning of his words, and that he might have met with that account in ſome book then extant; or even that Q. Curtius intimates ſomething like it, when he ſays (59), that that conqueror had opened a new way by the ſea; yet Strabo will ſoon ſet us right, who tells us, 'that there is a hill upon the 'Pamphilian ſea, called Clymax, by which there is a paſſage 'along the ſea-ſhore; the waters of it ſo abating, when the ſea is 'calm and ſtill, that the ground is left naked, which at the flow-'ing of the waters is covered again; and that Alexander, coming that

(65) Exod. xiv, & xv. paſſ. Num. Deuteron, &c. (57) Pſ. cxxxvi. 13, 14. & alib. Iſa. lxiii. 12, 13. Habak iii. 15. (58) Ant. l. ii. c. 16. (59) Lib. v.

them was removed towards the ſea, reſolved upon a cloſe purſuit

'that way ſet forward before the waters returned; but that, it 'happening then to be winter, the waters recoiling before he 'had paſt it, he was forced to wade all that day through the 'waters up to his middle (60).' 'Tis plain therefore, that there is no parity between the paſſage of the Iſraelites and the coaſting of Alexander, whatever the Jewiſh hiſtorian's deſign might be in mentioning them together.

We come now 2dly, to ſhow, that the notion of Moſes leading them along the ſea-ſhore, or through a narrow point, is contrary to reaſon and experience. And here we do readily grant, that the red-ſea doth ebb and flow like other ſeas that have a communication with the ocean; that is, that the waters of it riſe towards the ſhore during ſix hours, after having continued about one quarter of an hour at high water, they ebb down again during another ſix hours. Thoſe who have examined it with the greateſt exactneſs, do likewiſe aſſure us, that the greateſt diſtance that it falls from the place of high water, is about three hundred yards, and that during the time of low water one may ſafely travel it (61), as ſome have actually done (62). We purpoſely omit ſeveral other minute circumſtances urged on both ſides of this queſtion, to avoid prolixity. But from what is here premiſed, and allowed on all hands, it is evident, that theſe three hundred paces, which the ſea leaves uncovered, during the time of low water, can continue ſo but during the ſpace of half an hour at moſt; for during the firſt ſix hours the ſea doth only retire by degrees, and in leſs than half an hour it begins again to flow towards the ſhore. The moſt therefore that can be allowed both of time, and ſpace of paſſable ground, in a moderate computation is about two hundred paces during ſix hours, or one hundred and fifty paces during eight hours. Now it is plain, that a multitude coaſting at leaſt of upwards of two millions and a half of men, women, children, and ſlaves, as we have proved before †, encumbered beſides with great quantities of cattle, houſhold-ſtuff, and the ſpoils of the Egyptians, could never perform ſuch a march within ſo ſhort, we may ſay, within even double that, ſpace, though we ſhould allow them alſo double the breadth of ground to do it on. This argument will hold equally good againſt thoſe who ſuppoſe that they only coaſted along ſome part of the ſea, and thoſe who maintain that they croſſed that ſmall arm or point of it, which is towards the further end near the point of Suez, ſeeing that ſix or eight hours could not

(60) Strab. lib. xiv. vid. Villet. in Exod. xiv. qu. 17 (61) Bernier. Morizon. & al. (62) Theven. chap. 25. † Vid. ſupr. p. 509.

purſuit after them; not conſidering, or perhaps dreaming, that

not have ſufficed for the paſſage of ſo immenſe a multitude, allow them what breadth of room you will; much leſs for Pharaoh to have entered it with his whole hoſt.

It will not be amiſs here to obſerve, not only how improbable it is, that none of the Egyptians ſhould know any thing of the ebbing and flowing of the ſea; but how abſurd is it to ſuppoſe, that they ſhould all obſtinately perſiſt in purſuing the Iſraelites through it, when they ſaw it gradually returning upon them, till they were all ſwallowed up by it. Beſides, who can ſuppoſe, that the Iſraelites venturing into the ſea was a premeditated thing? or even that Moſes could entertain the leaſt ſuſpicion, that the Egyptians would be ſo ſoon at their heels, they who had been ſo lately and ſo ſeverely plagued for detaining them, and were ſo urgent for their departure? Sure it is, that, if he had any ſuch thought, he acted moſt impoliticly, in bringing them into a place, where they were hemmed in by the ſea on one hand, and the mountains on the other; ſeeing, had Pharaoh, upon his arrival at Pi-hahiroth, immediately fallen upon them, as it was natural to expect, they muſt have been obliged to flounce into the ſea long before the tide had opened a paſſage to them, if not at the very time of high water, in which caſe they muſt have been all either drowned, or cut to pieces.

And this brings us to our third obſervation, that ſuch a notion is repugnant to the known character of Moſes, even as a bare hiſtorian; and that it calls in queſtion, not only his avowed modeſty and veracity, but even his ſenſe, learning, and experience. For on the one hand, who can imagine, the maintainers of it can give any credit to his relation, when he tells them, that God alone, who knew what paſt in Egypt, did unexpectedly make them take this new rout? When he deſcribes his own ſurpriſe and the people's conſternation at the ſight of the Egyptian army? When he aſſures them, that God did interpoſe his miraculous power on their behalf, and in a word, that he divided the ſea to make a free paſſage for them, and to overwhelm their enemies? What notion muſt they have of his ſincerity, when he makes all Iſrael reſound the praiſes of God, as the author of a deliverance which was entirely owing to his cunning and policy. On the other hand, what muſt they think of his conduct and experience, that could be guilty of ſuch an overſight, as leading them into the very mouth of the extreameſt danger, and ſo weak as to betray it, though cloaked with the pretence of a miraculous power and direction? We ſhall only add, that he muſt have been the moſt imprudent, and withal the moſt conceited, man alive, that could take it into his head, to make

ſuch

that they were launching into another element; much leſs could

ſuch a vaſt, and not over credulous, multitude believe, that their paſſage was altogether as miraculous as he affirms it to have been, when they could not but be well aſſured of the contrary; much leſs appoint a ſolemn feſtival of ſeven days, and enjoin it to be obſerved by them and their poſterity to all future ages, in memory of their pretended miraculous paſſing through the ſea; when the experience of a much ſhorter time, than they continued along the coaſt, could eaſily have convinced them, that there was nothing in it but what was natural, and what happened every day. Theſe abſurd conſequences, which naturally flow from that opinion, are ſo evident, that the ſyſtem itſelf has been ſo fully confuted long ago by the learned Diodorus Tarſenſis, Chryſoſtom's maſter, that he hath met with few more advocates, than theſe we have mentioned in the margin. And even among theſe, we have already obſerved, that the greateſt part, eſpecially Grotius and Le Clerc, do acknowledge ſtill, that a divine power interpoſed itſelf in raiſing and continuing that mighty wind, and cauſing thereby the waters to retire much further than uſual, and to recoil with greater force upon the Egyptians.

We obſerved further on this head, that this opinion was contrary to ſeveral concurring teſtimonies of antiquity. We have already mentioned that of Joſephus, and of the Heliopolites, who acknowledge their miraculouſneſs of this tranſaction, and whoſe authority ought to be of greater weight than that of the Memphites, becauſe ſuch an acknowledgment of the divine interpoſing power can be aſcribed to nothing but the force of truth, and notoriety of the fact, whatever motives their brethren of Memphis might have to diſown it. We ſhall content ourſelves with juſt mentioning one more. Diodorus Siculus (63) tells us, that the Ichtyophagi, who inhabited along the coaſts of the red-ſea, towards the further end of it, had a conſtant tradition, that that ſea had formerly been divided by a ſtrong wind; and that the waves being parted into two heaps, the bottom, which was left naked, had appeared full of verdure. This can hardly be applicable to any thing but to this tranſaction we are upon.

Having by this time dwelt ſo long upon theſe three heads, we hope the reader will eaſily excuſe us from enlarging on the laſt, by multiplying authorities on our ſide of the queſtion, ſeeing what has been alledged againſt the other is ſo full and ſtrong, that were the majority as much on their ſide, as it is on ours, yet would it not outweigh the arguments that have been brought to confute it.

We

(63) Lib. iii. c. 3.

could they ſuppoſe, that it would prove as fatal to them, as it was friendly to thoſe whom they ſo eagerly followed after. For it doth not appear by the text, that the Egyptians were ſenſible, that they were entering into the ſea, and it is more than probable, that they were too eager after their purſuit, and had too little light to perceive the danger they were running into, unleſs we will ſuppoſe with the Jewiſh hiſtorian, [w] that, becauſe they ſaw the Iſraelites march

[w] Jos. Ant. lib. 2. c. 16.

We ſhall only add that among thoſe, who acknowledge a divine power to have interpoſed in this ſignal tranſaction, ſome have endeavoured to reduce this miracle into a very narrow compaſs, whilſt others, ſetting no bounds to their zeal, have multiplied it even beyond all meaſure.

Of the former ſort are thoſe who have attributed the dividing of the ſea, and the ſtanding up of the waves, to a vehement cold wind, which froze them as faſt as it blew them up; after which a warmer one, being ſuffered to riſe, did both thaw and blow them into their former ſtation. Of this ſentiment were, 1. the ſeventy interpreters, who tranſlated the words of Moſes's ſong (64) יוּקְלְאוּ נְקְפָאִי, *the waters were frozen*, &c. or, as our verſion words it, *were congealed*. 2. The Chaldee paraphraſt. 3. The author of the book of Judith (65). 4. Some of the verſions of the Septuagint; and laſtly, among the many moderns, father Martianay, in a ſpecimen he has given us of ſome curious diſcoveries which he had made in the ſacred text, mentions this as one of them, that the waters of the red-ſea were frozen. A Jewiſh Rabbi has fancied, that the ſea was not divided but frozen hard enough for the Iſraelites to go over it, though it thawed under their purſuers (66). On the other hand, Origen, to magnify this great miracle, has preſerved us an antient tradition among the Jews, which affirms, that God opened the ſea in twelve different columns, that every tribe might paſs ſeparately; in which he has been followed by ſeveral antient and modern writers. This tradition ſeems to have been founded upon that verſe of the pſalm (67), which ſays, *that God divided the ſea into parts*, or diviſions; but don't think ſuch wild notions worth confuting, any more than that of Sadulius, who goes ſo far as to think, that God did even overturn the rocks, and root up the plants that grew in the bottom of the ſea, leſt they ſhould obſtruct the quick paſſage of the Iſraelites.

(64) Exod. xv. 8. (65) Judith. v. 13. (66) R. Sam. Maroc. lib. de Advent. Meſſiæ. c. 15. (67) Pſal. cxxxvi. 13.

march safely through the sea, they vainly hoped they might do so too, and were not undeceived till it was too late. However that were, 'tis plain, that their insolent conduct, after so many warnings, did justly deserve the punishment they were shortly to undergo; for by the next morning watch, that is, by break of day, which is about four in the morning with us, God, looking upon them through the pillar of fire, soon let them feel, that such a miraculous way was not opened in their favour, but for their destruction. They began to find their chariots go more and more heavily, and had so many indications of God's fighting against them, as made them resolve upon turning about, and fleeing from those whom they so eagerly pursued. But all their haste could not save them, God commanded Moses to stretch again his rod over the sea, and he had no sooner obeyed, but the waves, which had been till then miraculously suspended, fell in again by their own weight, and overwhelmed Pharaoh and his host, so that not one of them escaped from the common ruin; whilst the Israelites, beholding, with wonder and amazement, the carcases and the rich spoils of their enemies thrown upon the sea-shore, began, at least seemingly, to fear the Lord, and to believe his servant Moses.

They are all drowned.

We took notice in a former note, that the exact situation of the places, from which the Israelites set out at their entering into the sea, and at which they came out are so much unknown to us, that it is next to impossible to describe their rout with any tolerable certainty *. For should we so far depend upon Eusebius, as to believe Baalzephon to have been Clysma, and that the antient tradition were true, and that it was at this latter that they passed the sea; yet the generality of geographers differ so much in their placing it, that we are still to seek for the side on which it stood, whether on the north, on the east, or south, or west shore of the Arabic gulph †. For which reason we hope, the reader will excuse us from giving into uncertain conjectures. Those who can give credit to the report of several grave travellers

The place where they crossed the red sea uncertain

[x] Exod. xiv. per tot.

* Vid. sup. p. 579. not. (O).

† Compare Euseb. loc. Hæbr. Athanas. Hist. Arrianor. tom. i. p. 385. Philostorg. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 3. c. 6. Cosmas, lib. 5. p. 194. Tabul. Putinger. Itiner. Antonin. Thevenot's Voyages, part 2. c. 33. and others.

travellers, * who affirm from their own knowledge, that the ruts of the chariot-wheels are ſtill miraculouſly preſerved, not only upon the ſand, but even as far into the ſea as the eye can ſee through it; notwithſtanding all endeavours to deface them, which they attribute to a petrifying quality in the waters of the ſea; theſe, I ſay, need not be at a loſs where to ſet the boundaries of that paſſage. As for us, we are contented with having proved in the laſt note, that they paſſed it ſome-where, without troubling ourſelves with what is of leſs moment, and can never be known with any probability. We return to the Iſraelites, whom we left rejoycing and praiſing God for their happy eſcape.

Moſes's ſong for this deliverance.

However, Moſes knew them too well to hope, that this religious fit would laſt longer than every thing went to their liking. He therefore took hold of this happy diſpoſition he obſerved in them, to celebrate this miraculous victory and to inſpire them with the deepeſt ſentiments of gratitude to their almighty deliverer. To this end he compoſed a hymn, in which he extols the greatneſs of God's power diſplayed in this ſignal victory, and his amazing mercy towards his people. And having divided the Iſraelites into two great choirs, he placed himſelf and his brother Aaron at the head of the men, and his ſiſter Miriam at the head of the women, and whilſt the former did ſing the canticle, the women anſwered alternately to each verſe, with repeating the firſt words of it, *I will ſing to the Lord, for he has greatly triumphed, and has overthrown the horſe and its rider into the ſea.* Their muſick was likewiſe accompanied with dances, and the ſound of ſuch inſtruments as they had brought with them from Egypt. Thus was the ſeven days feſtival, which had been ordained in memory of this ſignal deliverance, joyfully concluded, and the firſt and laſt day of it, which were to be obſerved with more than uſual ſolemnity, ſignalized, the one by the death of the Egyptian firſt-born, and the laſt by their miraculous paſſage through the red-ſea, and the total overthrow of Pharaoh and his hoſt.

And now the Iſraelites began to think themſelves freed indeed, and on the eve of their complete happineſs; a few days march would eaſily bring them into the borders of the promiſed land, and the conqueſt of it could not but appear eaſy to them, who had God for their protector, and Moſes for their guide. And indeed had the latter had no other

* Paul Oros. Greg. Turon. & al. ap. Calm. Differt. in loc,

other difficulties to ſurmount, than the ruggedneſs of the way, and the irreconcileable hatred, and vigorous oppoſition of thoſe warlike nations that inhabited it, Canaan would ſoon have been in their poſſeſſion. But their ſtubborn and ungrateful temper, their continual murmurings and rebellions againſt their heaven-appointed chief, joined to an invincible fondneſs for idolatry and ſuperſtition, proved not only a conſtant obſtacle to their hopes, but an endleſs ſource of misfortunes to them, and of grief and vexation to their leader, though otherwiſe famed above all men for his meek and gentle diſpoſition. It was not long before they began to give freſh marks of their untractableneſs. They had ſcarce travelled three days from the red-ſea into the wilderneſs of Shur, before their exceſſive thirſt and want of water put them out of all patience: inſomuch that, when they came to diſcover thoſe of Marah, and found them too bitter to drink, inſtead of having recourſe to God by prayer, they filled the air with their complaints againſt him and his ſervant Moſes, who, fearing the ill conſequence of this murmuring, addreſſed himſelf to him in the humbleſt manner, and was directed to a tree, which, whether by any intrinſic virtue, or by a new miracle, did ſweeten the waters as ſoon as he had caſt it in. The people indeed ceaſed to murmur as ſoon as they had quenched their thirſt; but as this was neither a ſatisfaction for their late riot, nor a ſecurity againſt future relapſes, God was pleaſed to make a further tryal of their future obedience, by giving them here ſome new ſtatutes, and to add a promiſe, that, if they obſerved them with an upright mind, inſtead of thoſe plagues which he had inflicted on the Egyptians, he would ſhower down continual bleſſings upon them. In memory of the bitter waters the place was called Marah; from which they went and encamped at Elim, where they found twelve fountains of water and ſeventy palm-trees, and there continued about three weeks; that is, from the twenty ſecond day of the firſt month, on which they came thither from Marah, to the fourteenth of the ſecond month, on which they decamped from it [y].

The Iſraelites murmur for want of water.

FROM Elim the whole camp marched towards the wilderneſs of Sin: by which rout they removed ſtill farther from the frontiers of the promiſed land; but as they were directed by the miraculous pillar, they were forced to follow whitherſoever that went. Here, their proviſions becoming

A new murmur for want of proviſion.

[y] Exod. xv. per tot.

coming exceeding scarce, they began to murmur more violently than ever, repenting from their hearts, that they had suffered themselves to be decoyed from the flesh-pots and plenty of provision, which they enjoyed in the land of Egypt, into a barren wilderness, where they could expect nothing but to die with hunger. This tumultuous carriage had something monstrously ungrateful, because it was levelled at God himself, whose directive column they had followed into that desart place. Nevertheless he was pleased to pass it by, and to give them fresh assurances of his favour, by promising to rain down bread from heaven upon them; and in order to make a further tryal of their obedience, he commanded them to go and gather a certain rate every morning, and on the sixth, to provide double that quantity, because they were not to expect any to fall on the seventh, which was afterwards to be kept holy. Aaron, in communicating this message to the people, failed not to give them a severe reprimand for their murmurings, which, he told them, did cast the greatest reflection upon God, seeing it was he, and not Moses, who had brought them out of Egypt. He had scarce made an end of speaking, when the people, looking towards the wilderness, beheld the glory of God displayed out of the cloud, from which God confirmed again what Aaron had promised to the people, assuring them, that they should that very evening be satisfied with plenty of flesh, and on the next morning they should find that heavenly bread which he had promised to send them.

Manna promised.

Quails promised.

And sent in abundance.

If this glorious sight gave weight to Moses's words, much more did the event add to it, when they saw them verified on that very evening by whole clouds of quails, which came pouring down upon them out of Egypt, and alighted in such quantities, that they quite covered their camp (Q); and by the manna, which rained down round about them, by the

(Q) It must be remembered here, that this was about the middle of April, which is the time in which that bird is observed to cross the red-sea in vast quantities; the same is also observed to this very day by those who frequent those parts, and incredible multitudes are caught there about this time. The miracle therefore consists not so much in the prodigious number that fell into Israel's camp, as in the directing them thither, and on that very evening, according to God's promise, and Moses's prediction. The same may be said also if we render the Hebrew, שלו, Shelaw, locust, as the learned Ludolph has done, who in his treatise of locusts, at the end of his appendix to his description of Abissinia,

the very next morning. This laſt did not indeed fall cloſe to the camp, but at ſome diſtance from it towards the wilderneſs. By break of day therefore, the Iſraelites followed Moſes towards the place, where he ſhewed them a kind of white dew, like unto a ſmall hoary froſt, which covered the whole face of the earth, and told them, that this was the bread which God had promiſed to feed them with during their abode there; commanding them to gather an Homer for every head, which is about five pints, or forty three eggs †. The people no ſooner ſaw this new bread, but they cried one to another, what is this, and whence cometh it? for they were ſurprized at the ſtrangeneſs of it; and from thence they gave it the name of Man, or Manna (R); they

Manna falls at ſome diſtance from the camp.

† Le Scene, eſſay on a new tranſlat. vol. i. p. 475. R. Salom. Abyſſinia, has offered ſome probable arguments, that theſe were ſuch, and not quails; and affirms them not only to be in great plenty, both in theſe parts, and all over Africa. but likewiſe to be eſteemed a delicious food. We own indeed, that the word is, even by the confeſſion of the Jews, of very uncertain ſignification and may as well ſignify a locuſt as a quail; but what inclines us to prefer the latter ſenſe is, that the pſalmiſt, † ſpeaking of them, calls them עוף כנף, Hoph canaph, winged, or feathered fowl, which, we apprehend, is not ſo applicable to theſe inſects, any more than the words שאר. Sheer, fleſh, and צדה Tzedah, which ſignifies all ſorts of veniſon, as well of fowl as of beaſts, which he makes uſe of there.

(R) We have ventured to depart from our own and ſeveral other verſions, which make the Iſraelites call this new food Manna, becauſe they knew not what it was; for though commentators have taken a great deal of pains to puzzle the text by their various etymologies of that word, yet that of the ſeptuagint, which renders it τί τοῦτο ἐϛι what is this? ſeems to come nearer to the Hebrew, and to be moſt agreeable to the text. and is likewiſe followed by Joſephus, and a great number of others (68) מן הוא, Man hu, in the original ſignifying what or whence is this? Not ſo eaſy is it to know the meaning of the word גד Gad, which we tranſlate coriander-ſeed. though according to the literal ſenſe of the original, it ſhould be rendered, and it was *white as the ſeed of Gad*, whereas coriander is of a brown colour. Some Jews therefore tranſlate it muſtard-ſeed, becauſe one ſort of it is whitiſh (69), and Abenezra frankly owns, that he knows

† Pſal. lxxviii. 25. & ſeq. (68) Jos. Rabin. fere omn. St, Jerom. Fag. Mercer. Piſcat. Grotius, Druſius, le Scen. & al. (69) Vid. Munſt in loc.

they were however so eager for it, that they gathered it at random, without stinting themselves to the quantity which Moses had prescribed, but when every one came to measure what he had gathered, they found to their no small astonishment, that they were to carry home but one Homer for every head; whether it were, that they were to gather it in heaps, and divide it afterwards at an equal rate, or that providence ordered it so, that the most greedy should have his quantity miraculously lessened, whilst the more moderate had theirs increased; or, which is more likely, that Moses made those that had gathered more than their measure, to refund the overplus to those who had gathered less; that so the same proportion might fall to every man's share.

As soon as they were got into their tents, they went about grinding it according to Moses's direction, some with mills, others in mortars, and made themselves a sort of cakes, whose taste resembled that of wafers made with honey, or with fresh oyl, as it is said in another place[a]; from that they came to other ways of dressing it, by frying, stewing, boiling, and the like. As for that which remained ungathered upon the ground, the heat of the sun did immediately dissolve it. In the mean time, Moses, who had given them express charge not to leave any till the next morning, had the mortification to hear that some of the people, whether out of curiosity or precaution, had ventured to save some of it, and had found it stinking and crawling with worms. He failed not to reprove them for it, and to advise them to be more careful of his directions for the future, seeing they did but provoke their heavenly benefactor by their disobedience; but their stubbornness was not to be cured by threatenings, and it was not many days before they made him sensible of it. The sixth day being come, they went according to order to gather a double quantity, to serve them for that day and the next, on which

Some is kept till next day and stinks.

A double quantity gathered against the sabbath.

[a] Numb. xi 8.

knows not what seed it is (70); but since it is said in another place, that it was of the colour of Bdellium (71), which the learned Bochart and others have shown to signify a kind of pearl, we may easily suppose, that the word Gad doth not signify coriander, but some other small white seed, and that the manna, shining like unto hoary frost, did very much resemble a small pearl.

(70) Abenez. ibid. (71) Vid. Munst. Boch. & al.

which he had told them there would be none to be found, because it was to be a day of Sabbath, or of reſt unto them. But they, as if they had given themſelves up to miſtruſt every word that came out of his mouth, could not be contented till they had gone into the wilderneſs, and ſatisfied themſelves of the truth of it. This forced a freſh reprimand from him, in which, after ſome expoſtulations, he expreſly forbad them to go out of the camp, during the whole ſeventh day. For a memorial of this miraculous bread (S), Moſes was ordered to preſerve a Homer full in a veſſel, to be afterwards depoſited in the ark of the covenant, and to be preſerved in it as a witneſs to future ages, and Aaron went and executed his command [b].

It

[b] Exod. xiv.

(S) We have ventured to give it that epithet, not that we believe, with the author of the book of wiſdom (72), that it was prepared without labour, ſince they were forced to pound and dreſs it; or that it was capable of ſatisfying every ſtomach, by ſuiting itſelf to every particular taſte, ſince, had that been the caſe, the Iſraelites could never have come to loath it, as they afterwards did (73); much leſs do we attribute all thoſe wonderful qualities to it that the Jews do: but we think it was miraculous upon the following accounts; 1ſt, becauſe it fell but ſix days in the week; 2. that it fell in ſuch prodigious quantity, as ſufficed near three milions of ſouls; 3. that there fell a double quantity every friday to ſerve them for the next day; 4. what was gathered on the firſt five days ſtank and bred worms, if kept above one day, and that which was gathered on friday laſted two days; laſtly, it continued falling whilſt the Iſraelites continued in the wilderneſs, and ceaſed as ſoon as they came out of it, and had eaten of the corn of the land of Canaan (74). Abenezra indeed ſays, that Man was an Arabic word, and that he had ſeen in the kingdom of אלבעיר, whatever kingdom that be, ſomething very like manna, that fell only during two ſummer months, of the year; but, as he adds, that it is rather fit for phyſic than for food, it is plain, it muſt be that which we know by the name of manna, which is a kind of honey condenſed, and is to be ſeen to this day in the deſart of Arabia, during the heat of the ſummer, and is gathered in great quantities off the trees, rocks, graſs, and even the ſand: but it is plain, by what we obſerved of this miraculous ſort that this has nothing common with it but the name.

(72) Wiſd. xvii. 20. (73) Numb. xi. 6. (74) Joſh. v. 12.

It is not eaſy to conceive, how a nation, that had ſo long and ſo often experienced the miracluous care and goodneſs of God, could ever fall into freſh murmuring and diſobedience; and yet they had no ſooner left this deſart of Sin, and advanced a few days journey towards mount Horeb; but, when they came to Rephidim, and found the place deſtitute of water, they began to fill the air with their complaints, and ſurrounding the tents of Moſes and Aaron, aſked them in a tumultuous and threatening manner, where they muſt have waters to quench their thirſt? Moſes ſtrove in vain to quell their fury, and to perſuade them to wait God's leiſure; his words did but inflame them the more, till at length, obſerving them to be grown deſperate and ready to ſtone him, he had recourſe to God, who was ſoon pleaſed to diſſipate his fears, by promiſing to ſignalize this place with as miraculous a water, as he had the laſt with a miraculous food. He commanded him to gather the elders of Iſrael and all the people, and take them to mount Horeb, and aſſured him, that upon ſmiting the rock with his miraculous rod, the waters would immediately guſh out of it in ſuch plentiful ſtreams, as would be more than ſufficient to allay their thirſt. Moſes obeyed, and God vouchſafed to perform his promiſe, and to ſend them plenty of water (T); and in memory of

A new murmuring for want of water.

(T) St. Paul, ſpeaking of this miraculuous rock, which he applies to Chriſt, ſays, that it followed them (75); from which ſome will have it, that it accompanied them, and ſerved them upon all neceſſary occaſions, to the very end of their wandering (76); and that either the waters, which guſhed out of it, formed themſelves into a kind of river, which followed them through all their encampments (77), or that they carried the rock in a cart where-ever they went, and that it continued flowing with water (78). Some even affirm, that it keeps running to this day, and waters all that valley which was dry before (79); but had any of theſe been the caſe, there would have been no need of ſmiting the rock in another place, as Moſes did for the ſame purpoſe (80), for we ſhall ſhew by and by, that this was a quite different action; nor of digging wells for

(75) 1 Cor. x. 4. (76) Calm. com. in loc. Berruy, & al. (77) Ita Rabbin. mult. (78) Cantacuzen in ſap. cap. 11. & Rabbin. aliquot. (79) Toſtat. qu. 3. ap. Villet. cap. 17 qu. 10. (80) Numb. xx. 11.

of this new murmuring, and of the people's queſtioning whether God was really among them or not, the place was called Maſſah, (tempting) and Meribah, (contention.) They flow from a miraculous rock.

ABOUT

for water ſoon after this laſt miracle, as we find they did (81). There was therefore no neceſſity of fetching a parallel from the king of Perſia, of whom Ælian ſays, that the river Choaſpis did always follow him (82), becauſe he always carried ſome of its water with him; in order to give a more favourable ſenſe to the apoſtle's words, by ſuppoſing that the Iſraelites did the ſame by thoſe of the rock. St. Paul here ſpeaks of a ſpiritual rock, and the two inſtances we have juſt now mentioned, will not permit us to ſuppoſe, that they were always ſupplied by the natural one.

However, ſeeing the two actions of ſmiting the rock have been confounded by the ſeveral commentators, it will not be amiſs to ſhew the contrary, now we are upon the ſubject. Now that Moſes ſmote the rock two different times, and in two different places, is plain; 1ſt, becauſe the firſt happened at Rephidim, in their eleventh ſtation, and the ſecond in the deſert of Sin in the thirty third ſtation: 2. The one happened in the firſt year after the Exod, and the other in the fortieth; for in the very next ſtation Aaron died, in the fifth month of the fortieth year (83). In the firſt, the rock was ſmitten with the rod with which Moſes wrought his wonders in Egypt, and in the laſt with the rod of Aaron, that had budded, and had been laid up before the Lord in the ark, from whence Moſes is ſaid to have taken it (84). Laſtly, the firſt happened before the extruction of the tabernacle, and the laſt after it; for it is ſaid, that upon the people's murmuring for want of water, Moſes and Aaron went to the door of the tabernacle, and fell upon their faces there at the ſight of the glory of God (85). We might add, that the firſt was performed without any diffidence, anger, or indecent words; whereas in the laſt, Moſes ſmote the rock twice, and ſpoke ſome unbecoming words, which ſo diſpleaſed God, that he condemned him to die in the wilderneſs, without ſetting his foot into the land of Canaan. From all which it appears, that theſe were two different actions, performed at great diſtance of time and place (86).

(81) Ibid. xxi. 16. & ſeq. (82) Ælian. Hiſt. var. lib. xxii. c. 40. vid. Calm. Hiſt. V. T. in loc. (83) Conf. Exod. xvii. 1. ſeq. & Numb. xxxiii. 14, 36, & 38. (84) Numb. xx. 9. & ſeq. (85) Ibid. ver. 4. & ſeq. (86) Ibid ver. 11. 12. Vid. Simler. Jun. Villet. & al. in loc.

About this time, the Israelites being attacked by the Amalekites, Moses was forced to depute his servant Joshua, with a sufficient force to make head against them, whilst himself went to the mount to intreat God for his success. Accordingly, on the next morning he went up with his brother Aaron and Hur, to a neighbouring hill, whence they could have a full view of the field of battle, and held up his hands in prayer, whilst Joshua was fighting with the Amalekites. He held up likewise his own miraculous rod, in his hand, and God was pleased to shew a singular regard to his intercession. For whilst he held his hands up Joshua prevailed, but when he let them down to rest them, Amalek got the advantage. At length, when he found them grow so heavy that he could hold them up no longer, Aaron and Hur were forced to set him upon a stone, and to stay them up on each side, till the going down of the sun. The consequence was, that Israel gained the victory, and Amalek was discomfited, as we have seen in a former chapter †. This Hur is thought to have been of the tribe of Judah, and the son of Caleb the son of Efron, different from Caleb the son of Jephunneh; and so to have been the grandfather of Bezaleel, so famed for his fine workmanship in the tabernacle and other utensils for the service of God, Josephus thinks, that Hur had married Miriam Moses's sister [c], others think, that he was her son; but the generality of antient fathers think that she died unmarried [d]. As for Joshua, he became famous from this time for his valour and conduct, and for his zeal to God and his people; upon all which accounts Moses made choice of him for his successor, to lead the Israelites into the promised land. In the mean time, Moses was ordered to record this signal victory, and to vow a lasting war against the Amalekites, till their very remembrance was quitte blotted out. He also reared up an altar unto God, and called it Jehovah Nissi, (the Lord is my banner) to intimate, that God who had made them denounce this war against Amalek, would not fail to crown it with success (V) [e].

Amalek discomfited.

† Vid. supr. p. 176.

[c] Ant lib. iii. c. 2.

[d] Nissen. de virginitat. c. 6. Ambr. exhort. ad virgin. & al.

[e] Exod. xvii. per. tot.

(V) We have seen in this history of Amalek †, that he was descended from Eliphas, Esau's first-born; as his descendants therefore

† Vid. supr. p. 171.

THE defeat of Amalek opened a way to the Iſraelites to mount Sinai, where their abode proved not only the longeſt, but the moſt famous, of any other by the wonderful promulgation of the law, and the appointment of the principal ceremonies which they were afterwards to obſerve.

therefore were nearly allyed to the Iſraelites, it was inhuman in them to fall upon them, when they ſaw them reduced, to ſo low a condition through the fatigue of their march, the vaſt heat of the ſeaſon, and the exceſſive drought they laboured under, eſpecially ſince it doth not appear, that they had begun any hoſtilities againſt them. But though they did richly deſerve the defeat which Joſhua gave them for the barbarity, yet as for the anathema, which God himſelf pronounced againſt them immediately after it, it ſeems to have been for ſome other crime, which carried in it a greater degree of guilt, and is ſuppoſed to have been an innate hatred againſt the Iſraelites, from the remembrance of Jacob's depriving their progenitor both of his birth-right and bleſſing, and therefore did not ſcruple to take this advantage of them, when they found them thus haraſſed, to hinder thereby the taking poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, for the conqueſt of which they thought them now in full march. Joſephus indeed (87) ſeems to attribute this action of theirs to a fear of being driven out of their country by the Iſraelites; but beſides that it is not likely, they ſhould be ignorant of the land of Canaan being promiſed to the ſons of Jacob, and conſequently could have nothing to fear upon that account; it is plain, that if that had been the only motive of falling upon them, there could have been nothing ſo criminal in it as to entail ſuch a heavy curſe, and a perpetual war againſt them and their poſterity: whereas, if they did it with a view of preventing their poſſeſſing the promiſed land, and of ſo fruſtrating the deſigns of providence towards them; as the ſame motive was like to laſt as long as they were a nation, ſo there was a neceſſity of entailing that anathema againſt them. And this ſeems implied in the laſt words of this chapter, which Moſes give as a reaſon for vowing this war againſt them, which though ſomewhat obſcure, ſeem to run thus in their literal ſenſe, *becauſe his* (that is, Amalek's) *hand is againſt the throne of God, therefore the Lord will wage war with Amalek from one generation to another*, that is, till he ceaſes to be a nation. We ſhall only add, that this place is ſuppoſed by the Jews, to have been called Rephidim, that is, רפידים, from Raphe, to looſen, and jad, a hand, alluding to the weak condition they were in when the Amalekites fell upon them.

(87) Ant. lib. iii. c. 2.

ſerve. But in the mean while, God who foreſaw what an addition this would be to Moſes's other cares and fatigues, did in good time conduct his hoſpitable father-in-law, with Ziphorah and her two ſons, to the camp of Iſrael, where after their mutual embraces, and ſacrifices offered to the God of Iſrael, Jethro, obſerving with what patience his ſon-in-law ſtood to hear the people's complaints from morning till night, and fearing leſt he ſhould in time ſink under it, gave him that excellent and ſalutary advice of chuſing a competent number of elders, who ſhould help him to bear ſuch a part of the burthen, as would otherwiſe have proved too much for him [f]; an account of which we have already given in the hiſtory of Midian *. Moſes having thus eaſed himſelf of a great load of care, by the appointment he made of thoſe inferior judges, ſome of which he ſet over thouſands, and others over hundreds, and others over tens; and referring only the moſt momentous cauſes to come before him; did ſoon after take leave of his father-in-law (W), and give the ſignal for their march from Rephidim, to the wilderneſs of Sinai. This happened about the beginning of the third month after their departure out of Egypt [g].

Jethro comes to Moſes.

THEY

[f] Ibid. xvii, paſſ. * Vid. ſupr. p. 137. & ſeq.
[e] Vid. ann. Uſſer. in loc. Ribera de Templ. lib v. c. 7. & al.

(W) We have already given our opinion concerning Jethro's departure, and leaving one of his ſons with Moſes, with ſome other particulars relating to this hiſtory †; but though it ſeems by the text, that he left alſo Ziphorah and her two ſons with him; yet, whether it were that Moſes took more care of his people than he did of his children, or that he loved theſe too well to promote them to any ſuch power or grandeur, which himſelf had too long felt the load of; ſure it is, that we hear no more of them from this time than if they had been no more; neither of them, that we can find, having been promoted to any place of honour or profit; and indeed the ſequel of the hiſtory ſhews, that their father was ſo far from aiming at enriching or aggrandiſing his family that he ſeems to have given himſelf up wholly to the ſervice of God and his people.

† Vid. ſupr. p. 137, 138. note (I), (K).

THEY were no ſooner come within ſight of that celebrated mountain, but his next care was to order their encampment ſo, that there might be a conſiderable ſpace left between it and the camp. He knew that this was to be the ſcene of the moſt glorious wonders that ever mankind beheld, and the place from whence thoſe laws were to be delivered to them, with the utmoſt terror and majeſty, which God, who knew the genius of that perverſe people, had calculated for them; and therefore he wiſely fixed their ſituation ſo, as that they might be all eye and ear witneſſes of the divine preſence [h]; and at the ſame time preſcribed ſuch limits to their curioſity, as ſhould ſtrike them with a ſuitable awe and reverence. Whilſt they were pitching their tents according to his directions, Moſes went up to the mountain, and, God, who had called him thither, commanded him to remind the Iſraelites of all the wonders he had wrought in their favour, and to aſſure them, that as he had hitherto bore them as an eagle doth her young on her wings, ſo if they proved obedient to his laws, he would ſtill look upon them as his peculiar people, a favourite nation, and a royal prieſthood. Moſes was not long before he came and called the elders of Iſrael, to whom he repeated all theſe endearing expreſſions, charging them at the ſame time to go and acquaint the people with the gracious meſſage, who no ſooner heard it, but they promiſed all poſſible obedience to God's command. He returned immediately after to the mountain, and was commanded to ſanctify the people, and to prepare them againſt the third day for the glorious ſcene, by making them waſh their cloaths, and abſtain from all nuptial commerce, after which he promiſed to come down, in a conſpicuous manner, and deliver his law in their hearing, with ſuch a glorious and dreadful voice, as ſhould at once convince them both of his divine preſence, and of his being the author of all thoſe laws, which he was afterwards to deliver to them in his name. He likewiſe renewed his charge to him, to ſet ſuch bounds to the people, as ſhould keep them from approaching the mountain under the ſevereſt penalties, and to aſſure them, that if either man or beaſt offered to tranſgreſs them, they ſhould be immediately ſtoned, or ſhot to death. The ſignal, for their coming out to this glorious ſight, was to be when they heard the ſound of the miraculous trumpet: accordingly, on the third day, the

They encamp near Mount Sinai.

[h] Exod. xix. 9.

the people having prepared themselves according to the divine injunction, and being in the utmost expectation for this wonderful sight, they saw by break of day, the mountain surrounded with the thickest cloud, out of which came forth such thunders and lightnings, as filled them with terror and amazement. The sound of the trumpet being heard, Moses brought the people out of their camp towards the mount, as far as the barrier which he had set to them, and there they observed the top of Sinai covered with fire and smoke, whilst the foundations of it seemed to shake under their feet. In the midst of this dreadful scene, the trumpet being heard still louder and stronger, God called to Moses, who immediately went up, and was soon buried in the cloud. Here the divine voice commanded him to return and repeat his charge to the people, that none should presume to transgress their bounds, no not even the priests, who were afterwards to be consecrated to his service, since immediate death was to be the transgressor's portion, let him be who he would. Moses answered, that he had given them such a strict charge, that there was no danger of their transgressing it; but he was ordered to go down immediately, to see that none ventur'd to disobey, and commanded to bring his brother Aaron with him when he came up again. He had no sooner obeyed, and repeated his orders to the people, than the thunders and trumpets ceased, and God was heard from the midst of the fire and smoke, which continued all the while, to pronounce the ten principal laws, which were to be the foundation of all the rest, and which Moses was afterwards order'd to write upon two tables of stone. [i] (X) In the mean

The mountain covered with fire and smoke.

[i] Exod. xix. per tot. c. xx. per tot.

(X) Concerning these ten commandments, which, are so well known that we have forbore inserting them, several questions have been raised, which we shall but just touch upon, they being of such a nature that nothing certain can be concluded about them. The first is, whom they were deliver'd by? whether by an angel deputed by God, who consequently representing the godhead, assumes the name of the Lord God who brought Israel out of bondage? or whether by God himself? and if the latter, whether by God the father, or by Christ himself? Concerning all which we shall only refer our readers to what has been said in another place upon the like occation [†].

The next is, whether in these, or any other of the Mosaical laws, Moses was permitted to imitate those of the Egyptians, as some

[†] Vid. sup. p. 412. note T.

mean time, the people, aſtoniſh'd at what they ſaw and heard, removed

ſome learned men have affirmed (1)? or, as the far greater part do think, the Egyptians have borrow'd theirs from his? And here we need not repeat what has been ſaid upon this head, when we were upon the ſubject of circumciſion *; as to what relates to the ceremonial injunctions, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them by and by. At preſent we ſhall content ourſelves with ſaying, that, admitting them, in ſome caſes, to have borrow'd from each other, and in others to have gone point blank counter to one another, out of a ſpirit of contradiction and antipathy, which is the moſt probable ſuppoſition, it will ſtill follow, that ſuch of the Moſaic laws, as are contrary to the idolatry and ſuperſtition of the Egyptians, ſuch as the ſecond commandment, and a vaſt many more, could be enjoined by God with no other view, than to cure the Iſraelites of thoſe vicious habits and inclinations which they had contracted in Egypt. As to judicial, or even ceremonial laws, tho' we ſhould allow Moſes to have been permitted to have uſed his diſcretion, and to have adopted ſuch as he approved of, ye it will by no means follow, that all that have any reſemblance were firſt received from the Egyptians, ſeeing very many of them are ſo contrary to the main and conſtant deſign of their law-giver, to keep them from intermixing with other nations, that if the Egyptians had been the firſt inventors of them, it would certainly have been more adviſable to have given them ſuch as were quite oppoſite to them.

Waving therefore all theſe fruitleſs diſquiſitions how far the Egyptians, the Greeks, and Romans did frame their laws from thoſe of the Jews, or how far the twelve tables of the Romans were a copy of the decalogue, we ſhall endeavour to render the remaining part of this note ſomewat more uſeful and inſtructive, by rectifying the ſenſe of ſome words in the ſecond commandment, which, for want of having been rightly underſtood, have led ſome into monſtrous errors, and have made others chuſe to reject the authority of holy writ, rather than adopt them. The place we mean is, where God is ſaid *to puniſh the ſins of the fathers upon the children, to the third and fourth generation (2)*; words, which convey ſuch a ſhocking idea of the deity, that, if the original could poſſibly be capable of another ſenſe, it ought by all means, to be preferr'd to this; which is not only contrary to reaſon, and to the whole tenor of ſcripture, but is ſo fully confuted and condemn'd by the prophet Ezekiel (3), and by many other expreſs places

(1) Vid. Spencer de. leg. rit. Hebr. l. iii. diſſert. 1. & ſeq. Marſham. Canon Egypt. S. Secul. 2. Athan. Kircher, Le Clerc, & al. * Vid. ſup. p. 407. note (R). (2) Exod. xx. 5. (3) Ezek. xviii. paſſ.

removed further off, and the divine voice had no sooner ceased

places of scripture. We shall beg leave to mention but one of them, and that out of the same book of Exodus, which being parallel to this, it will follow, that, if this sense we are now confuting be admitted, Moses must have introduced God speaking absurdities and contradictions. The place is, where God vouchsafes to favour Moses with a sight of his glory in the mountain, by a visible descent in the cloud, and proclaiming the name, or rather the attributes of God, in the following terms; (4) *the Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and children's children, unto the third and fourth generation.* For it is manifest, that if the latter words be understood in that sense, that is, if *he punishes the sins of the fathers upon the children*, &c. then the former part can never be true; that he is the Lord God, *merciful, gracious, just, and faithful.* How the Jews, therefore, came to understand them in a sense so absurd, so unreasonable, and anti-scriptural, and so fully and expressly confuted and condemn'd by God himself, will be of small moment to enquire, since this is far from being the only instance, wherein they have done so; tho', if we may be allow'd to offer a conjecture, it is not unlikely, that the partial regard, which God, for reasons vastly disparate from their fond conceit, was pleased to shew for their nation, and the terrible punishments which he inflicted upon others, tho' scarce more wicked than they, might lead them into the notion, that the one was favour'd for the merit, and the other punish'd for the wickedness of their progenitors: and this is so much the more probable, because, even to this day, they impute all their present sufferings, not to their manifest wickedness, which they are wholly blind to, but to the idolatries of their forefathers, both in the desart and in the promised land. However, as they extended these punishments no farther than to this life, the greatest wonder is, how Christians came so early to follow their version of these places, which has given some commentators, both antient and modern, an infinite trouble, and made them run into various distinctions and subtilties to clear the divine goodness, justice, and wisdom, and to give this place in a more favourable sense, whilst others have made no scruple to outdo the Jews, and to extend their arbitrary and undeserved punishments even to the next life***: but

(4) Exod. xxxiv. 5, 6, & 7. *** Vid. sup. p. 435. note (T).

ceaſed ſpeaking, but they approached Moſes, and, in the height

but it is very probable, that had the primitive Chriſtians underſtood the Hebrew, and been able to have had recourſe to it, inſtead of the ſeptuagint, they would never have adopted this ſenſe, as long as the original was capable of a much better: which is what we ſhall now endeavour to prove to be beyond diſpute.

In the firſt place then, we beg leave to obſerve, after ſome eminent critics (5), that the prepoſitions, ל Lamed and לע Hal, which are here render'd upon, may alſo ſignify by. and in favour of; ſo that the words before us may be properly render'd puniſhing the iniquities of the fathers by, or in favour of, the childen, &c. In the firſt of theſe ſenſes David's murther and adultery was juſtly puniſh'd by his favourite, though wicked, ſon Abſalom (6); and the latter doth perfectly anſwer the wiſe methods of providence, with reſpect to the wicked and innocent; the former of which he doth often puniſh for the benefit and detriment of the latter. The reader, may, if he pleaſes, ſee theſe verſions juſtify'd by the authors juſt now quoted, and therefore we ſhall inſiſt upon them no longer; but as thoſe which vindicate the divine juſtice, mercy, and goodneſs of God, ought by all means to be preferred to thoſe which give impreſſions that are injurious to the godhead, becauſe the latter are but too viſibly hurtful to religion, and civil ſociety, we ſhall beg leave to offer one more, which ſeems to us ſtill more natural and agreeable to the deſign of this ſecond commandment, but which not having as yet appear'd in print, we can quote no other author for.

It is manifeſt to every one who has conſider'd it, that the main end and deſign of this law was, expreſly to forbid all idolatry whatſoever, one kind of which, we find, had been very rife long before, namely, that of teraphims, or houſhold-gods, of which we have already given ſome account †; whoſe ſhapes varied according to the fancy of thoſe that made, or thoſe that beſpoke them, and to whom they uſed to apply for good ſucceſs and preſervation againſt all misfortunes, both for themſelves and families. As theſe, therefore, were look'd upon as the chief diſpenſers and preſervers of lands, houſes, and all other inheritances, what makes it more than probable, that this prohibition is more particularly levell'd againſt this kind of idolatry, is, firſt the reaſon that is immediately given, that the *Lord is a jealous God*, who cannot, conſequently, ſuffer the glory of his benefits to be given,

to

(5) Lanoi de l'impieté du peché. verſ. p. 107. Le Clerc in loc. & al. 10, & ſeq. xv, xvi, xvii. & xviii. note (BB). Le Scene, Eſſay on a new

(6) 2 Sam. xi. paſſ. xii.

† Vid. ſupr. p. 443.

height of their fear and surprize, besought him, that he would

to a senseless idol. Secondly, because the words פקד עון poked havon, as they are pointed, or poked hon, if read without the points, may be properly render'd disposing, or dispensing the habitations, or estates, of the fathers, &c. And, lastly, because idolatry in general, or the worship of false gods, had been forbid in the first commandment; *Thou shalt have no other gods but me*; and consequently this second seems to have been design'd against that particular sort we have been speaking of.

It remains to prove, that the original will properly bear this version; and here we beg leave to observe, first, that the verb קפד paked, which is render'd to visit, is known to imply in its proper sense, such a visitations as that of a monarch, chief magistrate, or prelate, who takes his progress thro' his territories to rectify abuses, to administer justice, and to dispense rewards and punishments, as occasion requires. And secondly, that the word עון hon (which we venture to read without its points, because, they being now universally allowed to be of late and human invention, their authority may be safely set aside, whenever we see good reason for so doing) doth likewise signify an habitation, or dwelling-place, it being an antient, obsolete word, from which its derivative מעון Mahon, by the addition of the letter מ Mem, one of the formatives of nouns substantive, is still used, and confin'd to that particular signification throughout the Old Testament. This being granted, the sense will run thus: *for I, the Lord, thy God, am a jealous God, dispensing or distributing the habitations, or estates, of the fathers to the children, unto the third and fourth generation, even of those that hate me, but shewing mercy to thousands, in them that love me, &c.* where we beg leave to observe further, that the word generation not being in the original, the words third, and fourth which are here in the plural, may as well be understood of a distribution of estates into the thirds or fourths, or, of their being multiplied to a third or fourth degree, or increased to three or four times their bulk, or value. But as for the mercies, which God keeps in store for those that love and obey him, they exceed them לאלפים Lealaphim, by thousand of degrees; which is as much, as if he had said, they are numberless and endless.

But that our readers may be satisfy'd, that these places of scripture, which are urged as parallel to this, by those who maintain the unreasonable doctrine we are now opposing, are either misunderstood, or misapply'd by them, we shall beg leave to subjoin an instance of each, by which he will be able to judge of the rest. The first they urge is, where Solomon said that *God made all things*

would for the future ſpeak to them in God's ſtead, leſt, if they

things for himſelf and the wicked for the day of evil (7); from which they have inferred this blaſphemous doctrine, that God created the wicked on purpoſe to damn them. But, whoever will be at the trouble of conſulting the original will find that the word לְמַעֲנֵהוּ Lemaghanehu, which is here rendered for himſelf, is not from the particle לְמַעַן Lemaghan, for, with its affix, for then it ought to have been differently pointed; but ſetting aſide the points, it is equally capable of two other meanings, even according to the grammatical conſtruction, and may ſignify to anſwer; and ſo the ſenſe will be truly this; that God doth, or rather rules, all things to anſwer one another, even the wicked to the day of evil; by which is meant no more than, God has ſo ordered all things, that puniſhment ſhall be as much the natural conſequence of wickedneſs, as rewards are of virtue (8). The ſame word may alſo ſignify a furrow, or channel; and ſo the ſenſe will be, God hath ordered every thing to run into its own channel (9), and to the wicked that of the evil day, or puniſhment.

The other place, which is rather miſapplyed, is, where God ſays, *he will have mercy on whom he will have mercy* (10). For, beſides that the words are capable of another ſenſe, it is plain, from the occaſion of them, that they have nothing to do with the point in hand. Moſes prays to God, that as a token of his favour, he would ſhow him his glory, and God anſwers him, that he will grant him his requeſt; and then adds, that he will be gracious to whom he will be gracious; which therefore, can import no more, than that he will ſhew ſuch ſingular favours, as that which Moſes pray'd for, to whom he pleaſes; but it is no where ſaid, that he will puniſh whom he will, without any regard to their deſert. As for thoſe who think St. Paul applies them in a quite different ſenſe (11), we rather chuſe to refer them to thoſe authors who have writ ex profeſſo, againſt that doctrine, than to dwell any longer upon the ſubject (12).

We ſhall cloſe this note with obſerving, that, tho' the Jews reckoned the ſame number of commandments as we do, and call'd them by way of excellency the ten words, from which they had afterwards the name of decalogue; yet they join the firſt and ſecond into one, and divide the laſt, which is againſt coveting, into two. as for that againſt ſtealing, they underſtand it of ſtealing of men, or kid-napping, alledging, that the ſtealing of another's goods or property is forbid in the laſt commandment (13).

(7) Prov. xvi. 4. (8) Vid. Le Seen. Eſſay on a new verſ. p. 190. (9) Vid. Pſal. cxxix. 3. (10) Exod. xxiii. 19. (11) Rom. ix. 15. (12) Pelling, Whitby, & al. againſt predeſt. (13) Rabbin. ſer. omn. Vid. Munſt. in loc.

they ſhould hear hi dreadful voice again, they ſhould die with horror and amazement; aſſuring him at the ſame time, that they were ready to receive and obey whatever laws or ordinances God ſhould enjoyn to them by his means, ſince they were now fully convinced of his divine commiſſion. Here Moſes approved of that awe and regard which they expreſſed, as well for the miraculous preſence of God, as for his commandments; and aſſured them, that this wonderful ſcene was not exhibited to them with a deſign to create a ſlaviſh dread. but a filial confidence and ſubmiſſion to ſuch laws as his providence ſhould hereafter enjoyn them, as a particular token of his care and benevolence towards them, above all nations of the earth. He had no ſooner diſpelled their fears by theſe words, than he went up again to the mountain, where for that time, God was pleaſed to add a few ceremonial laws, to thoſe moral ones which he had couched in the decalogue; all which, as well as thoſe which he received afterwards from time to time, we ſhall refer to another place in this hiſtory, where to avoid prolixity and repetition, we ſhall give them all in one body. For the ſame reaſon we ſhall avoid following the divine hiſtorian too cloſe in all the intercourſes which he had with God; wherein the obſervance of the ſame laws, both moral and ceremonial, is inculcated over and over, and the ſame aſſurances of the divine favour and aſſiſtance upon their obedience, and ſevere threatenings in caſe of their diſobeying, and the ſame promiſes of their poſſeſſing the lands of the Canaanites, Amorites, Hittites, Hivites, Perizzites, Girgaſhites, and Jebuſites, repeated almoſt upon every freſh occaſion; all which, tho' Moſes has penn'd them exactly as they happen'd, need to be mention'd here but once for all. Beſides, the laws themſelves, whether they be conſider'd with a moral, religious, ceremonial, or political view, are ſo blended and intermixt together under the names of laws, ſtatutes, ordinances, judgments, teſtimonies, commandments, precepts, and the like; that, unleſs they are reduc'd under their ſeveral heads, a reader would be rather confounded, than inform'd in the deſign and injunction of them. What might induce providence to deliver them in that ſeemingly irregular method is not eaſy to be gueſſed at, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that a more methodical manner would have ſavour'd too much of human wiſdom. As to the ſo frequent repetition of them, the reader will find ſufficient occaſion for it, ſince it will appear, by the ſequel,

ſequel, that neither that, nor the grievous puniſhments that befel them almoſt upon every diſobedience, proved ſufficient to bend their ſtubborn necks, or cure them of their intractable diſpoſition. All that need be ſaid here concerning thoſe laws and ordinances is, that ſome related to the immediate worſhip of God; ſuch as were the building of the tabernacle, with all its apparatus of utenſils for uſe and ornament, their ſacrifices of all ſorts, the conſecration of their prieſts and Levites, the holy oyl to anoint them, their habit, office, privileges, revenue, and the like; the feſtivals, offerings, tithes, vows, purifications, laws concerning clean and unclean things, diſeaſes, meats, and the like; ſome of which are generally look'd upon as typical (Y); others, as topical, or confin'd to that climate

(Y) We could willingly have excus'd our ſelves from entring any further into this unpleaſant controverſy, and contented our ſelves with what has been ſaid already upon ſome particular parts of this ſubject, there being ſo little likelihood of pleaſing either of the oppoſite ſides, much leſs of reconciling them, whilſt each party is fond of their own extreme, and value themſelves upon being direct antipodes to the other; whereas truth ſeems to lie in the middle between them. The reader may eaſily remember what was hinted in the laſt note, about the probability of the Hebrews and Egyptians borrowing ſomething from each other; it will therefore be ſufficient to add, that thoſe who pretend, that the former had all their ceremonies, tabernacle, ark of the covenant, altar, &c. from the latter, becauſe they find that theſe did afterwards uſe the ſame kind of religious utenſils, do entirely go counter to the expreſs tenour of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, which mentions all theſe and many more, as inſtituted on purpoſe by God himſelf, to typify thoſe better things which he reſerved for the times of the goſpel (14). 'Tis even plain from the tenour of the old and new teſtament, that the paſſover, the lifting up of the ſerpent by Moſes, the Iſraelites wandering in the wilderneſs, and their entering into the land of Canaan, and many more of the like nature, were all typical and figurative, and are applied as ſuch by the writers of the latter. But on the other hand, thoſe who abſolutely deny, that they imitated them in any particular, have given ſuch an unreaſonable ſcope to their fancies, in order to find out the relation between theſe types and their pretended antitypes. that

(14) Vid. Hebr. paſſ. partic. ch. ix.

that they have not left one pin of the tabernacle, one bell in Aaron's garment, neither kettle, fork, or spoon, without one or two. We shall content ourselves with giving one instance of this enthusiastic spirit, not so much for the singularity or brightness of it, as to show how far every thing may be moralized, when men have once got into that vein. Two eminent protestants, the one a Lutheran, and the other a Calvinist, had been wrangling a considerable time about the precedency of each of their patriarchs without any seeming advantage, when one took it into his head to make Luther the antitype of Aaron, seeing he was the first that had set up and lighted the grand candlestick (of the reformation) in the tabernacle: the other, not being able to disprove the fact, had recourse to the same typical reasoning, and affirmed, that if Luther was Aaron's antitype upon that score, Calvin was much more so, since it was manifest, that if he had not taken the snuffers into his hand, and snuffed the lamps, the candlestick would have given such a dim light, that few people would have been the better for it. We can easily join with the great critic, from whom we have this story (15), in praying, that, where people can feed their religion with such airy diet, it may do them much good; but we can by no means think with him, that the despicable figure which the Jews made is an invincible objection against the proud Egyptians, who hated them above all nations, borrowing any of their ceremonies: seeing the same argument will equally hold against either side; and the superstition common to them both might easily get the better of their pride and hatred. What wild notions men had then, and long enough since, of the god head, may easily be gathered from that saying of the Syrians (16), *their gods are gods of the hills, and therefore stronger than ours; but if we get them into the plain, ours will get the better of them.* It was therefore natural for the Egyptians, as we hinted once before †, to enquire, how such a poor slavish people, as that of the Hebrews, came to be in such high favour with their God, that he should fall thus severely upon their own, and so many other brave nations, on their behalf: it is plain, they could not attribute it to any merit or excellency in them, and therefore might easily conclude, that they had found out some way of gaining his friendship by their sacrifices and manner of worshipping him; which, if they could but once attain to, they could not fail of much greater success. Add to this, that if the priests were consulted about it, as it is most likely they were, they could not be against embracing such a sort of worship, which, however it proved to the laity, could not but be gainful to them: now if this be granted to be a natural supposition, the objection falls to the ground, and there is an end of

(15) Le Clerc's Bibl. A. & M. tom. XII. p. 313. (16) 1 Kings xx. 23. † Vid. supr. p. 407. note (R).

of our author's pretended impoſſibility. As for what is added on that ſide of the queſtion, viz. that the Egyptians ſacrificed horſes and hogs to their gods, whilſt the Hebrews offered nothing but ſheep, oxen, &c. this difference, allowing the caſe to be fact, might eaſily proceed from ſome remaining leaven of their old ſuperſtition, which could not ſuffer them to ſacrifice ſuch beaſts as they had been uſed to worſhip. They might likewiſe probably enough attribute the Hebrews not ſacrificing horſes to their ſordidneſs, that creature being of much greater worth than a bullock, and ſo be induced not only to imitate, but to outdo them, by offering a more valuable ſacrifice than they. Upon the whole, the Egyptians being generally allowed to have been the firſt introducers of idolatry, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe them to have been likewiſe the inventors of a great deal of ſuperſtitious traſh, and the Jews, who had been as it were formed in the country, to have contracted ſuch a particular fondneſs for it, as not to be eaſy without having ſomething like it among them. We beg leave to anticipate ſo far upon their hiſtory, as to bring one inſtance of this once for all, and with it to diſmiſs this intricate point. Moſes promiſed the people, that God would ſend his angel to them to guide and protect, and to prepare the way for them. Moſes goes up into the mountain, and continues there forty days, till they gave him over for loſt: uncertain what to do, and fearful leſt the Amalekites, or ſome other nation ſhould fall upon them, they grew impatient for this promiſed conductor, and being ignorant what kind of one God he deſigned for them, they take in an Egyptian ſenſe, and in a tumultuous manner gather about Aaron, and inſiſt that he ſhould make them ſuch a one. Aaron, who gueſſed their meaning, calls a golden calf, no doubt in imitation of the Egyptian Apis, for without the aſſiſtance of their mythology, a calf would be one of the laſt creatures that one would chuſe to make a ſymbol of the deity ‡, and ſets it up in the midſt of the camp; and the people, highly pleaſed with it, begin to pay the uſual worſhip of ſacrifices, dancing, &c. to it: in the mean time, Moſes comes down, and ſurpriſes them in the height of their joy, upbraids both his brother and the people with their folly and ingratitude, and deſtroys the Egyptian idol. After this he returns immediately to the top of the mountain, complains of their idolatry and ſtubbornneſs, and intreats God to pity and forgive them, and God, who ſaw that their minds were bent upon ſome outward ſymbol, in compaſſion to their infirmity, commands him to make an ark, which, though differing in the main from the Egyptian idols, yet ſhould ſtill retain ſomething of a reſemblance in the cherubim that covered it, which had at leaſt the head of a calf, as ſhall be ſhewn in its proper place. Who doth not ſee by all this, that God did only comply ſo far with the carnal genius of that untoward

‡ Vid. ſupr. p. 344. note (H), & alib. paſſ.

mate (Z), and others as political; but all of them, to

people, as to give them a viſible ſymbol, without condeſcending ſo low, at the ſame time, as to permit ſuch a cloſe imitation of what they admired in other nations, as might in any wiſe prove a ſnare to them in proceſs of time? However, if it be aſked, how ſo polite a nation as the Egyptians came to chuſe a cow, or calf, to repreſent the deity? we can only add, to what has been ſaid before *, the conjecture of ſome ancient and modern authors, ſuch as Suidas in his Σαραπις Rufin in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, Pierrerius in his hieroglyphics, Hottinger and others, who all ſeem probably enough to think, that it was in honour of Joſeph, and in memory of the ſeven cows, which repreſented the plenty by which he preſerved that country from periſhing; and this ſeems the more probable, becauſe ſeveral of the moſt antient authors, beſides thoſe above quoted, agree, that this ox, or cow, was repreſented carrying a buſhel upon its head, which might be deſigned to ſignify the plenty of corn, which that patriarch cauſed to be layed up. But we willingly ſubmit all this to our reader's judgment.

(Z) It cannot be denied, but ſeveral of the Moſaical ordinances and prohibitions are of this nature, and were very neceſſary and beneficial, not only in Canaan, but in all hot countries. Such were thoſe that related to all kind of cleanlineſs, that forbid the nuptial commerce at certain periods, and all intercourſe with perſons that had the leproſy, or any other infectious diſeaſe, and the like. But ſome learned men have gone further, and have fancied, that all forbidden meats, ſuch as ſwine, hares, rabbets, ducks, &c. were, if not wholly, yet for the greateſt part, prohibited upon the ſame account, namely, as being unwholeſome and detrimental to health in thoſe hot climates: to prove this, ſome have taken no ſmall pains to ſhew, that we have not a right underſtanding of all thoſe creatures that are thus forbid, they inſtance out of Bochart (17), that the שָׁפָן, Shaphan, which we tranſlate a rabbet, is a kind of rat that lives upon the rocks, and conſeqnently, that the word ſhould be tranſlated a rock-rat, which animal he obſerves is of the bigneſs of a ſquirrel, and that Paleſtine and Arabia abound with it. We ſhall not trouble ourſelves with enquiring how far we do miſunderſtand the names of thoſe creatures, the eating of whoſe fleſh Moſes forbids, nor how far ſome, or any, of them be really unwholeſome to eat. It is certain we are not miſtaken in that of the ſwine, which, whatever be pretended to the contrary, is both commonly and ſafely eat in all hot countries, except by the Turks, whoſe law has copied this, among

* Ibid. p. 554.

(17) Le Scene, Eſſ. on a N. Tranſl. p. 124.

to all appearance, calculated with a wife defign of preferving them, both in their obedience to God, and from all intermixture with other nations, and from adopting any part of their idolatrous worfhip into their own. Befides thefe received a great number of political laws properly fo called, which related to the welfare and prefervation of their common-wealth : of this nature were thofe which afcertained every man's property, and appointed proportionate punifhments to the invaders of it. Such were alfo thofe of the Jubilee, which reftored every man once in fifty years to his paternal eftate, however alienated during that time : the cities of refuge to fecure the life of a man, who had innocently flain another : fuch were alfo the great court of judicature, known afterwards by the name of Sanhedrin ; their other courts of judicature, choice of magiftrates, and others to the fame end ; all which were delivered at feveral times, and

among a great many things from the Jewifh. The Rabbies indeed will have it, that it was forbid by reafon of its extreme naftinefs, both in its eating and wallowing in all manner of filth (18) ; but yet it is plain, that it never was accounted unwholefome upon that account in any country that we know of. We fhall therefore venture to offer what we think is a more probable reafon, why fwine, hares, geefe, &c. were forbidden by Mofes, namely, to prevent thereby as much as poffible the Jews having any intercourfe with other nations, either by being prefent at their feafts or common feftivals, or contracting affinities with them, by infpiring them with an abhorence againft their moft common meats by this expreis prohibition, and allowing them at the fame time the ufe of a fufficient quantity of others to live comfortably by. It is alfo worth obferving, that of all the meats forbidden by the Mofaic law, the Jews had the fwine in greateft deteftation, infomuch,that they rather chofe the moft cruel deaths,than to fave their lives by eating it. How therefore they came to contract fuch an extreme averfion to it, more than to any other, can hardly be accounted for by any other way, than by imputing it to their feeing it more commonly eat by other nations, than any of the reft, it being looked upon as the moft friendly and nourifhing to our bodies of any other flefh. And this did exactly anfwer their law-giver's defign.

(18) Middrafh Tanhuma. Middrafh Tehillim. fup. verb. Pfal. cxlvi. 7. Vid. & Maimonid. More Nevoch. part iii. cap. 48. Meyer, de tempor. facr. Hæbr. cap. xi. § 15 & 16.

and upon divers exigencies, by God to Moſes, and by him committed to writing in the ſame order in which he received them [k]. Neither were all theſe laws given to him in the mount, though the main part of them was; for after the ſetting up of the tabernacle God was pleaſed to appear, and to deliver his oracles to him from thence. One thing however is remarkable in that laſt intercourſe we have been mentioning, namely, the promiſe which God made to Iſrael [l], that he would ſend his angel to facilitate their way, and to bring them to the promiſed land; and that, if they proved obedient to his voice, and kept themſelves from the pollutions of thoſe nations which they went to conquer, he would inject a pannic fear upon them, ſo that they ſhould not be able to reſiſt them; adding, that they ſhould not make a complete conqueſt of them at once, leſt the wild beaſts ſhould prove too ſtrong for them; but that they ſhould carry it on gradually, till they had extended it from the red-ſea unto the ſea of the Philiſtines, and from the deſart unto the river [m].

The covenant between God and the people ratified.

Immediately after this Moſes reared an altar to God, offered burnt ſacrifices and peace-offerings upon it, and having cauſed the contents of this new covenant to be read to all the people, and exacted a ſolemn promiſe from them that they would keep it faithfully, he ratified it by ſprinkling the altar, the book, and the people, with the blood of the victims, and then ordered twelve pillars to be erected, one for each tribe, as a ſtanding monument of this alliance between God and them. Moſes had no ſooner made an end of this ceremony, than he took with them Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and ſeventy of the elders of Iſrael, ſome part of the way towards the mountain, where they beheld the God of Iſrael in a kind of viſion, with a pavement of ſaphire-ſtone under him, exceeding the very ſky in brightneſs, and after he had committed the care of the people unto them, he took Joſhua up into the mountain with him, and ſtayed there full forty days. It was during this interval, that God gave him the two tables of ſtone, whereon were written the ten commandments by the finger, that is, as the generality of expoſitors underſtand it, and indeed the original doth properly imply, by the immediate command and direction of

Moſes takes 70 of the elders up towards the mountain.

Goes himſelf into the cloud.

[k] Exod. xxiv. 4. [l] Ibid. xxiii. 20. & ſeq. [m] Ibid. ver. 31.

of God himſelf (A); the plan of the Jewiſh religion, of the

(A) What character theſe tables were written in, whether in that which we now call the Samaritan, or in the Aſſyrian, ſhall be conſidered, when we come to ſpeak of their writing; and therefore all we ſhall obſerve at preſent concerning them is, that Moſes tells us, that they were writ, or engraved, מזה ומזה Mize umize, on this and on that ſide (19). From which their Talmud tells us (20), that the letters were cut through and through, ſo as to be ſeen and read on either ſide. And when the queſtion is put, how it was poſſible for the middle part of the ם final mem and ס ſamech to ſupport itſelf? the Talmudiſts anſwers, that it was kept ſuſpended by a miraculous power: we are far enough from crediting ſuch fables againſt the plain meaning of the text, which at moſt imports no more, than that they were written on both ſides, that is, front, and back-ſide, though it may ſignify only, that they were ſo on each ſide, like the two pages of an open book, in which ſenſe Moſes's words are generally taken; but what we would infer from it is, that the compilers of that book never could dream of the Samaritan being the antient Hebrew character, becauſe thoſe two letters are of a quite different ſhape, and needed not ſuch a miracle to ſupport the middle, more than any other letter, and yet it is plain, that thoſe who have embraced this notion, have quoted the Talmud for it (21); and ſuch has been their prepoſſeſſion in favour of this character, that they have miſtaken an objection for a poſitive text, and overlooked two or three expreſs anſwers which immediately follow it. But of this we ſhall have more proper occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel. As to other particulars relating to theſe tables, ſuch as their number, which ſome eaſtern authors have multiplied to ten, and others to ſeventeen (22); though the Talmud and all the Jewiſh rabbies do conſtantly call them the two tables of the covenant (23): their ſhape, bigneſs, what material they were made of? which ſome rabbies take to have been ſome precious wood, others, ſome precious ſtone, as a ruby or carbuncle: in what order the ten commandments were writ? whether all the ten upon each table, or half, or ſome part, upon one, and the reſt upon the other? theſe and ſuch other nice enquiries we purpoſely forbear, becauſe the ſcriptures leave us wholly in the dark about them. However, we beg leave here to vindicate our ſenſe of thoſe expreſſions of Moſes, that theſe tables were written by the finger of God, and that writing was the writing of God, and the like. For though a great many expoſitors underſtand them

(19) Exod. xxxii. 15. (20) Tractat. Megillath. (21) Morin. Differt. in pentat. Samarit. Walton, prolegom. Whiſton, & al. (22) Vid. D'Herbelot's Bibliot. Orient. in loc. (23) Talm. paſſ. vid. etiam. הגדה הפסח Cantic. אחר מי יזרע.

the tabernacle, and all the utenſils belonging to it, and other laws concerning the prieſts, levites, and laiety, and, in particular, an order for exacting a free will offering from all the children of Iſrael, accordihg to their abilities, of gold, ſilver, braſs, ſcarlet, ſilk, wool, oyl, ſpices, and all other neceſſary materials for the tabernacle, ark of the covenant, prieſtly robes, and all other things that were to be appointed for the public worſhip [n]. The care of making all theſe things was to be committed to Bezaleel, of the tribe of Judah, and Aholiab of the trible of Dan, two perſons whom God had endowed with an extraordinary ſkill and wiſdom to contrive and execute all theſe grand deſigns, according to his directions [o].

In the mean time, the people, who had ſeen Moſes go up and enter into the cloud, whilſt the top of the mountain was all in flames [p], after they had waited above a month for him, began to give him over for loſt. In this uncertain condition they aſſembled themſelves, in a riotous manner about

Is given over by the people.

[n] Exod. a cap. xxv. ad cap. xxx. [o] Ibid. xxxi. paſſ.
[p] Vid. Exod xxiv. 16, 17.

them literally, as writ by God himſelf, others by an angel, and others by the ſpirit of God, which is ſometimes called the finger of God (24); yet we think it plain, by comparing the words with what Moſes ſays in another place (25), that God commanded him to write the words of the covenant upon the ſecond tables, as they had been written in the firſt which he had broken, and that he did ſo accordingly; and what he repeats, or rather recapitulates, in Deuteronomy (26), that he (God) wrote on the ſecond tables, according to the writing of the firſt, the ten commandments; it is plain, I ſay, that the words can imply no more, than that they were writ by the command and direction of God, and that Moſes was the perſon that wrote the firſt, as well as the laſt; though the common opinion of ancient and modern expoſitors is, that God wrote the firſt and he the laſt (27).

The Mohammedans tell us, that God commanded the angel Gabriel to take the heavenly pen, which is the naming of the name of God, and to dip it into the river of light, and to write the ten laws upon the tables. And that after Moſes had broke them, the angels carried the fragments up into heaven again, except one piece about half a yard long, which was afterwards depoſited in the ark (38).

(24) Vid. Exod. viii. 19. Luke xi. 20. & alib. (25) Exod. xxxiv. 27, 28. (26) Ch. x. 4. (27) Cypr. lib. de S. Spirit. Auguſt. quæſt. in Exod. 186. Jun. Villet. Rabbin. vid. Munſt. & al. in loc. (28) Vid. Biblioth. Orient. p. 649.

bout Aaron's tent, and told him, that as they wholly despaired of Moſes's return, they expected, that he ſhould make them ſome gods to go before them; and ſuch was his extreme weakneſs and cowardice, that he doth not ſeem to have heſitated one moment, whether he ſhould refuſe or comply with their requeſt, but to have directed them immediately to bring him a ſufficient quantity of their gold ornaments, to make them a golden calf. A learned Romiſh writer has indeed taken a deal of pains to vindicate this mean action of the Jewiſh high-prieſt, in compliment to his own, to whom he dedicates the work [q], which was however univerſally condemned, even by thoſe of his own church. And indeed the moſt that can be ſaid in Aaron's defence is, that he did not perhaps think the people would be ſo ready to part with their golden ornaments, eſpecially the women, from whom he bids them to tear or ſnatch them; but when he found how quickly his orders were obeyed, he made no ſcruple to be as quick as they in anſwering their requeſt, ſo that by the next day the calf was ſet up. The greateſt part of the Jews ſeem to throw the fault of this whole tranſaction upon the Egyptians that were come out with them, who firſt put it into the people's head to aſk for theſe gods: they add, that Aaron had no hand in the caſting of it in that form, but that it was done by ſome Egyptian conjurer by dint of magic, which they prove from the ſhort time he took in making it, and from Aaron's words to Moſes, *they gave me* (*their gold*) *and I caſt it into the fire, and there came out this calf.* But we may juſtly affirm, that they who undertake to vindicate Aaron's weakneſs, whether Jews or Chriſtians *, do act with leſs modeſty than Joſephus, who ſaw too plainly, that it were in vain to offer any thing by way of excuſe, ſeeing Moſes doth ſo ſeverely reprove and condemn him for it [r], and therefore hath rather choſen to ſuppreſs it wholly, than to record a deed ſo little to his predeceſſor's credit, however gloſſed or palliated. Had not Moſes had a greater regard to truth, than to the honour of his brother, we ſhould have loſt this among many other pregnant teſtimonies of his faithfulneſs and ſincerity. However, the people were ſo eager for this new

The golden calf ſet up.

[q] Monceus de Vitul. Aur. ap. Oper. Critic. vol. ii. p. 4415. vid. etiam Bayl. Dict. ſub voc. Aaron.

* Berruyer's Hiſt. du peup. de Dieu in loc. Calm. & al.

[r] Exod. xxxii. 21.

new god, that they willingly parted with their gold earings to Aaron, who loſt no time to have it caſt according to his promiſe (B); and, having ſet it upon a pedeſtal, in full ſight of all the camp, and reared up an altar before it, told them in their own dialect, that theſe were the gods which brought them out of Egypt, and appointed the next day as a ſolemn feſtival to their new made deity; which they began with offering burnt ſacrifices and peace-offerings to it, and concluded with feaſting and dancing.

In

(B) Our verſion and ſeveral others, have given us a very uncouth account of the caſting of this golden calf, by making Aaron faſhion it with a graving tool, after he had caſt it in a mould (29): that of Geneva is ſtill more ridiculous, which makes him engrave it firſt, and caſt it afterwards. For to ſay nothing of the improbability of engraving having been known ſo ſoon, when we meet with nothing like it in all the fine work of Solomon's temple ſo long after, which was wrought with more art and greater deliberation, it is plain, that Aaron could not have time enough to get the mould ready, the metal melted, and the idol caſt, and engraven into the bargain, becauſe he ſet it up on the very morrow after they had brought him the metal. The miſtake is owing to their not attending to the various ſenſe of the verb צור Tzur, which ſignifies to tye up, and bind, as well as to ſhape, and form, nor to that of the word חרט, Cherret, which though it may properly enough be rendered a graving tool in one or two places where it is uſed; yet in others it ſignifies a bag: accordingly, Naaman, the Syrian, is ſaid to have tied up two talents of ſilver in two bags (30), in which place theſe two words צור, Tzur, and חרט, are uſed. We think therefore thoſe in the right, who have rendered the verſe now in queſtion, and Aaron received them (the gold ear-rings) and tied them in a bag, and got them caſt into a molten calf (31).

As for the calf itſelf, ſome antient fathers have been of opinion, that it had only the face of one, and the form of a man from the neck downwards (32), in imitation of the Egyptian Iſis (33); others have thought it to have had the head of an ox, and no body joined to it: But however, the moſt general opinion is, that it was, a whole calf in imitation of the Egyptian Apis. But whatever the ſhape of it was, it is plain from ſome of the prophets (34), and eſpecially from St. Stephen's words, *in their hearts they returned into Egypt, and forced Aaron to make them a molten calf* (35); that they learned their idolatry, and contracted this propenſity to it, during their abode in Egypt.

(29) Exod. xxxiv. iv. (30) 2 Kings v. 23. (31) Le Scen. Eſſay on a N verſ. (32) Vid. Le Clerc & Calmet's comment. in Exod, in loc. (33) Vid. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 41. (34) Iſai. Ezek. Amos & al. paſſ. (35) Acts vii. 39. & ſeq.

In the mean time, God, who ſaw what paſſed in their camp, and that the ungrateful Iſraelites were rendering themſelves more unworthy than ever of his care and protection, informed Moſes of it, who had ſpent by this time full forty days in faſting and praying; but with ſuch threatening expreſſions againſt thoſe idolaters, as made him fear, that ſome heavy puniſhment, if not total deſtruction, was going to fall upon them; but though God did comfort him at the ſame time with promiſes of making him the father of as numerous a nation, as that of the Iſraelites then was, yet he rather choſe to intercede for them, and ceaſed not to ſue for their pardon, till he had obtained a kind of promiſe of it from him. After this taking the two tables and his ſervant Joſhua with him, he came down from the mountain, and was ſcarce got to the foot of it, when he was ſurprized with their ſtrange ſhoutings, which, as he thought, were neither like thoſe of a flying or a purſuing army, but it was not long before he beheld the ſad cauſe of it, the calf which his brother had ſet up, and the people dancing round it. His concern was ſo great, that the firſt way he expreſt it by was, by breaking the two tables, after which he went and upbraided his puſillanimous brother in the ſtrongeſt terms, for having ſo eaſily yielded to the people's ſhameful deſire, aſſuring him, that he had brought a horrid ſin upon them, and had now made them naked to their ſhame in the midſt of their enemies, meaning thereby, that he had publicly expoſed their idolatrous and ſtubborn diſpoſition to all the world, and layed them open, naked, and defenceleſs to all their enemies, by forfeiting the divine protection, which alone could bring them ſafe into the promiſed land.

Moſes comes down from the mount.

Breaks the two tables.

Aaron failed not to lay the blame on the tumultuous people, which forced him to comply with their requeſt; but Moſes, inſtead of liſtning to his excuſes, ſet himſelf immediately about the deſtruction of the idol, and the puniſhment of ſuch of the delinquents, whom his preſence had not driven away from the place where it was ſet up. He cauſed the calf to be taken down, in order to have it burnt, and ground into powder, and caſt into the water, of which he afterwards made all the people to drink (C). Whilſt this

was

(C) This action of Moſes, of melting, grinding, and powdering the golden idol, in order to make the people drink it with the water into which he threw it, is ſo contrary to our preſent philoſophy, and the account which the Alchymiſts give us of the

nature

was doing, he cried aloud, who is on the Lord's ſide? and finding that the ſon's of Levi did immediately join themſelves to him, he commanded them to gird on their ſwords, and to go and ſlay all indifferently whom they found ſtill at that idolatrous feaſt, without regard to age, or quality, kindred friendſhip, or acquaintance. Theſe went forth with from Moſes's preſence, and puniſhed with immediate death about three thouſand of the delinquents, whom they found ſtill ſtraggling about in the midſt of their mirth. Some copies of the ſeptuagint and the vulgate ſay twenty three, and others thirty three, thouſand;

The Levites kill 3000 linquents.

nature of gold, that it has been ſtrangely canvaſſed by the incredulous, and very aukwardly defended by others. However, it is plain that gold may be reduced to a fine and almoſt impalpable powder, and it is no more than almoſt all our gold-beaters know how to do. It is true, Moſes might have ſome particular ſecret for doing it, which we know nothing of; neither is it improbable, that the Egyptians and other nations might know ſome things concerning that metal, which have been ſince loſt, by people's running into favourite hypotheſes, perhaps upon ſome experiments not rightly underſtood, or not ſufficiently bottomed. Nothing has been more commonly received, than the notion that gold cannot be deſtroyed; and yet the royal academy at Paris have a burning glaſs that will verify it in an inſtant, by evaporating all the ſulphur of it, which crackles and flies up in a thick ſmoak, whilſt the glaſs that remains can never be reduced into any other form. And Borrichius aſſures us, that he has, by a conſtant trituration of that metal in ſome ſimple diſtilled water, during the ſpace of thirty days, raiſed this ſulphur up to the ſurface of the water, upon which it appeared like a fine red oil, whilſt all the reſt that ſubſided was only a greyiſh powder, which could never be reduced into any thing afterwards, but appeared in all reſpects the ſame with that which he had got out of baſer metals by the ſame method of trituration; though none of the latter, not even ſilver, ever afforded any thing like that beautiful oil which gold did (36).

The rabbies, according to cuſtom, tells us, that the reaſon of Moſes's making the people drink this gold-powder, was in order to know the idolaters from the reſt, and that as ſoon as they had drank it, the beards of the former turned red; and the cabaliſts add, that the idol weighed 125 quintals, or hundreds, which they gather from the Hebrew word מסכה, Maſſekah, whoſe numerical letters make 125. But why quintals, rather than pounds, ounces, or talents, they give no reaſon for (37).

(36) Vid. B. Sigogn. N. Methu Shem. Rab. ſect. 42.

(37) R. Tanchum in elle

thouſand ; but beſides, that the original mentions no more than three thouſand, and thoſe verſions are acknowledged by ſeveral eminent men of the church of Rome to be corrupt in this place †, it is hardly probable, that they could make a greater ſlaughter in ſo ſhort a time. This timely zeal of the tribe of Levi, againſt thoſe idolaters, did not go long unrewarded : for it did not only wipe off that blemiſh which their progenitor had entailed upon them, for the bloody maſſacre of the Shechemites, but in a very ſhort time procured them the Levitical prieſthood ; which, though ſubordinate to that of Aaron and his poſterity, did entitle them to the tenths of all kinds of beaſts, fruits, and grain in Iſraël ; to the inferior miniſtry of the tabernacle, and afterwards to the temple ; to a place in the judicial courts of every city and town ; to the property of thirty-five cities with all their lands, ſome of which were appointed cities of refuge ; and to ſeveral other privileges and immunities, of which further account ſhall be given in its proper place. In the mean time, the people, who were witneſſes of this dreadful example on the delinquents, and heard with what ſeverity Moſes had reproved his brother, were under the greateſt conſternation ; but whether it were that his anger was by this time ſomewhat diſarmed, he contented himſelf with upbraiding them with their ingratitude and extreme folly, promiſing them however, that he would go up to the mountain again, and try how far his prayers could prevail with the divine mercy, and avert the puniſhment which they had deſerved. He went up accordingly, and interceded ſo powerfully for them, that he at length obtained, not only their pardon, but a renewing of God's former promiſe of bringing them into the promiſed land under the conduct of his angel. However, both the pardon and promiſe were ſo far conditional, that the people were to make ſome atonement for their rebellion, by a ſolemn and public act of humiliation, and a promiſe to be more obedient for the future ; for in caſe they ſhould, by a farther relapſe, bring down a freſh puniſhment upon themſelves, this idolatry was likewiſe to be puniſhed along with it (D)[s]. One of theſe conditions the people immediately

Their zeal is rewarded.

Moſes returns to the mount.

† Cajet. Vatabl. Lipoman. A. Montan. & al. vid. 1 Cor. x. 8.

[s] Exod xxxv. per tot.

(D) The Jews have underſtood theſe words in ſo unlimited a ſenſe, that they tell us upon the authority of one of their greateſt rabbics,

immediately embraced, and a solemn fast was kept throughout the whole camp, during which they divested themselves of all their gaudy ornaments: and, in memory of this sin, and of the breaking of the two tables, the Jews observe, that fast yearly even to this day. At the same time God, to administer some comfort to Moses, whom he saw labouring under such a heavy load of grief and care, and as a farther mark of his particular favour, was pleased at his request, to grant him a sight of his glory, that is as the context explains it [t], a sight of that angel, or rather divine conductor, under whose direction and care they were to go and conquer the promised land (E).

Moses

[t] Ibid. ver. 12. & seq.

bies, quoted by the Talmud (38), that God doth not inflict any punishment upon the world for any crying fault, in which there is not one twenty-fourth part of this sin of the golden calf put into the scale with it: but another (39), afraid lest that proportion should have been long ago exhausted hath confined it to the Israelites, and allows but about one ounce of the gold calf to go into the dose of every such punishment; so that it can hardly fail of lasting a considerable while, especially if the calf weighed so many hundred weights as they tell us it did. However, it is plain by the text, that God did only design to deter them from relapsing into the like crime, by threatening, that in such a case he would inflict a double punishment upon them.

(E) It must be owned, that the account which Moses gives us of this divine vision, is none of the cleareſt, and that some of the expressions he uses, such as that he should not see God's face, but only his back, &c. have induced some free thinkers to tax him, and all the Jews after him with being Anthropomorphites, 'till they learned a more refined divinity from the Babylonians during their captivity. But it must be remembered, that Moses spoke to a gross and carnal people, in a language far from copious, especially in words or idioms suitable either to the deity, or dignity of the present glorious transaction; and that it is therefore no wonder, if he borrows his expressions from outward and sensible objects and actions. It is plain, that those who wrote in Greek, which is vastly more rich than the Hebrew, even the very writers of the new testament and the primitive fathers, who were the farthest from having any such absurd ideas of the godhead, have been forced to make use of the same figurative expressions

(38) R. Isaac in talmud. tract. sanhedr. (39) Mos. Gerundens. vid. Munst. in loc.

Moses ſtayed in the mount another forty days and nights, during which, he tells us, he neither eat nor drank (F), but ſpent his whole time in praying and making

preſſions in many places of their writings, for want of more proper and intelligible ones, which were equally wanting in that as in the other tongue. Neither doth it appear that the Jews themſelves underſtood Moſes's words in that groſs ſenſe, becauſe it is plain that they had a notion, that this angel, or apparition, which directed them through the wilderneſs, was the Meſſiah, who did then take a viſible appearance, which they called the Shekinah, from שכן. Shakan, to dwell, under which he delivered his oracles and commands to them. Which Shekinah though ſome underſtand of all the appearances which God took from the beginning, and others, either of the Shekinah of fire and water, or of the fiery and cloudy pillar; yet all agree that it was the כסא הכבוד, Kiſſe hakabod, the throne of glory, which was one of the ſeven things which they affirm to have been created before the world (40).

However, to diſculpate at once the Jewiſh lawgiver from ſuch an imputation, we need but call to mind the glorious deſcriptions he gives almoſt every where, eſpecially in Deuteronomy, of the god-head; what pains he takes to deter the Jews from making any repreſentation of it under any form whatſoever, by reminding them, that when God was ſo pleaſed to diſplay his glory upon mount Sinai at the delivering of the ten commandments. they ſaw no ſhape nor likeneſs, but only they heard his dreadful voice. Theſe ſo frequent inculcations may therefore be reaſonably looked upon as a key to them, how to underſtand all thoſe other expreſſions which he had been forced to accommodate to their capacity, that is, not in a literal ſenſe, but in ſuch a one as was worthy of the deity, and the dignity of the ſubject.

(F) Buxtorf quotes a Jewiſh proverb out of the large comment on Exodus, with reſpect to this miraculous faſting of Moſes, which is to this purpoſe: 'that above where there is neither eating 'or drinking, Moſes ſtayed 80 days, and became like the angels, 'and below where men do eat and drink, miniſtering angels came 'down, and eat and drank like men (41), by which one would 'be apt to think they attributed both the one and the other, rather 'to the change of climate than to a miracle.' However, without enquiring whether Moſes, and afterwards Chriſt, were miraculouſly ſupported without any kind of ſubſiſtance or not, we beg leave to obſerve, that the words which Chriſt quotes from Moſes,

(40) Vid. chald. paraph. in loc. & in Geneſ. i. 1. Raym. Mart. pug. fid. Duples. cont. Jud. Munſt. & al. (41) Vid. Buxtorf., Lexic. ſub. rad. שנן.

making two other tables, like unto thoſe he had broken, and in receiving ſome further inſtructions from God; after which he came down again to the people, who were not a little ſurprized to obſerve, that his face had contracted ſuch a glorious luſtre during his receſs, that they could not intenſely behold it. This obliged him to cover it with a veil whenever he was to ſpeak to them, but he took it off whenever he went to receive God's commands [u]. By this time the people become a little more tractable, and he had no ſooner acquainted them, among other things, that they ſhould every one bring a free-will-offering of all ſorts of materials for the tabernacle, ark, utenſils, prieſtly garments, and the like: but both men and women ſhewed the greateſt eagerneſs and readineſs to contribute their richeſt jewels, metals, and other precious things which they had got out of the ſpoils of the Egyptians and Amalekites; ſo that in one day he beheld them laying at his feet a more than ſufficient quantity of precious ſtones, gold, ſilver, braſs, ſhittim and cedar wood, ſilk, cotton, linnen, and the fineſt wool of purple, ſcarlet and other colours, of the ſkins of rams, badgers, and goats richly died, and laſtly of the richeſt oyls, ſpices, ointments, and perfumes; all which he diſtributed to proper perſons to be wrought, and made Bezaleel and Aholiaba overſeers of all the work [w]. Theſe ſhewed ſuch diligence, and employed ſo many hands in the work, that the tabernacle, and all its rich furniture and coſtly apparatus, were finiſhed, and ſet up at the foot of mount Sinai, in leſs than ſix months. Aaron and his ſons, being ſolemnly conſecrated

A general offering of all the people.

Aaron conſecrated high-prieſt.

[u] Exod. xxxiv. per tot. & ſeq.

[w] Ibid. ver. xxxv. 20, 21.

Moſes, that *man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of* God †, contains an hebraiſm, which cannot be retained in a verſion, without conveying a wrong idea. Word in the original doth often ſignify thing, and is often uſed. in that ſenſe in the new teſtament, as where it is ſaid, and *we are witneſſes of theſe words*, that is, of theſe things or tranſactions. The text ought therefore to be rendered, Man ſhall not live by bread alone, but by every thing that God has appointed or ordained for his nouriſhment † *; ſince it is plain, that Moſes ſpeaks in the place quoted, not of his faſting, but of the manna which God gave the Iſraelites inſtead of bread.

† Matth. iv. 4. out of Deut. viii. 3.

† * Le Scen. Eſſay on a N. verſ.

ſecrated prieſts, began to offer up all kinds of ſacrifices upon the new altar, according to the law of Moſes. Soon after this, the heads of each tribe came and appeared before Moſes and Aaron, and preſented a very conſiderable offering to God, in ſix waggons drawn each by two oxen, all which were received by Moſes, and ſet aſide for the ſervice of the tabernacle †. Thus was this pompous worſhip begun, in the framing and inſtituting of which God was pleaſed to comply with their groſs and carnal minds, which he ſaw was incapable of being affected with a purer and more ſpiritual one [x]

† Numb. vii. 1. & ſeq. [x] Exod. from ch. xxxvi. to the end.

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Derceto, goddeſs of the Philiſtines, 226, *&c.*

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Dinah, Jacob's daughter by Leah, born, 442. Raviſhed by Shechem the ſon of Hamor the Hivite, 453. This affront revenged by her brothers, Simeon and Levi, who treacherouſly put to the ſword all the males of Shechem, ibid. & 454.

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their funeral, 296, & ſeq. They uſed a woman's attire, and were wholly addicted to a feminine life, 293.

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Germanicia, a chief city of Commagene, 263.

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Gezerites, allies of the Amalekites againſt the Iſraelites, 179. Some account of them, ibid *n.*

Gibbethon, a city of the Philiſtines, beſieged by Nadab, and after by Elah, kings of Iſrael, 259.

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Hadar, king of the Horites, 160.

Hagar, forced to fly from Sarah, 405. Perſuaded by an angel to return and ſubmit, ibid. Brings forth a ſon called Iſhmael, ibid. Sent away with Iſhmael, 414.

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Hamor, king of Shechem, his ſubmiſſion to Jacob for the affront offered by his ſon to Jacob's daughter, 197.

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Hazor, city of Canaan, taken by the Iſraelites and burnt, 204. Rebuilt by Jabin II. Becomes again the royal ſeat, 210.

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Hezion, the ſecond king of Damaſcus, ſuppoſed to be the ſame with Rezon, 308. Lives at peace and amity with the kings of Judah and Iſrael, 309.

Hierapolis, or the Holy city, or Magog, a city of Cyrrheſtica in Syria, 264, 288. Famous for the temple of the great Syrian goddeſs, 288. A deſcription of the temple, ibid. & ſeq. Of idols, ſtatues, &c. in and about it, 289, & ſeq. Its ſacred lake, oracle, riches of the temple, prieſts, ſacrifices, feſtivals, religious cuſtoms, laws, and traditions of the place, 290, & ſeq. Ceremonies uſed by ſuch as undertook pilgrimages to that city, 296.

Hiram, king of Tyre, called alſo Hieromus, Hieromenus, Irom, &c. Concludes an alliance with David, preſents him with cedar-trees, and ſends him workmen to build him

him a palace, 375. Congratulates Solomon on his acceſſion to the crown, 376. Copy of Solomon's letter to him, and his anſwer, ibid. Proves very ſerviceable to Solomon. in the building of the temple and fitting out his fleet, 378. Improves Tyre, builds temples, and enriches them with donations to a very great value, ibid. Said to have given his daughter in marriage to Solomon, by whom Solomon was induced to adore Aſhtaroth, the goddeſs of the Sidonians, 379. Dies, ibid.

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Hur, king or prince of Midian, 139.

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Huſham, of the land of Temani, king of the Horites, 160.

Huz, the eldeſt ſon of Nahor by Milchah, ſuppoſed to have peopled and given name to the land of Huz, 417, *n.*

Hyckſos, or King-ſhepherds in Egypt. See Shepherds.

J.

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Pieria, part of Seleucis, 263.

Pi-hahiroth, the city of Heroum on the extreme part of the Arabic gulph, or the Phagroriopolis, placed by Strabo near ſame place, 579, 580, *n*.

Pillars, miraculous pillars of fire and ſmoke, which conducted the Iſraelites in their march, 580.

Piram, king of Jarmuth, joins Adonizedek, king of Jeruſalem, againſt the Gibeonites, 203. Is cut off by Joſhua in a miraculous manner, ibid. & ſeq.

Plagues of Egypt, 559, & ſeq. How long a time Moſes took in bringing all the plagues on Egypt, 570, *n.*

Potiphar, Joſeph ſold to him, 458. His wife ſollicits Joſeph to an amour, 459. His refuſal makes her accuſe him to Potiphar, who ſends him into the king's priſon, ibid,

Potipherah, prince, or prieſt of On, his daughter married to Joſeph, 465.

Priaps, or Phalli, columns, or pillars, of an extraordinary height, in the porch of the great goddeſs of Syria at Hierapolis, 258. Twice a year a man went up to the top of them and remained there ſeven days, 293.

Proceſſion, an account of an Egyptian one, given by Clement of Alexandria, 6.

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Pſammenitus, ſon of Amaſis, king of Egypt, 76. Is overthrown by Cambyſes, ibid. Taken priſoner, loſes his kingdom, 77. The particulars of his captivity, ibid. His death, 78.

Pſammis, king of Egypt, dies in an expedition againſt the Ethiopians, 64.

Pſammitichus, at firſt king of one of the 12 kingdoms into which Egypt was divided, 58. Occaſion of his falling out with his collegues, ibid. & ſeq. Hires an army of Ionians, Carians, and Arabians, and reduces all Egypt, 59. He was of the tribe of Saïs, and ſon of Nechus, ibid. Gives great encouragement to the Greeks, ibid & 60. His public buildings, ibid. Keeps an army of foreigners in pay, 60. For which the Egyptians, upwards of 200,000, deſert him, ibid. Opens the ports of Egypt to ſtrangers, 61. Beſieges and takes Azotus in Syria, after a ſiege of 29 years, ibid. Prevails upon the Scythians ready to pour themſelves into Egypt, with preſents and entreaties, to march back, ibid Dies, ibid.

Pſammitichus II. king of Egypt, 81. A barbarous and inhuman prince, ibid.

Pſammuthis king of Egypt, 83.

Pygmalion, king of Tyre, murders his uncle Sichæus, in hopes of ſeizing on his treaſures, but is diſappointed by his ſiſter Eliſa, the wife of Sichæus, 380, 381. Said to have built the city of Carpaſia in the iſland of Cyprus, 382. Sends a rich donative to the temple of Hercules at Gades, ibid.

Q.

QUAILS ſent to the Iſraelites, thought by ſome to have been locuſts, 592, 593, *n.*

R.

RABAH, the metropolis of the Ammonites, called Rabah of the children of Ammon, 217. Famous for being the place where the great iron bed-ſtead of Og king of Baſhan, was to be ſeen, ibid. In proceſs of time called Philadelphia, from Ptolemy Philadelphus, who rebuilt it. ibid. Beſieged by Joab, and, after two years ſiege, ſtormed, plundered, and laid level with the ground, 127.

Rachel, daughter to Laban, Jacob, ſerves Laban fourteen years for her, 438. Marries her, ibid. Being long barren, is at laſt brought to bed of a ſon, whom ſhe calls Joſeph, 442. Steals her father's gods, 443. See Teraphim. What induced her to it, 445, *n.* Brought to bed of Benjamin, 455. Dies and is buried in the way to Ephrath, ibid.

Raguel, or Reuel, 135, *n.* the ſame as Jethro, 138, *n.*

Rahab, ſpared in the deſtruction of Jericho, 200.

Rameſes, Moſes's dwelling-place in Egypt, 576. Not above threeſcore miles diſtant from the land of Canaan ibid.

Rebah, king or prince of Midian, 139.

Rebekah, daughter of Bethuel the ſon of Nahor by Milcah, 417, *n.* Given to Iſaac, 422. After having continued barren above nineteen years brings forth two ſons, Eſau and Jacob, 426, & ſeq. Favours Jacob, 432. Procures Iſaac's bleſſing for him, ibid. & ſeq. Sends him to Padan-Aram, 437.

Red-ſea, more properly called the Arabian gulph, 152, *n.* Called by the Hebrews, Yam Suf, the weedy or flaggy ſea; by the Arabians, Bahr Alkolzum, or the ſea of Kolzum, a ſmall town at the northermoſt end of it. ib. Why called the Erythrean or Red-ſea, ibid. The Erythrean or Red-ſea of the antients is the Indian ocean of our days, ibid.

Rehob, the firſt ſole king of Zobah, 307.

Rekem, king of Midian, 139.

Rephaim, men of a gigantic ſtature, placed in Baſhan, where Og, the laſt of their race, reigned, 180 *n.* Thought by ſome to have been the Gephyræi, who followed Cadmus into Greece, ibid.

Rephidim, the place where Moſes, by ſmiting the rock made waters guſh out, 596.

Reuben, Jacob's firſt ſon by Leah, born, 439.

439. What meant by the mandrakes he brought home, 440, *n.* His inceſt, 455. Diſſuades his brethren from killing Joſeph, 457. Deſigns to ſave him out of the pit, and ſend him home to his father, 458.

Rezin, laſt king of Syria, 323, 324. Enters into a league with Pekah king of Iſrael, againſt Ahaz king of Judah, 324. Beſieges Ahaz in Jeruſalem without effect, ibid. Marches into Edom, and makes himſelf maſter of Elath, ibid. Where he plants a colony, which ſubſiſted many years after the ſubverſion of the kingdom of Syria, ibid. Invades the kingdom of Judah, and returns to Damaſcus loaded with ſpoils, ibid. Ahaz ſtirs up Tiglath-pileſar, king of Aſſyria, againſt him, who kills him, and carries the inhabitants of Damaſcus away to Kir, 325.

Rezon, firſt king of Damaſcus, revolts from Hadadezer, whoſe forces he commanded, 307. Seizes on Damaſcus, and founds that kingdom, 308.

Rhabbothin, Phœnice ſo called, 328. Etymology of the word, ibid. *n.*

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Remphis, or Rhampſinitus, king of Egypt, 47. Builds the weſtern portico to the temple of Vulcan, 48. And a treaſure-houſe, which is plundered by the architect's two ſons, ibid. Said to have gone down to hell, 51.

Rhinocolura, a town built by Actiſanes king of Egypt, in the deſert between Syria and Egypt, 45. Why ſo called, ibid. & 46.

Rimmon, an idol of the Syrians, 286. Etymology of the word, ibid. *n.*

Riyan, king of Egypt, 90. In his reign, according to the oriental writers, Joſeph was ſold into Egypt, ibid.

Rod Moſes's. See Moſes. Stories of the Jews concerning it, 548. Turned into a ſerpent, ſwallows thoſe of the Egyptians 559.

S.

SABBACO, the Ethiopian, breaks into Egypt, with a powerful army, and forces king Anyſis to fly for ſhelter to the fens, 55. Thought to have been the So of ſcripture, ibid. Excited to the invaſion of Egypt by a dream, 56. Gives high proofs of his wiſdom and piety, ibid. His policy, ibid. Retires of his own accord into his own country, ibid.

Salatis, the firſt king ſet up in Egypt by the Shepherds, 17.

Salem, by Joſephus called Solyma, and, according to him, founded by Melchizedek, and called Jeruſalem, 194, *n.*

Salem, a place near the city of Shechem, in the land of Canaan, where Jacob bought a piece of land from Hamor, 451, 452. Jacob builds an altar there, which he calls El Elohe Iſrael, or the mighty God of Iſrael, 452. Very likely the ſame place where Abraham had built one, after his firſt coming into the land of Canaan, ibid.

Salt the valley of, famous for the overthrow of the Edomites there, 156.

Samaria city of, beſieged by Ben-hadad king of Syria, and relieved by Ahab, 310. Again beſieged by the ſame, but miraculouſly delivered when upon the point of being taken. 318.

Samlah of Mareſkah, king of the Horites, 160. In his reign it is probably thought, that Eſau came into the country, called afterwards from him Edom, ibid.

Samoſata, a chief city of Commagene, 263.

Samſon, ſmitten with a damſel that dwelt at Timnath, 237. Propoſes a riddle to thirty young men appointed to wait on him, and kills thirty men of Aſkelon, whoſe garments he gives to the expoſitors of it, to make good his engagement, ibid. & 238. To revenge the affront of his father-in-law, ſends out three hundred foxes with firebrands at their tails, and conſumes all the ſtanding corn, 238. Delivered up bound to the Philiſtines by the men of Judah, 239. Breaks his cords, and kills a thouſand of the Philiſtines with the jaw-bone of an aſs, ibid. Is ſhut up in Gaza, but takes the city gates and carries them to Hebron, ibid. Betrayed by Delilah, his hair cut off, his eyes put out, and condemned to grind in the priſon-houſe, ibid. & 240. Kills himſelf and many thouſands of the Philiſtines by pulling down the houſe, 240, & *n.* & 241.

Sana, or Sa, king of Egypt, ſuppoſed to have built the city Saïs, 89.

Saph, ſon of Goliath, ſlain by Sibbechai, 257.

Sarah, paſſes for Abraham's ſiſter, 396. The king of Egypt ſmitten with her, ſhews an extraordinary kindneſs to Abraham, 397. Taken from Abraham by Abimelech, king of the Philiſtines, but upon a viſion from heaven reſtored to him, 398. A ſon promiſed her, 411. Prevails upon Abraham to ſend away Hagar and Iſhmael, 414. Firſt called Sarai, but that name changed into Sarah, 406. Etymology of both, ibid. *n.* Her death, 418. Is buried in the cave of Machpelah, 420.

Sartamas, the Perſian governor of Egypt, 80.

Saſychis, king of Egypt, and the ſecond Egyptian legiſlator, 21.

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Seleucis, part of Syria, its ſituation, 263, 264.

Saul, the ſon of Kiſh, defeats the Philiſtines at Michmaſh, 247, & ſeq. Defeated by the Philiſtines, and killed, with his three ſons, 254.

Seir mount, the ſettlement of Eſau, 149.

Seir, a Horite, from him the mount and land of Seir had its name, 151. His deſcendants dukes in the land of Seir, while the deſcendants of Eſau governed, as dukes, the land of Edom, 160, & ſeq.

Selah, or Petra, city of Edom, called by ſome the chief place of the Nabatæans, the capital of Arabia, &c. 154 Taken by Amaziah and called Joktheel, 168

Seleucia, a town in Seleucis, 263.

Seſooſis, or Pheron, king of Egypt. See Egypt.

Seſoſtris, king of Egypt, 22. Whether the Seſac or Shiſhak of ſcripture, ibid. *n*. Whether the Pharaoh who periſhed in the Red-ſea, 27, *n*. His father gathers in all the boys in Egypt that were born on the ſame day with him, 31, 32. Subdues the Arabians, and the greateſt part of Afric, 36. Undertakes to conquer the whole world, ibid. Divides Egypt into 36 nomes, ibid. Inſtitutes a military order, 37. Conquers Æthiopia, ibid. Inſtitutes the maritime claſs, or order, ibid. Over-runs Aſia and ſome part of Europe, 38. Invades the Scythians, ibid. Suppoſed to have planted a colony in Colchis, 39. His pillars and ſtatues, ibid. Returns to Egypt, 40. Is miraculouſly delivered from the murderous deſigns of his brother, ibid. His religious, civil, and military works, 41, & ſeq. His inſolence, 42. Lays violent hands on himſelf, 43.

Seth, who intended by the children of Seth, in the propheſy of Balaam, 108, *n*.

Sethon, prieſt and king of Egypt, 57. Obtains a ſignal and miraculous victory over the Aſſyrians, ibid. & 58. A ſtatue erected to him with a rat in one of his hands, in memory of the victory he obtained by their aſſiſtance, 58.

Shalmaneſer, king of Aſſyria, keeps Tyre beſieged for the ſpace of five years, but not able to reduce it, 383.

Shamgar delivers the Iſraelites from the yoke of the Philiſtines, 236. Kills 600 of them with an ox-goad, ibid. This event not mentioned by Joſephus, ibid. *n*.

Shechem, ſon of Hamor, deflowers Dinah the daughter of Jacob, 197. He and all his tribe conſent to be circumciſed to pacify Jacob, ibid. But the third day are all cut off by Simeon and Levi, 198, 453.

Shechem, the name of a city in the land of Canaan, 452.

Shelah, Judah's ſon by his Canaanitiſh wife, 459, 460.

Shemeber, king of Zeboim in the vale of Siddim, routed by Chedorlaomer, 192.

Shepherds the irruption of into Egypt, 17. Believed to have been the Canaanites, 18, *n*. Do their utmoſt to root out the native Egyptians, 17. Called Hycſos, the etymology of the word, ibid. & 18. Held Egypt 511 years, 18. Of what country, 17, 18, & *n*. The time of their invaſion, 17, *n*. Driven out of Egypt, 44, 45. Build the city of Jeruſalem, 45. Some miſtake them for the Iſraelites, ibid.

Sheſhai, one of the three ſons of Anak, driven from Hebron by Caleb, 307, & *n*.

Shiloh what meant by, in Jacob's famous propheey to Judah, *the ſceptre ſhall not depart from Judah*, &c 486, *n*.

Shimron king of, joins Jabin king of Hazor againſt the Iſraelites, and is defeated, 204.

Shiphrah and Puah, the two chief Hebrew midwives, ſtrictly charged by Pharaoh to deſtroy all the males, 515. Reproved by Pharaoh for their diſobedience, and rewarded by God for their obedience 516, 517. Thought by ſome to be Jocabedh and Miriam, mother and ſiſter to Moſes and Aaron, 517, 518, *n*.

Shoaib's cave, one of the ſtations in the pilgrimage from Egypt to Mecca, who ſo called 144, *n*. Formerly named Madyan, ibid.

Shobach general of the Aſſyrian forces againſt David, is routed and killed, 308.

Shur and Kadeſh, the names of two deſerts, 412, & *n*.

Sichæus, a prieſt of Hercules, murdered by his nephew Pygmalion king of Tyre, 380, 381.

Siddim vale of, its inhabitants invaded by Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and reduced to pay tribute, 191. The five kings of Siddim rebel againſt Chedorlaomer, but their armies are routed, their people either killed, carried away captives, or obliged to fly to the mountains, 192, 193. The wickedneſs of the inhabitants of this vale puniſhed with fire and brimſtone, 196. How this deſtruction was effected, ibid *n*. See Pentapolis.

Sidon the metropolis of Phœnice, ſo called from Sidon the eldeſt ſon of Canaan, 330. Various opinions about the derivation of its name, ibid. *n*. Its harbour deſcribed, ibid. & 331 Now called Seyde, 331. Antiquities to be ſeen there, 337, 338. Series of its kings, 363. Hiſtory of its kings, 369, & ſeq. No mention made of its kings till the time of the prophet Jeremiah, 370. Betrayed by Tennes king of the country, and by Mentor the Rhodian, to Ochus king of Perſia, ibid. & ſeq. Set on fire by the

Sidonians, who conſume themſelves to the number of 40,000, and their city, 372. Ochus ſells the aſhes of the burnt city for a great ſum of money, ibid. Rebuilt by ſuch of the citizens as had been abſent, 373. The citizens readily ſubmit to Alexander, ibid.

Sihon, the Amorite, drives the Ammonites from their antient habitation, 121. Invades the children of Moab, and diſpoſſeſſes them of their country on the other ſide Jordan and the Dead ſea, 198. Refuſes Moſes a free paſſage through his country on his way to Canaan, but is defeated with a fatal overthrow, 199.

Simeon, Jacob's ſecond ſon by Leah, born, 440. Kept by Joſeph in Egypt, 468. Jacob's propheſy againſt the tribes of Simeon and Levi, 485. How fulfilled, ibid. *n.*

Simeonites utterly deſtroy and diſperſe the Amalekites, 180.

Sirbon, a lake in Egypt, 11. Deſcribed, ibid, *n.*

Siſera, general of the armies of Jabin king of Canaan, 211. Routed by Deborah and Barak, ibid. And killed by Jael, 212.

So, in ſcripture thought to be the ſame with Sabbaco, the Ethiopian king of Egypt, 56.

Sodom and Gomorrah taken and pillaged by Chedorlaomer king of Elam, 193.

Sophene. See Zobah.

Strato king of Sidon, 373. Deprived of his crown by Alexander, ibid. A lewd prince, ibid.

Strato king of Tyre, 385. How he was aſſumed to the throne, ibid.

Stratonice built the famous temple of the great Syrian goddeſs at Hierapolis, 292. Her ſtory with relation to Combabus, ibid. & ſeq.

Succoth, or booths, the place where Jacob ſtopped, after his interview with Eſau, 451. Afterwards a city, its ſituation, ibid. The firſt encampment of the Iſraelites, on their departure from Egypt, 576. This different from that which Jacob called Succoth, when he came out of Meſopotamia, 579, *n.* Called by Joſephus Latopolis, ibid. *n.* Thought by many to be the country called Troglodytis by the Red ſea, ibid. *n.*

Suffetes, judges who governed Tyre for ſome years, 384. Etymology of the word, ibid *n.*

Syria, in Hebrew Aram, ſo named from Aram the youngeſt ſon of Shem, 262. Various opinions relating to the name of Syria, ibid. Its ſituation, 263 Its various diviſions, ibid & ſeq How divided under the Romans, 265. Its climate and fertility, ibid. Its rivers, ibid. Natural rarities, 266. And artificial, 269.

Syriac, became a diſtinct tongue ſo early as the days of Jacob, 298. Common to Meſopotamia, Chaldæa, and Aſſyria, ibid. The Syriac character ſuppoſed to have been in uſe above 300 years before the birth of Chriſt, ibid. Two ſorts of characters, the Eſtrangelo and Fſhito, ibid. & 299. Syriac alphabet, 300. Was deſtitute of vowels till the end of the eighth century, 301. Reſtored to its antient purity by James of Edeſſa, the firſt who wrote a Syriac grammar. ibid. Character of this tongue, ibid. The Syriac tranſlations of the Old and New Teſtament equal to any other whatſoever, ib.

Syrians, the firſt who inhabited Syria, deſcended partly from Shem, and partly from Ham, 284. Governed by heads of families, called kings, to the days of Saul, 285. And divided into ſeveral ſmall kingdoms, ibid. Were idolaters, but often changed their religion, 286, & ſeq. Their religious cuſtoms and traditions, ibid. & ſeq. Their temper, learning, arts, language, 297, 298. Their trade, 301. The chronology of the antient Syrians, 303, & ſeq. The reigns of the antient kings of Syria, 307, & ſeq. The kingdom of Syria aboliſhed, according to the prophets, by Tiglathpileſer king of Aſſyria, 325.

Syrian goddeſs, her temple at Hierapolis, 288. Deſcription of his temple, the ſtatues, ſacred lake, oracle, &c. ibid. & ſeq. Her different ſorts of prieſts, 391. Sacrifices, feſtivals, &c. performed in her temple at Hierapolis, 293, & ſeq.

Syrophœnicians, who, 329, *n.*

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Tables of the decalogue, Jewiſh fables relating to them, 615, 616, *n.* The ſtone, where the commandments were written, given to Moſes, 615. How many they were, 615, *n.* Their ſhape, bigneſs, the matter they were made of, ibid. *n.* In what ſenſe written by the finger of God, ibid. & 616, *n.* Fables of the Mohammedans touching this ſubject, 616, *n.*

Tabrimon, the ſon of Hezion, king of Damaſcus, lives in peace and amity with the kings of Judah, and Iſrael, 209 Thought by ſome to have been ſubject to the Egyptians, ibid. *n.*

Tachos, king of Egypt, 83. His impolitic conduct towards Ageſilaus king of Sparta, 84. Marches out of Egypt to attack the Perſians in Phœnice, ibid In his abſence his ſubjects revolt, and oblige him to fly into Perſia, ibid.

Talmai, one of the three ſons of Anak, driven from Hebron by Caleb, 207, & *n.*

Talmai, king of Geſhur, 327. David marries Maacah his daughter, ibid.

Tamar, Er's wife, is married to Onan, 460. Deceives Judah, and proves with child by him, 461, & ſeq. Condemned to be burnt, 462. But abſolved, 463. Brings forth twins, Pharez and Zarah, ib.

Tamus treacherouſly murdered by Pſammitichus II. king of Egypt, 81.

Tanitic mouth of the Nile, why abhorred by the antient Egyptians, 9.

Tahpenes, queen of Egypt, her ſiſter, given in marriage to the fugitive Hadad king of Edom, 163.

Tartan, general of the Ayſſrians, takes Aſhdod from the Philiſtines, whom he reduces, 260.

Teman, a city of Edom, mentioned for the wiſdom, and counſel of its inhabitants, 154. The country round it called Temani, of which was Eliphaz one of Job's friends, ib.

Tennes king of Sidon, 370. In his reign the Sidonians and Phœnicians enter into a conſpiracy with Nectanebes king of Egypt, and ſhake off the Perſian yoke, ib. Joins Ochus king of Perſia againſt his own countrymen, and delivers Sidon into his hands, 371. Is put to death by Ochus, 372.

Terah, father of Abraham, dies in Harad, 394. Difficulties in the account of his age, 395, *n.*

Teraphim what meant by in Hebrew, 444, 445, *n.*

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Tetramneſtus, king of Sidon, 370. Aſſiſts Xerxes in his expedition againſt Greece with 300 gallies, ib. Was one of the chief commanders of the Perſian navy, ib.

Thammuz, or Adonis, ceremonies practiſed in his honour by the Phœnicians, and their origin, 354, & ſeq.

Thebes in Bœotia founded by Cadmus, and from him called Cadmea, 366. Enlarged by Amphion and Zethus, and by them called Thebes, in honour of Thebe their aunt, ib.

Theophilus of Edeſſa, chief aſtrologer to Khalif al Mohdi, ſuppoſed to have introduced the uſe of vowels into the Syriac language, 301.

Timotheus, governor of the Ammonites, is often worſted by Judas Maccahæus, 129.

Tobiah, called the ſervant, at the head of the Arabians, Moabites and Samaritans, endeavours to prevent the rebuilding the temple of Jeruſalem, 129.

Toi, called by Joſephus Thœnus, king of Hamath in Syria, 326, & *n.* Delivered by David from being ſubdued by Hadadezer king of Zobah, ſends his ſon Joram with a coſtly preſent to him, ib. & ſeq.

Tripoli, city of Phœnice, derived its origin from the joint contribution of Sidon, Tyre, and Aradus, 334. At firſt three diſtinct cities, at a furlong diſtance from each other, and inhabited by three diſtinct colonies, ib.

Tulis, king of Egypt, 89. In his reign Abraham, according to the orientals, came into Egypt, ib.

Typhon, his Hiſtory, 3, & ſeq. Kills his brother, 8.

Tyre, a city of Phœnice, its ſituation, 331. Ought to be diſtinguiſhed into three different cities in order of time, viz. Palæ-Tyrus, or Old Tyre, on the continent, Tyre on the iſland, and Tyre on the Peninſula, ib. Called alſo Sor, and Sarra by the Latins, ib. & *n.* The etymology of its name, ib. *n.* Four different places in Phœnice bearing the ſame name, ib. *n.* Tyre on the iſland, and old Tyre on the main, conſidered but as one city, 332, *n.* Its wall 150 foot high, 333. Beſieged by Shalmaneſer king of Aſſyria, 382. The ſiege raiſed, 383. Beſieged, taken after a 13 years ſiege, and razed by Nebuchadnezzar, 383. The inhabitants retreat to the iſland, and build a new city, 384. The royal dignity changed into that of temporary magiſtrates, called Suffetes or judges, ibid. The royal dignity reſtored, ibid. The memorable ſiege and reduction of that city by Alexander the Great, 386, & ſeq. The city burnt down to the ground, and the inhabitants either put to the ſword, or enſlaved by the conqueror, 391. The city repeopled by Alexander, and Azelmic reſtored to the throne, ib. Now called Sûr, 333. Its preſent abandoned ſituation, ib. *n.* Deſcription of the city and its parts, ibid. *n.* Antiquities to be ſeen there, 336, & ſeq. Particularly the wells, or ciſterns, called by the Turks Roſelayne, commonly Solomon's ciſterns, or wells. ib. Series of the kings and judges of Tyre, 364. Hiſtory of its kings, 375, & ſeq.

Tyrians diſperſe, with 12 veſſels, the mighty fleet of the Aſſyrians, 382. Hold out a five years ſiege againſt Shalmaneſer king of Aſſyria, ib. Tributary to the Aſſyrians for ſeventy years, 384, 385. All murdered in one night by their ſlaves, except Strato, who was aſſumed to the crown, 385, 386.

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CHAP. VII.

SECT. II.

The hiſtory of the Jews, from their Egyptian bondage, to their entrance into the land of Canaan.

AARON had not long been inſtalled in his office of high-prieſt, before he had the mortification of ſeeing his two ſons, Nadab and Abihu, ſtruck dead by fire from heaven, for preſuming to burn incenſe in the tabernacle with ſtrange fire, contrary to Moſes's command[y]; who ordered them to be carried forthwith out of the camp, and buried without any mourning or funeral pomp. Preſently after this he expreſly forbad Aaron, and all his ſucceſſors, to drink either wine or any other intoxicating liquor, whenever they went into the tabernacle, leſt they ſhould incur the ſame fate with his two ſons; from which the Jews conclude reaſonably enough, that theſe two, being drunk when they went to burn incenſe, took ſome fire along with them[z], not conſidering, that there was

His ſons killed by fire from heaven.

[y] Levit. x. 1, 2, & ſeq. [z] Vid. chald. paraph. Yajiera. Rab. & al.

was an holy fire preserved in the tabernacle for that purpose, from that which was miraculously fallen a little before, and had consumed the victims upon the altar in the presence of all the people [a].

The rebellion at Tabera.

In the mean time, Moses, (who observed how short-liv'd their tractable disposition was, whenever it shewed itself upon any extraordinary occasion, and that they were just ready for another rebellion, because he had made them take too long a march at their departure from the wilderness of Sinai) made all the haste he could to intercede for them, and to appease the divine anger which was already kindled, and had already shewed its effects in an extraordinary fire, which began to consume the extremities of the camp. His prayer was heard, and the fire ceased, upon which account the place was called Taberah, or burning *. However, Moses began to find, by this fresh instance of their stubbornness, that the burden of government was like to prove still too heavy for him, notwithstanding his having thrown off a great part of it upon these magistrates, which he had chosen at Jethro's advice. He was forced to present his complaint to God, who was now pleased to speak to him from the mercy-seat; and God, to ease him of this load of care,

The great council of seventy appointed.

commanded him to make choice of seventy of the most considerable of the elders of Israel both for wisdom and integrity, to whom he should impart a portion of his spirit (G), and to erect them into a supreme court, that they might

[a] Levit. ix. ver. ult. * Num. x. 1. & seq.

(G) This the Jews, judiciously enough, compare to a candle lighting a great number of others, without loosing any of its light. For Moses had such a rebellious crew to deal with, as would not permit him to part with the least portion of his spirit, which he found too little to govern them (42).

The Talmudists tell us moreover (43), that Moses was greatly puzzled how to chuse these seventy out of the twelve tribes. If he chose six out of each, there would be two too many; if but five, there would be ten too few; and if he chose six out of some, and five out of other tribes, he was sure of causing a fresh murmuring, if not a rebellion. At length he bethought himself of the following expedient; he chose six out of every tribe, then wrote on seventy tickets the word elder, the other two he left blank

(42) Bamidbar. rabbah. & targ. Jonath. in loc. (43) Talm. tract. sanhedr. fol. 17. col. 1.

might bear their ſhare of the burthen with him. Moſes made no delay to obey God's command, and it was not long before he found the advantage of it; for they were no ſooner removed from Taberah, but their very next encampment was ſignalized with a freſh inſurrection. A mixt multitude of the dregs of Egypt and other nations, who had followed the Iſraelites hitherto, began to murmur at the manna, and to regret their forſaking the garlic, onions, and fleſh-pots of Egypt for it, and ſoon infected the whole camp with a longing after ſome better food. Moſes's tent was beſet on all ſides with crouds, who came, and, in a tumultuous manner demanded, that he ſhould provide them fleſh to eat inſtead of manna, which their ſouls did begin to loath. In this extremity Moſes had recourſe to God, complained of the unreaſonableneſs of their demand, and that his tender care for them had only made them more ſtubborn and inflexible; adding, that death in any ſhape was leſs terrible to him, than the perſecutions to which he was continually expoſed.

A new murmuring for want of fleſh

THIS expoſtulation had indeed ſomething that looked like deſpair in him, but yet God who ſaw and weighed the many provocations which extorted it from him, inſtead of a rebuke, did immediately promiſe a ſpeedy remedy. He commanded him to call together the ſeventy elders to the door of the tabernacle, and whilſt his glory drew the eyes of the whole camp, he was pleaſed to promiſe them, that he would ſend them ſuch a preſent ſupply of fleſh, as ſhould ſerve them, not for a day or two, but for a whole month, till it became as loathſome to them as the manna was. At the ſame time, he inſpired the ſeventy elders with ſuch a ſhare of his ſpirit, that they al began to propheſy (H); and the ſame gift continued with

blank, after which he made them draw lots, aſſuring them, that thoſe that drew the latter were ſet aſide by the Lord. However, concerning theſe two ſupernumerary ones, ſee the following note.

(H) Moſes acquaints us in the ſame chapter (44), that there remained two in the camp, viz. Eldad and Medad, who were of the number of thoſe that were written, but went not to the tabernacle, but propheſied in the camp; and that when word was brought of it to him, Joſhua would have had them ſilenced, but

(44) Numb. xi. 26. & ſeq.

with them as long as they lived. As for Moſes, though his faith had hitherto been unſhaken, yet the promiſe of ſuch

but Moſes blamed him for his envying them the gift of prophecy, and wiſhed, that God would rather impart it to all the people. From which words St. Jerom, and others after him, have thought them to have been two of the ſeventy, who had forbore going to the tabernacle out of modeſty (45): but had that been the caſe, there would have been no cauſe to wonder at their propheſying, nor for Joſhua to have forbad them; ſo that it is more likely, that theſe were the two that were ſet aſide by the lots, to whom nevertheleſs God imparted the ſpirit of prophecy, though they were not to have a ſeat in the great court of the ſeventy.

Some Jews affirm theſe to have been brothers to Moſes by the mother's ſide; others, that Amram, Moſes's father having repudiated her, took another wife, by whom he had theſe two ſons (46). There is a fragment of a ſpurious book quoted in Hermas (47) entitled the prophecies of Eldad and Medad, or Eldam and Medal. As for the Rabbies, they are divided about the purport of their prophecies, ſome thinking, that they foretold the deſtruction of Gog and Magog; others, the prodigious flight of the quails; and laſtly, others, Moſes's death in the wilderneſs, and Joſhua's ſucceeding him.

As to this aſſembly of the ſeventy elders, the Jews, and after them Grotius, and ſome other Chriſtians (48), having affirmed, that it was the ſame that became afterwards ſo famous under the name of Sanhedrin, to which even their kings and high-prieſts were ſubject. The Rabbies have left no ſtone unturned to prove that this Sanhedrin had conſtantly ſubſiſted ever ſince its firſt inſtitution by Moſes; and that the members of it always aſſembled themſelves before the tabernacle, wherever that was ſet up, either in the wilderneſs, or in the promiſed land, till the building of the temple of Solomon, who, they ſay, built a ſtately room or hall in the form of an amphitheatre, one half of which being within the temple, they were not permitted to ſit down in it, but only in the other, which was without it: they add further, that this ſupreme court was continued in Babylon during their captivity there, and that at their return it had the ſame place rebuilt in the ſe-

cond

(45) Ep. 127. Manſion 13. (46) Vid. Tradit. Hæbr. in 1 Chronic. iv. 17. (47) Herm. lib. i. Viſion 2. c. 5. (48) Grot. Comm. paſſ. & de Jur. Bell. & Pac, c. 3. art. 20. Vid. Seld. de ſyendr. vet. Hæbreor. lib. ii. c. 13. Lightfoot. Hor. Hæbr. & al.

ſuch a ſurprizing ſupply of fleſh appeared to him incredible, till he beheld the completion of it. The camp was at that time in Arabia Petræa, at a ſmall diſtance from the red-ſea; from the other ſide of which a ſtrong wind brought ſuch infinite flocks of quails, that they not only covered the whole camp, but all the ground round about it for ſeveral miles. Theſe birds being tired with their long flight, and not able to ſoar more than two cubits above the ground, were eaſily caught by the people, and in ſuch quantities, that the leaſt that any one of them gathered was ten Homers (I). Their firſt care was to glut themſelves

A ſupply of quails ſent, which laſted 30 days.

cond temple, and ſo continued till its total extinction under the Romans. However, as they bring no authority for all theſe and many other particularities relating to that aſſembly, beſides their traditions, they are juſtly rejected by the far greater part of Chriſtians. Certain it is, that we do not find one word of ſuch an high-court, either in the times of Joſhua, of the Judges, or of their Kings; nor indeed even after the Babyloniſh captivity, till the time of the Maccabees. And therefore we ſhall forbear giving any further account of the Sanhedrin, till we come to the time in which it is generally ſuppoſed to have been ſet up. As for theſe ſeventy elders, it is likely, that they aſſiſted Moſes during their abode in the wilderneſs, and that there was an end of their aſſembly, as ſoon as they entered the land of Canaan. Their other courts of judicature ſhall be mentioned in their proper place.

(I) Homer, or rather Chomer, is a meaſure which contains ten Baths, or five buſhels; the Jews think חומר, Chomer to be the ſame with חמור, Chamor, an aſs, becauſe the letters are the ſame, and conſequently, that Chomer is an aſs's load (49). This prodigious quantity of quails has appeared ſo incredible to ſome learned interpreters, that they have choſen to render the word Chomer, an heap; but even this verſion of ten heaps to each perſon, or even to each family, in a camp that conſiſted of near three millions of ſouls, will appear ſtill too extraordinary, unleſs it be looked upon as altogether miraculous. However, becauſe we would not enlarge the miracle more than was needful, we have ventured to depart a little from our own and moſt other verſions, which render the words of Moſes as if the quails had lain two cubits, that is, above a yard thick upon the ground, which would be ſtill more prodigious: whereas the original may properly enough be rendered, that they

(49) Vid. Munſt. in loc.

themſelves with them, after which they began to think how to preſerve the reſt from corrupting. But in the midſt of their feaſting God was pleaſed to ſmite a great number of them with a ſore diſeaſe, which carried them off with the meat, as it were, in their mouths: in memory of this ſevere puniſhment for their unreaſonable luſt the place was called Kibroth-hatavah, or the ſepulchres of concupiſcence; from whence they removed to Cadeſh-barneah, and thence to Hazaroth [b]. In this encampment Miriam, Moſes's ſiſter, having been ſmitten with leproſy, for ſome reflections which ſhe had caſt upon him, upon the account of his wife Ziphorah, of which we have given ſome account in a former note †; Moſes, at her's and Aaron's requeſt, obtained a cure for her, yet ſo, that ſhe was to remain without the camp, as a polluted perſon, ſeven days [c], after which they removed again towards Cadeſh-barneah in the wilderneſs of Paran. Here Moſes was commanded to chuſe twelve proper men, one out of each tribe, and to ſend them to ſearch the land of Canaan, among which were Joſhua and Caleb. Theſe twelve having received Moſes's directions to view the whole land, to examine the ſtrength of its cities and inhabitants, the nature and fertility of its ſoil, and the like, ſet out upon their progreſs, which they performed in forty days.

A freſh plague deſtroys a great number of the rebels.

Miriam ſtruck with leproſy.

At their return from Rehob, which is at the foot of mount Libanus, they paſt through the valley of Eſhcol, ſo called from the great quantity of the largeſt grapes with which it abounded, and is ſtill to this day famed for, where they gathered a branch of a vine with a bunch of grapes of a prodigious ſize, which they threw over one of their ſtaves, and brought between two upon their ſhoulders by turns, to prevent the grapes being bruiſed.

Being

[b] Num. xi. per. tot. † Vid. vol. ii. p. 547. note (Y). [c] Numb. xii. per. tot.

flew no higher than two cubits from it; and this quantity was more than ſufficient to ſerve them a month, conſidering, that not only the camp, but all the ground for a day's journey round it, was covered with it, and that fleſh was not then eaten in ſuch quantities, as it is now, eſpecially ſuch as that of quails, which is too delicious and ſurfeiting to be eaten at any ſuch rate.

BEING at length happily arrived at their camp they went and made their report to Moſes and Aaron, in preſence of the elders and of all the people. They begun indeed with extolling the richneſs of the land, and ſhowed them a ſpecimen of it in the bunch of grapes which they had brought with them, together with ſome of their fineſt pomegranates, figs, and other fruits; but as ſoon as they obſerved, that this account had inſpired them with a deſire of becoming the happy poſſeſſors of it by a ſpeedy conqueſt; ten of them immediately altered their note, and began to repreſent it as a thing impoſſible, by reaſon of the ſtrength of their fortified towns, and the bravery and gigantic ſtature of its inhabitants [d]. Joſhua and Caleb alone remained firm in their report, and the latter, who obſerved a kind of deſpair in the people's looks, endeavoured in vain to encourage them, by aſſuring them, that ſuch a glorious enterprize was nothing leſs than poſſible; the people gave ſuch credit to the cowardly account of the other ten, that they cried out one and all, that they could never hope to overcome ſuch powerful and gigantic nations, in compariſon of whom they looked upon themſelves as meer graſs-hoppers and reptiles. Their murmuring grew to ſuch a heighth before the next morning, that a return into Egypt was again looked upon as vaſtly preferable to ſuch an undertaking, wherein they could expect nothing but to periſh by the ſwords of the ſons of Anach, and their wives and children to become their ſlaves. In this extremity they were already conſulting how to chuſe themſelves a leader, who ſhould bring them back to the land of their former thraldom, and this in the preſence of Moſes and Aaron, and of Caleb and Joſhua. But whilſt theſe were endeavouring to divert them from ſuch a baſe deſign, by repreſenting to them how eaſy and cheap the conqueſt of that fertile land might be to them, whilſt they had God on their ſide, they were like to have been ſtoned by the tumultuous populace, had nor their fury been in ſome meaſure ſuppreſt by the appearance of the glory of God in the cloud, which then covered the tabernacle, from which God was heard to ſpeak to Moſes in ſuch threatening terms, as gave them cauſe to fear, that ſome ſpeedy and terrible judgment would be the reward of their rebellion and ingratitude *.

Ten of them bring an ill report.

And cauſe an inſurrection.

HERE

[d] Ibid. xiii. per. tot. * Ibid. xiv. per. tot.

HERE Moſes was forced again to become their interceſſor, and made uſe of ſuch powerful arguments and expoſtulations, that he did in ſome meaſure avert the divine vengeance. However, the ingratitude and infidelity of thoſe miſcreants, who had beheld his glorious appearance upon mount Sinai, who had been eye-witneſſes of thoſe wonders which he wrought both in Egypt and in the deſart, and of the puniſhments which he had inflicted upon other rebels, was of too crying a nature, not to exact ſome conſpicuous mark of the divine diſpleaſure, which might at leaſt ſerve as a warning to the reſt. Wherefore God did then ſwear, that none of thoſe that were above twenty years of age, except Joſhua and Caleb, ſhould ever enter into the promiſed land ; but that they ſhould wander from place to place during the ſpace of forty years (K), till all their carcaſſes were rotted in the wilderneſs. As for the ten wretches, whoſe falſe report occaſioned this rebellion, they were all deſtroyed by a ſudden death, and became the firſt inſtances of the puniſhment denounced againſt the whole nation [e] : In memory of which, the Jews do to this day keep a faſt, upon the ſeventh day of the ſixth month called Elul [f].

All above 20 years of age excluded from entering into the promiſed land.

THIS ſevere puniſhment, joined to the ſentence of excluſion from entering into the promiſed land, did cauſe an univerſal mourning among the people ; however, as this lingering death, to which they heard themſelves condemned, was nothing ſo terrible as an immediate one, ſuch as they had reaſon to expect, they took it into their heads, that their fault was not ſo great, but it might be attoned for in ſome

[e] Num. xiv. 36, 37. [f] מגלת תענית Seu liber de jejun. part. ult. § 15.

(K) Moſes here makes uſe of a round number, alluding to the forty days of the ſpies, ſearching the land, though it is plain, that their children did enter it thirty nine years after this ſentence was pronounced againſt their fathers (50). It is further to be obſerved, that though this excluſion excepts none but Caleb, and in other places, where it is repeated, it mentions only Joſhua along with him ; yet there were certainly ſome others that were not included in it, ſuch were Moſes and Aaron, who had no part in the mutiny, but were excluded afterwards upon another account ; together with Eleazar and a few more, eſpecially of the tribe of Levi.

(50) Compare Numb. xxxii. 13. with Deut. ii. 14. Vid. Uſſher's Ann. p. 19.

ſome meaſure, by expreſſing as great a degree of eagerneſs for the conqueſt as they had againſt it, and by ſhewing as brave a contempt of their enemies and reſolution to attack them out of hand, as they had before their fear and deſpair of ſucceeding in it. Fired with this hope they preſented themſelves early in the morning before Moſes ready armed, and, having acknowledged their baſe cowardice in the humbleſt terms, they told him, that they were now ready to retrieve their credit by ſome noble exploit, either againſt the Amalekites, or againſt ſome of the Canaanitiſh nations. Moſes ſtrove in vain to divert them from ſuch a raſh enterprize, by repreſenting to them, that it was contrary to God's expreſs command, who would have them go back into the deſart towards the red-ſea, and by aſſuring them, that they would certainly periſh in the attempt, becauſe they had now forfeited the divine aſſiſtance and protection, without which it was impoſſible for them to ſucceed; his ſpeech did but whet their muſhroom-valour the more, ever indocile and deaf to good counſel, they reſolve to try their fortune, and gain the paſſes of the neighhouring hills, but they found them too well kept to their coſt, and the Amalekites and Canaanites falling upon them, made a great ſlaughter of them there, and purſued the reſt as far Hormah, and diſcomfited them [k]. All this while Moſes, who foreſaw what would be the conſequence of this raſh enterprize, did wiſely keep himſelf and the ark of the covenant in the camp. In memory of this ſad diſaſter, and of the dropping of the people during the remainder of the forty years, he is ſuppoſed to have compoſed the 90th pſalm, in which he gives us a moſt lively image of the ſhortneſs and frailty of life. After ſome longer ſtay in the camp they continued moving from place to place, but ſtill in the ſame wilderneſs of Seir, during which time Moſes received many other laws, the time and occaſion of which not being mentioned by him, we ſhall give an account of the moſt remarkable ones in its proper place. However it is to be obſerved, that their encampments from this time were much longer than they had formerly been, ſeeing that we read but of ſeventeen of them, during the remaining thirty ſeven years, whereas this removal from Cadeſh-barneah was the fifteenth encampment from their coming out of Egypt. We ſhall not trouble our readers with a further detail of them at preſent; thoſe who are deſirous to have a more

The raſh and ill-timed exploit againſt the Amalekites puniſhed.

[k] Numb. xiv. 40. to the end.

a more particular account of them may find it in the annals of the learned archbishop Usher [h].

During this long interval, the divine providence displayed itself in the most conspicuous manner, in the forming and polishing this new-springing generation, for whom the conquest of Canaan was reserved. The miraculous pillar continued still to direct them, and the manna to nourish them.

God's wonderful care of this new generation.

Moses continued still his intercourses with God, and, if this had been too little to assure them of his paternal care, the people's raiments, particularly their shoes, whether of men, women, or children, continued sound and whole, and their feet unhurt, notwithstanding their long and frequent marches (L). If at any time the people relapsed into their usual murmurs and rebellions, as they often did, their punishment followed so close, so severely, and so universally, that their

[h] Ann. Usher, p. 19, 20.

(L) A certain bold critic of a neighbouring church † has taken a great deal of pains to prove, that there was nothing miraculous in all these and many other things, which are looked upon as such, by all that are not endowed with the same perspicuity with himself. According to him, the meaning of these places, where the divine historian tells the Israelites, that their cloaths and shoes did not wear out during those forty years, is only this, that they were not drove to the necessity of going naked or barefoot, because they had the wool of their cattle to supply the former, and the skins of those beasts that were either killed or died a natural death to make shoes of; so that it was no wonder, that their feet never swelled by so many marches, when they could be so well shod. He is not the only one by many, that has thus burlesqued the sacred scriptures, under pretence of vindicating them; for were Moses's words capable of this sense, as they are not, it would be plain, either that he trifled with his people and his readers, or that he purposely couched those transactions in such terms, as would make them appear miraculous to all but such sagacious heads as our critic's; in which case we shall be at a loss to whom to ascribe the greatest share of modesty, to the historian, or his interpreter, who has been sufficiently censured for his boldness, and more fully confuted than we think he deserved *.

† Peirer.. Appen ad Exercit. de præadamit. pass. * Vid. Calm. Com. in Genes.

their disobedience could neither be countenanced by the number of delinquents, nor flatter itself with hopes of impunity. However, it is plain by the sequel, that the success was far from being answerable to that excess of care and tenderness which God shewed to them; for which reason the divine historian has thought fit to leave us but an imperfect account of the transactions of these remaining years, if we except some few rebellions and challisements, which he committed to writing without order of time and place. And indeed they are so little to the honour of his nation, that he seemeth to mention them with regret, and to have been much more willing to have suppressed them, had not the glory of their great deliverer, and the interest of the people, obliged him to record them.

THE next transaction, indeed, we read of would make one hope, that some extraordinary change must have been wrought in them. and that they had began to fear God in good earnest, by the zeal which they shewed against a poor delinquent, whom they caught gathering a few sticks on the sabbath. Their fear, lest his breach of a precept so esteemed, so solemnly inculcated, should bring some new judgment upon them, if they let him go unpunished, made them bring him before Moses, who ordered him to be put into custody, till he knew what was the punishment designed against sabbath-breakers; and on the next day, when he acquainted them that such a transgression should be punished with death, they immediately led him out of the camp, and there stoned and buried him [k]. The sabbath-breaker accused and put to death.

THOUGH Moses's sweet and tender disposition might perhaps make him look upon this as a very severe punishment for so inconsiderable a crime, yet could he not chuse but be pleased with this new instance of their religious zeal, and to esteem it as an earnest of their future obedience; but this short-liv'd joy was soon imbittered, by one of the most audacious conspiracies that was ever formed against him (M). It was not like the former occasioned through want of flesh

[i] Deuter. viii. 4. xxix. 5.

[k] Numb. xv. 32, & seq.

(M) It is not easy to guess in what year and place this sedition happened (51). Some think it was in the desart of Sinai, others at Cadesh-barneah, and others at Jothbath (52). This last seems the

(51) Usher's Ann. p. 20.

(52) Vid. Calm. Comment. in loc.

flesh or water, or the sally of a giddy and ungovernable mob that thought themselves bereaved of their leader, or at the point of falling into the hands of their enemies; but this was a treason hatched with the utmost deliberation and secrecy in the breast of one of the chiefs of the tribes of Levi, and countenanced by some of the most considerable men in the whole camp, especially of the tribe of Reuben.

Korah's rebellion and accomplices.

KORAH, the great grandson of Levi by his father Jahar as Aaron also was by his father Amram, and consequently one of the heads of that tribe, unable to behold Aaron and his family raised to the high priest-hood, to which he thought he had an equal title, ceased not to cabal against him, till he had drawn a considerable number of eminent persons into his interest. Among these were Dathan, Abiram, and Hon, who were heads of the house of Reuben (N). Whether he thought, that he should never gain his

[l] Numb. xvi. pass. [m] Ibid. ver. 12. & seq.

the most probable, because, where that encampment is mentioned, Moses tells us, that the Lord separated the tribe of Levi to be priests to administer unto him, and to bless the people in his name (53); but, where-ever it happened, it is plain, that the conspirators were far from giving any credit to Moses, or to his miracles, else they could never have been so infatuated, as to run into the very jaws of that destruction, which he had so publickly threatened them with, in case they persisted in their rebellion.

(N) It is plain from Moses's words, if rightly translated, that Korah was the first fomenter, as well as ring-leader, of this conspiracy. They run thus in the original; *and Koran took Dathan, and Abiram, and On, and they rose up with two hundred and fifty of the children of Israel, &c.* (54). What has misled most translators is the conjunction ו Vau, and before Dathan, from whence they have taken the verb ויקח vajikach, took, though in the singular, to relate to all the four, though they have been forced to make up the sense by the addition of an accusative: thus some read it; and Korah, Dathan, &c. took men, others, took censers, others, took 250 men: whereas the verb being being in the singular, can only relate to the first, namely, Korah; and he it was who took, or as the word may bear it, stirred both Dathan, and Abiram, and On, &c. As for the ו Vau, and, it is plain, that it is often joined to the first as well as the other words that

(53) Deuter. x. 8. & seq. (54) Numb. xvi. 1, 2. & seq.

his point againſt his rival, whilſt Moſes enjoyed the ſupreme legiſlative power, and conſequently, that it was neceſſary to inſpire them with an ambitious deſire of ſupplanting him, or whether he had obſerved already ſome ſuch deſign in thoſe three chiefs, he played his part ſo well, that he drew them and two hundred and fifty more into his party; and as ſoon as he found things ripe for an open rupture, he reſolved to appear at their head, and to bear the brunt of the firſt onſet againſt Moſes and Aaron. He began with upbraiding them with their unjuſt ambition, in ingroſſing all the power into their hands, and excluding the reſt of the congregation, whom he affirmed to be as holy as they. Moſes was ſo ſurprized at the boldneſs of this ſpeech, that he fell proſtrate with his face to the ground; and after a ſhort prayer, as is ſuppoſed, he aroſe; and, after having rebuked them for their preſumption, deſired them to put off all further debate till next morning; at which time they ſhould all appear at the door of the tabernacle, with each his cenſer in his hand, at which time he promiſed, that the Lord ſhould declare himſelf openly in favour of thoſe whom he deſigned for that high office. After this, addreſſing himſelf to Korah and his Levites, he upbraided them for their ingratitude and arrogance, in not being contented with the dignity and privileges which God had annexed to their

tribe;

that follow in order, in the ſame manner as the Greeks do their ϰαὶ or the Latins their et and que, as in homineſque, deoſque, & cœlum, & maria, & tellus, and the like; of which we ſhall give an inſtance or two out of the Pſalms, וכבוד והדר תעטרהו, coronabis eum & honore, & gloria (55). ועני ואביון מנזלו, inopemque miſerumque, liberabis, à diripiente eum (56). ואון ועמל בקרבה ſunt & iniquitas, & perverſitas in medio ejus (57).

We had not dwelt ſo long upon this critical note, had not ſome authors ſuppoſed this rebellion to have been at firſt excited by the Reubenites, in order to preſerve the prieſthood in the old channel of the firſt-born, which they ſaw Moſes was now going to transfer to the tribe of Levi; for beſides that this ſuppoſition is quite contrary to the whole tenor of Moſes's account, it is hardly credible, that if the Levites had only been drawn into it by Dathan and Abiram, and upon ſuch an account, he would have made uſe of ſuch terms, as threw the far greateſt part of blame againſt the former, of whoſe tribe he himſelf was, or placed Korah as the very head of the faction.

(55) Pſ. viii. 6. (56) Pſ. xxxv. 10. (57) Pſ. lv. 11.

tribe; but aſpiring to the high prieſthood, which God had reſerved for Aaron and his poſterity.

Soon after this he ſent privately for Dathan and Abiram, whom he ſuppoſed to have been drawn by Korah into this conſpiracy; with a deſign to have argued the caſe more calmly with them; but they not only refuſed to come, but ſent his meſſenger back with an inſolent anſwer, in which they upbraided him with having decoyed the whole nation out of the rich and fertile land of Egypt, under pretence of bringing them into a better, inſtead of which he only detained them in that barren wilderneſs to make them greater ſlaves to him; and that he had now nothing more to do, but to put their eyes out, ſince they ſaw further into his ambitious deſigns than he would have them, and grieved to behold the author of all their misfortunes become their greateſt tyrant.

As meek and gentle as Moſes naturally was, his patience was not proof againſt ſuch a reproachful meſſage; he appealed to the divine preſence againſt the injuſtice of it, ſince they could not but be ſenſible, that he had been ſo far from uſing his power to the invading of the leaſt portion of any man's property, that he had reaped hitherto nothing by it but care and ſorrow; begging at the ſame time of God not to regard the prayers and offerings of ſuch ungrateful wretches. Early the next morning Moſes and Aaron marched towards the tabernacle, whether Korah failed not to repair ſoon after, at the head of his two hundred and fifty men, each having a copper cenſer in his hand. Theſe were followed by a vaſt multitude of people, who were come either to be ſpectators of this famous conteſt, or to back the ſeditious in caſe of an oppoſition. The firſt thing that did draw their eyes was, the glory which appeared in the cloud over the tabernacle, from which God commanded Moſes and Aaron to withdraw themſelves from the rebellious crew, leſt they ſhould periſh with them in the ruin which was going to fall upon them. Here Moſes was forced again to turn interceſſor, and to beg of God, that he would not puniſh the innocent with the guilty; and the croud had no ſooner ſeparated themſelves from Korah and his company, and followed him to the quarters of the Reubenites, where Dathan and Abiram, with their families, ſtood at their tent doors as it were in defiance; but Moſes ſpake to the aſſembly to this purpoſe, that, if thoſe rebels died a common death, he would give them leave to call in queſtion his being ſent from God; but if the earth did immediately

Their dreadful puniſhments.

mediately open itſelf in a miraculous manner, and ſwallow them up alive, he then hoped, that they would look upon him only as an inſtrument in God's hand, and ſufficiently authorized for all he did. The words were ſcarce out of his mouth, and the people retired at a ſufficient diſtance from the tents of the conſpirators, when the earth clove aſunder under their feet, and buried them alive, with all their families and ſubſtance. At the ſame time Korah and his whole company, who ſtood with their cenſers before the court of the tabernacle, were all deſtroyed by a ſupernatural fire, though their children were ſpared, becauſe in all likelihood, they had no ſhare in their father's guilt [n]. In memory of this dreadful judgment, and to deter, for the future, any, but the ſons of Aaron, from preſuming to burn incenſe before the Lord, Eleazar was commanded to take the cenſers of Korah and his men, and to beat them into broad plates for a covering of the altar; which he accordingly did.

In the mean time, the people, who ran away terrified at the ſight of ſo dreadful a ſpectacle, were ſcarce recovered from their fright, before they began to murmur afreſh, and to accuſe Moſes and Aaron of having murdered the people of the Lord, as they called that ſeditious crew. Theſe two ran immediately into the tabernacle, from whence the glory appearing again in the cloud, did ſuſpend for ſome time the fury of the inſurrection. Here Moſes, who foreſaw that ſome terrible judgment was juſt ready to fall on the rioters, did immediately command his brother to take his cenſer, and to go and make atonement for the people: but, though Aaron made all poſſible haſte to obey him, the plague was already begun, and had raged ſo furiouſly, that it had already deſtroyed fourteen thouſand and ſeven hundred men, beſides thoſe who had periſhed in Korah's rebellion; all that he could do was, to put a ſtop to its further progreſs, by ſtanding with his cenſer between the living and the dead [o].

Cauſes a new inſurrection againſt Moſes.

There was certainly ſomething ſurpriſing and unaccountable in the ſtubborn behaviour of theſe men, whatever they thought of their law-giver; for whether they looked upon his works as miraculous, and thoſe heavy puniſhments that befel them as the effect of his too ſevere prayers, as Joſephus

[n] Vid. Num. xxvi. 11.

[o] Ibid. xvi. per tot.

phus thinks †, or whether they attributed the whole to his extraordinary skill in Egyptian magic, which is most likely, one would think, that so many severe examples of his superior power might have deterred them long before, from making such dangerous attempts against him. However, to prevent Aaron's authority being any more called in question, God was pleased to confirm it by one miracle more. Aaron on the one side, and the head of every tribe on the other, were ordered to bring an almond rod with their names written upon it, and these were to be deposited in the tabernacle till the next morning, by which time the Lord would decide in favour of that family, on whose rod some visible and miraculous change was found. Accordingly, when they came to examine them on the morrow, Aaron's rod alone was found to have budded, and brought forth leaves and ripe almonds; and Moses was ordered to lay it up in the ark, as a standing monument of their rebellion and unbelief. The people had nothing to object either against that, or against the miracle, but yet could they not forbear making some grievous complaints against the severity of God's punishments [p]. However, from that day there was an express prohibition made against any, but the sons of Aaron, to presume to come into the tabernacle under pain of death; and at the same time some further ordinances were renewed concerning the office of the Levites, who were only to minister to the priests; but were interdicted approaching either the altar, or any of the consecrated utensils, under the same penalties. The portion and perquisites of both priests and Levites were likewise appointed, together with some other regulations relating to their ministry, in particular, that of making the waters of separation, and the use of them to purify all unclean persons from any contracted impurities [q].

Aaron's priesthood confirmed by the budding of his rod.

By this time they had wandered near thirty years in the desart of Arabia Petrea, and had had been thirty nine years out of Egypt, still moving from one place to another about the mountains of Idumea; during which time, they were guilty of many more murmurings and idolatries than Moses has thought fit to record, but which have been preserved by other inspired writers [r], who have severely upbraided them with setting up and carrying about the idols of Remphan,

† Ant. lib. iv. c. 4.

[p] Num. xvii. per tot.

[q] Num. xviii. & xix. pass.

[r] Amos v. 26. Ezek. & Psal. pass. Acts vii. 43. & alib.

Remphan, Malkom, and many others (O) of the like nature.

(O) It would ſcarce be credible, that the Iſraelites could ever be guilty of ſo many horrid idolatrics under Moſes's noſe, and in ſpite of all God's wonderful works and ſevere puniſhments, were we not well aſſured of it from the mouth of ſo many inſpired writers, who all agree in this, that they had contracted ſuch an invincible propenſity towards it in Egypt, that they not only perſiſted in the worſhip of the Egyptian deities, but adopted moreover every new one which came in their way, as they became acquainted with other nations (58). But as to the deities themſelves, we have nothing certain but their names; all that has been writ concerning their extraction, their figure, and the way of worſhipping them, being nothing but mere conjecture, as has been obſerved more than once already †††. Their names, as we find them mentioned in ſome of the authors above quoted, are Moloch, Chiun, and Remphan; to which they added a vaſt number of others in proceſs of time. One thing, however, appears more than probable, with reſpect to one part of the worſhip of theſe idols, from the places above quoted and ſome others (29), namely, that they uſed to carry them about in tabernacles, or under canopies in carts, or upon prieſts ſhoulders, not only as they removed from place to place, but likewiſe at certain times, and upon certain occaſions, in a kind of proceſſion (60). To this the pſalmiſt ſeems to allude in the 16th pſalm above quoted, where he expreſſes himſelf thus, ירבו עצבותם אחר מהרו &c. which ours, after moſt other verſions, renders, *their ſorrows ſhall be multiplied that run or haſten after other gods*; whereas, the word עצב hetzeb ſignifying alſo idols, the verſe may more properly be rendered thus: though their idols be multipled; or, according to the Hebrew idiom, let them multiply their idols; let them run or haſten after them; or let others multiply their idols, &c. as for me, I will be ſo far from making them any drink or blood-offerings, that I will not ſo much as mention their names with my lips. According to which verſion, the ſenſe is perfect and clear without thoſe ſuppletives, without which the other cannot be underſtood. Thoſe, who are deſirous to be more particularly informed about all theſe falſe deities, may, at their leiſure, conſult thoſe who have treated

(58) Exod. xxxii. 4. Levit. xvii. 7. Num. xxv. 3. & ſeq. Deut. paſſ. Joſh. xxiv. 14. Pſalm lxxviii. cvi. & al. paſſ. Jer. vii. 30. & ſeq. Ezek. xiv, & xvi. paſſ. Amos v. 25, 26. Acts vii. 43. & alib. ††† Vid. vol. i. p. 398. & ſeq. vol. ii. p. 340. & ſeq. (59) Pſ. xvi. 4. Iſai, xlvi. 7. & Baruc. vi. 3. 29. (60) Vid. Herodot. l. iv. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. Macrob. Satur. l. v. Philo-Bybl. ap. Euſeb. de præp. l. i. N. 10. & al. mult.

Several idolatries not recorded by Moſes.

nature. However, the time drawing near for their entering into the promiſed land, they went from Ezion-Geber towards Kadeſh in the wilderneſs of Zin, deſigning probably to have entered Canaan by the narrow paſſes called the way of the ſpies, but they were diſcomfited in their firſt attempt by Arad, one of the kings of the Canaanites §, who killed a great number of them, and took ſome conſiderable ſpoil from them. Upon this they vowed all the cities of Arad to deſtruction; ſoon after which they made a ſecond puſh, wherein they had much better ſucceſs, and having defeated the king, and deſtroyed ſome of his towns, they called the field of victory Hormah, or rather Chormah, that is, Anathema, or utter deſtruction [s], though the total one of that country did not happen till the time of Joſhua [t] (P).

About

§ Vid. vol. ii. p. 199. ſub. not. (W) & (X).

[s] Num. xxi. 1, 2. & ſeq.

[t] Joſh. xii. 14.

treated of them in a more ample manner, eſpecially thoſe quoted in the margin (61).

(P) The Jews have a tradition founded on an expreſs text in Deuteronomy (62), and ſome places in Joſhua, that the Iſraelites were obliged to ſend a herald to offer peace in their name to every city and people, before they attempted to conquer it by the ſword; and that in caſe they accepted it, they became only tributaries to them, but if they refuſed their offer, they were then to be vowed to deſtruction; and that this command of God extended even to the ſeven nations of the Canaanites, contrary to the current opinion, that theſe had been long before under an anathema for their wickedneſs. However, Maimonides has taken a great deal pains to confute this common notion, and to prove, that all thoſe nations that were cut off by the Iſraelites, owed their deſtruction to their chuſing to try the fortune of war, rather than to accept of peace upon ſuch terms. There is indeed one main objection againſt him, namely, the ſtratagem which the Gibeonites made uſe of to obtain peace from Iſrael, which would have been needleſs, had the latter been forced to offer it before all things; but to this our learned Jew above-mentioned anſwers, that the reaſon of the Gibeonites policy was, that they had, in common with their neighbours, refuſed the firſt offers of peace, and were conſequently doomed to the ſame fate with them; to prevent which their embaſſadors feigned themſelves to come from a country vaſtly

(61) Vid. Grot. in loc. Voſ. de Idolalat. Le Cler. Com. in loc. Saurin's Diſcourſe, and Calmet's Diſſertation on that ſubject.

(62) Deut. xx. 10. & ſeq. Joſh. xi. paſſ.

About this time alſo it was, that the king of Edom, having refuſed a free paſſage through his country to the Iſraelites, though on the moſt peaceable and friendly terms, they were in all likelihood going to take ſome kind of revenge for the affront; but God, who would not ſuffer them to commit any hoſtilities againſt them, becauſe they were their brethren, cauſed them to take a turn round their country, and to march peaceably away towards mount Hor †, where Miriam Moſes's ſiſter died ſoon after (Q), in the hundred and thirtieth year of her age, being about eight or ten years older than Aaron *, who died in the hundred and twenty third of his, in the very year following.

A new murmuring for want of water.

Whilst they continued at Kadeſh, a little before Aaron's death, a new murmuring aroſe for want of water, and Moſes was again commanded by God to bring them a freſh ſupply out of the rock; but he did it in ſuch a manner as was highly diſpleaſing to him: for God had commanded him to call for the water by only ſpeaking to the rock; but he, whether out of impatience at their loud murmurs, or out of diffidence of the promiſed ſupply, ſmote it twice with his rod, and uſed ſome undecent expreſſion, either to the rock or to the people ***, for which he was excluded from ſetting his foot into the promiſed land, and condemned to die in the wilderneſs. Aaron was likewiſe

Moſes ſmites the rock twice.

† Num. xx. 14. Deut. ii. 8, 9. Vid. vol. ii. p. 163. & ſeq.
* Vid. vol. ii. p. 520. note (K). *** Vid. Pſ. cv. 32, 33.

vaſtly diſtant from any of thoſe ſeven, and as ſuch obtained the deſired peace (63). However, it is plain from this tradition, and the Rabbi above mentioned, that this peace was to be offered to thoſe nations upon certain conditions, the two principal of which were, that they ſhould obſerve the ſeven precepts given to Noah, in caſe they refuſed to be circumciſed.

(Q) Euſebius (64) tells us, that Miriam's ſepulcher was ſtill extant in his time at Kadeſh, at a ſmall diſtance from the city of Petra, the metropolis of Arabia Petrea †. Some antient fathers that ſhe died a virgin (65), and that ſhe was the legiſlatrix and governeſs of the Iſraelitiſh women, as her brother Moſes was of the men (66).

(63) Maimon. ap. Cunæum. & Baſnag. Rep. Hebr. tom. i. lib. 2. cap. 20. (64) Loc. Hæbr. † Vid. vol. ii. p. 528. note (Q). (65) Greg. Nyſſen. & Ambroſ. de Virginitat. & al. (66) Theod. in Micah. vi. 4.

likewiſe included in the ſame ſentence, as having, doubtleſs, ſhared in the fault. In the memory of this new rebellion the place was called Meribah; ſtrife, from which they went and encamped at the foot of mount Hor, on the frontier of the land of Edom. Here Moſes was commanded to take Aaron and Eleazar his ſon, to the top of the mountain in the ſight of all the people, and to ſtrip the father of his prieſtly robes, and to array the ſon with them; which was no ſooner done than Aaron died, and was buried there: but whether by Moſes, or Eleazar, or by ſome other perſon, certain it is, that the place was kept ſo private, that none of the ſepulchre-mongers of thoſe countries could ever find it out, or dared ſubſtitute another in lieu of it. The children of Iſrael mourned thirty days for him, and Eleazar ſucceeded him in the high prieſthood [w] (R).

Aaron's death.

Soon after the days of mourning were over, they went and encamped at Zalmonah; which place took that name from the image or figure of the brazen ſerpent which Moſes cauſed to be ſet up there [x]; for the Iſraelites, being tired with the length of their journey, and labouring under a ſcarcity of proviſion, began to murmur afreſh againſt Moſes, in ſo grievous a manner, that God was provoked to ſend large flights of fiery ſerpents among them, which deſtroyed ſuch multitudes of that rebellious people, that the reſt came, and, in the humbleſt terms, acknowledged their fault to Moſes, begging of him to deliver them from that deſtroying vermin (S). Moſes, applying himſelf to God, was commanded

[w] Num. xx. 23. & ſeq. [x] Ibid. xxi. 9.

(R) Aaron's death happened upon tueſday the firſt day of the fifth month (which is our Auguſt) in the fortieth year after the Exod, and in the hundred and twenty third year of his age (67).

(S) A certain author (68) has endeavoured to prove, that thoſe inſects were only little worms which bred in the ſkin, but of ſuch venomous nature, that they immediately poiſoned thoſe that were infected with them; but it is plain, not only that the original words נחשים שרפים Nechaſhim Seraphim ſignify a burning or winged ſerpent; but likewiſe, that thoſe creatures are very common both in Egypt and Arabia: inſomuch, that thoſe countries

(67) Vid. Annal. Uſher. p. 22. (68) Fortun. Licet. lib. de ſpontan. vivent. ort. vid. Uſher ubi ſup.

commanded to caſt a brazen ſerpent of the ſame figure with thoſe that infeſted them, and to ſet it upon a pole upon ſome eminent ground, that as many as were bitten by the ſerpents might be healed by looking upon it [y]. As ſoon as they were delivered by this means from the plague, they marched towards Phunon [z], ſince known by the name of Metallo Phunon, by reaſon of the copper mines with which it abounded [a], and might perhaps have its firſt name from Phinon, one of the dukes or princes of Edom [b], from thence they removed to Oboth, called by Pliny, Eboda. This was their thirty-ſeventh encampment; their next was at Jie-abarim (T), upon the borders of Moab, that is, in that

The brazen ſerpent ſet up.

[y] Numb. xxi. 4. & ſeq. [z] Ibid. xxxiii. 42. [a] Vid. Euſeb. loc. Hebr. ſub Phinon. [b] Gen. xxxvi. 41.

countries would become uninhabitable, if thoſe ſerpents had not been debarred by a kind of providence from multiplying as other ſerpents do; but the Arabians tell us, that after they have coupled together, the female never fails to kill the male, and that her young ones kill her as ſoon as they are hatched. The learned Bochart, from whom we have this account of them, tells us further (69), that they are ſhort, and ſpotted with divers colours, and that their wings reſemble thoſe of a bat. He quotes a great number of antient and modern authors to prove, that they are the ſame with the Hydra of the Greeks and Latins. Herodotus, who went on purpoſe to the city of Butos to ſee them ſays, that they are not unlike the Hydra; and that he had ſeen a vaſt quantity of their ſkeletons, whoſe fleſh had been devoured by the Ibis (70), which bird is peculiar to Egypt, and a continual deſtroyer of thoſe ſerpents, as we have ſhewed elſewhere †. There was no need therefore of any other miracle, the Iſraelites being then in Arabia Petrea, than a ſtrong wind to blow them into their camp, it being then about the ſpring-time of the year, in which ſeaſon they commonly fly in great ſwarms, from Lybia and Arabia towards Egypt and other countries in that neighbourhood (71).

(T) It muſt be remembered, however, that when Moſes tells us, that they encamped at Oboth, Jieabarim, and other cities belonging to the Edomites and Moabites, he muſt not be underſtood, as if they came near theſe places, but only that they encamped at ſuch convenient diſtance from them, that they might eaſily ſend to

(69) De Animal. Sac. p. 2. l. iii. c. 13. (70) Herod. l. ii. c. 75, 76. † Vid. vol. i. p. 501. (71) Vid. Bochart ubi ſup. & autor. ab eo citat.

that part of the deſart which lieth over againſt the land of Moab eaſtward [c], and is therefore called the deſart of Moab [d]. Soon after this, as they were removing to paſs the brook or valley of Zared, God forbad them to commit any hoſtilities againſt the Moabites and Ammonites [e], becauſe he had given them the land they dwelt in, and obliged them to take a large turn round their country to come at that of Canaan. They arrived at length at Bamoth, or Bamoth-arnon, that is, the high places of Arnon, under which is a fine valley belonging to the Moabites, along which the brook or torrent of Arnon runs (V); and pitched at the foot

[c] Num. xxi. 11. [d] Deut. ii. 8. [e] Ibid. ver. 9, 18, 19.

to buy proviſions of them, without giving them any umbrage of their having any hoſtile deſign againſt them.

(V) The brook or torrent of Arnon runs along between the countries of the Ammonites and Moabites, and diſcharges itſelf into the black-ſea (72). The book of the wars of the Lord, mentioned by Moſes (73), ſeems to intimate ſome ſuch miraculous tranſaction at this brook, as had been at the red-ſea; and we find ſome paſſages in the pſalms, and in the prophet Habakkuk (74), which the Chaldee paraphraſt doth underſtand as if the brook Arnon had been dried up, or miraculouſly divided, to make a paſſage for God's people. However, it muſt be owned that the words of Moſes are ſomewhat obſcure, and variouſly underſtood both by Jews and Chriſtians; and that the words וְהֵב סוּפָה Vaheb Suphah may be the proper names of places, as we find it in the margin of our bibles, and as David Kimchi and ſome Chriſtians underſtand them (75); but we rather chuſe the expoſition of R. Solomon, who thinks the ו Vau in וְהֵב to be put for the Jod, which often happens, and that it ought to be read יְהֵב Jaheb, and then the ſenſe will be, what the Lord brought upon Supha, or the red-ſea, and on the brook Arnon.

As to the book of the wars of the Lord, the generality of Chriſtians think, that it is one of thoſe that were loſt, either at the captivity or the burning of the temple (76), if not during Manaſſeh's wicked reign. The generality of the Jews, unwilling to admit that one jot, much leſs a whole book, of holy writ ſhould be loſt, have fancied, that the book of Judges is prophetically

(72) Vid. Num. xxi. 13. (73) Ibid. ver. 14. (74) Vid. Pſ. lxxiv. 15. Habakkuk iii. 13. & ſeq. (75) Kimch. in rad. vid. Jun. in loc. (76) Vid. Packhurſt's Mazorah, p. 185. Munſt. in loc.

foot of mount Piſgah. From thence they removed to Beer, ſo called from the well which the heads of Iſrael digged there by God's direction; and this gave birth to that ſong of Moſes which was ſung by the Iſraelites, the burden of which begins with the words, *Spring up, O well, ſing ye unto it* [f].

AFTER ſeveral marches, in which they paſſed as it were between the countries of Moab and Ammon, without committing the leaſt hoſtilities on either ſide, they came at length to the land of the Amorites. Here they ſent again to beg a peaceable paſſage through the territories of Sihon king of Heſhbon. But that prince, having refuſed to let them paſs upon any terms, and made himſelf ready to attack them, was overthrown by them in a ſet battle †, and the Iſraelites, having ſeized upon his kingdom, from the torrent of Arnon to that of Jabbok, put men, women, and children to the ſword, and ſaved nothing but the cattle (W). Soon after this, Og king of Baſan, attempting in like manner to obſtruct their paſſage, underwent the ſame fate, as we have already ſhewn in the hiſtory of the Canaanites (X) ‡. Sihon and Og diſcomfited.

THIS

[f] Num. xxi. 17. & ſeq.
[g] Vid. Judg. xi. 13. & ſeq.
† Vid. vol. ii. p. 139, & 199.
‡ Vid. ſup. loc. citat.

tically meant by it, and underſtand the verb יאמר, Jeamer in the future tenſe, it ſhall be ſaid, or recorded in time, in the book of, &c. becauſe in Judges there are ſeveral wars mentioned between the Jews and their neighbours, in which God did viſibly appear in favour of the former. However, the moſt received opinion is, that this and ſome other books mentioned in the old teſtament were actually loſt.

(W) This land formerly belonged to the Moabites and Ammonites (77), out of which either Sihon or ſome of his predeceſſors had drove them. When therefore the Iſraelites conquered it from him, they made no difficulty of keeeping poſſeſſion of it; and when it was afterwards claimed again by the Ammonites, Jepthah roundly told them that they had loſt all their right to that tract, ſince it had been taken from them by the Amorites, and from them given by God himſelf to the children of Iſrael (78) †.

(X) We have already taken notice of the gigantic ſtature of this Canaanitiſh prince ‡, and of his large iron bedſted preſerved at

(77) Vid. Judg. xi. 13. & ſeq. (78) Ibid. paſſ. † Vid. vol. ii. p. 122. ‡ Vid. vol. ii. p. 199.

This land of Basan, one of the most fertile cantons of Canaan, which reached on the east to the river Jordan, to the mountains of Gilead on the west, to the brook Jabbok on the south, and to the land of Geshur on the north, was divided, though not equally, between the tribes of Manasseh and Gad: and the land of Sihon was assigned partly to Gad, and partlyto Reuben [h], as we shall show more fully in the sequel of this history; but upon this condition, however, that they should assist the rest of the tribes, in the conquest of the land of Canaan till that was perfected.

By this time Balak king of Moab, near whose territories the Israelites were encamped, with a design to cross the river Jordan, in order to enter into the land of Canaan, began now to look upon them with a jealous eye. However, their late conquest having given him but too sure a proof of their strength, he did not think it sufficient to make a strong alliance with the Midianites and Ammonites his neighbours, in order to stop their progress; but resolved, before he began any hostilities against them, to try how far Balaam's enchantments might go towards turning the fortune of the war to his side. We need not repeat what has been said in the history of Moab *, concerning the ill success of Balak's

Balak sends for Baalam.

[h] Num. xxxii. 33. & seq. & Deut. iii. 1. & seq. * Vid. vol. ii. p. 104 & seq.

at Rabbah †††, the capital city of the Ammonites; but the Jewish rabbies, not contented with such pigmy wonders, have improved it to their liking. They tell us, that this nine cubit bed could be only his cradle, seeing himself was six score cubits high when full grown. They add, that he had lived before the flood; and that the waters of it, when at the highest, reached only up to his knees. Several other wonderful things they write of him, which cannot be read without laughter. We shall only mention one among the rest, which is, that he took up such a monstrous rock with a design to throw it into the Israelitish camp, as would have crushed them all under it, but that a lapwing, or some such bird, picked a miraculous hole in it, big enough for his head to go through, which nevertheless, he would easily have disengaged had not his teeth immediately grown to an excessive length, and given Moses an opportunity of killing him, whilst he was struggling to get the stone off his neck (79).

††† Vol. ii. p. 117. (79) Vid. Calm. Hist. V. T. in loc. & Munst. in Deut. iii. sub not d. & al.

Balak's project (Y), and the too ſure one of Balaam's advice

(Y) We have already ſaid ſomething concerning Balaam's prophecies ***, and endeavoured to clear ſome obſcure paſſages of it; we now beg leave to add an explication or two more of ſome other places equally dark and puzzling. The firſt is where Balaam prefaces his prophecy with theſe words, *the man whoſe eyes are open has ſaid* or, as our margin has it, *who had his eyes ſhut, but now open* (80), and in the next verſe, *who heard the words of God, and ſaw the Almighty falling, (into a trance), but haveing his eyes opened.* Here it is plain ours, as well as other verſions, have been forced to add ſeveral words to ſupply the ſenſe, for want of conſidering what Balaam alludes to by theſe expreſſions, and for want of attending to the two words שתום Satum, and עלוי Halai, when joined to the word עינים Henaim, eyes, as here, or to any other member; for though the words do ſometimes ſignify, *open and ſhut, hidden and revealed*, yet when thus tacked to any thing elſe, do more properly ſignify *witholden, and then looſened again.* We need not but ſuppoſe, that he alludes to the angel meeting him thrice in the way, and his eyes being holden from ſeeing him at firſt and ſecond meeting, and opened at the third, when the aſs fell down under him and Balaam not in a trance, but upon his face to the ground, either through fear, or out of reverence.

The next is where he ſays, that his (Iſrael's) *kingdom ſhall be higher than Agag* (81); for though they were as certain which a learned rabbi obſerves †, that Agag was the common name of the kings of Amalek, as what he ſubjoins immediately after, that the firſt king of Iſrael gave the moſt ſignal defeat to that of the Amalekites; yet as the Samaritan, Septuagint, Syriac, and Arabic read Gog inſtead of Agag, and Gog doth generally ſignify the Scythians and northern nations (82), ſeveral interpreters have preferred this latter reading to the firſt, and not without good grounds (83).

The laſt expreſſion we ſhall take notice of is, where Balaam ſays, *that God had not beheld iniquity in Jacob, nor ſeen perverſeneſs in Iſrael* (80); which cannot be true in a literal ſenſe, ſince he could ſcarce behold any thing elſe. Nor can we think, with ſome predeſtinarians, that they were ſuch favourites of the Almighty, as they were his choſen, that he could ſee no fault in them.

*** Vid. vol. ii. p. 108. not. (N) & ſeq. (80) Num. xxiv. 3, 4. (81) Ibid. ver. 7. † R. Moſ. Gerund. ap. Munſt. in loc. vid. ſup. p. 389. c. (82) See Joſ. Mede's Diſcourſe on Gog and Magog. (83) Id. Vid. Calm. Hiſt. Vet. Teſt. & De Clerc's Comm. in loc. & al.. (84) Num. xxiii. 21.

The Israelites debauched by the women to idolatry;

advice of debauching the Israelites, by the help of some of their most beautiful women. All that needs be added is, that it fully answered their hopes, and that the Israelites failed not to give into the snare, and to make work for repentance; for Balak ordered his subjects to celebrate a grand feast to Baal-peor, which is generally thought to be the same with Priapus, or Adonis [i], in which as we observed before ***, the most shameful kinds of lewdness used to be perpetrated, and to invite the Israelites to them. These, being too easily prevailed upon, were soon enticed from one crime to another, by the fair women that were sent among them for that purpose; that is, they fell from drunkenness to lewdness, and from lewdness to idolatry, and became so enamoured with those fair deluders, that observing in them a more than ordinary forwardness to follow them, they made no scruple to bring a great number of them into their camp;

[i] Isid. orig. lib. viii. Hieron. in Hos. ix. vid. Goodwin's, Moses and Aaron, lib. iv. c. 3. Calm. Dissert. Le Clerc's Com. in loc.
*** Vid. vol. ii. p. 101.

them. Neither have those, who by perverseness and iniquity understand idolatry, succeeded better, since it is plain, they had so often made themselves abominable by, and been severely punished for, it; and consequently neither can it be true in the sense that others have taken it, namely, that he did not behold any iniquity in them, because he had already forgiven it; seeing the contrary is plain from those heavy punishments which he inflicted upon them. The best sense therefore seems to be that of Gataker, namely, that God did not behold iniquity, &c. in them with approbation, as he is said to behold, that is, to approve the contrite, humble, &c. and that he is of purer eyes than to behold, that is, to approve evil. To this we may add further, that the particle ב Beth doth often signify against, and is accordingly so rendered, not only by ours, but by most translations in the places quoted in the margin (85), and many more of the like nature; according to which, the words will run more naturally thus, he doth not approve of any wicked practices against Jacob, &c. This sense is still further confirmed by the words אָוֶן Aven and עָמָל Hamal, which though we render iniquity and preverseness, do oftner signify outrage, oppression, deceit, machination, affliction, and the like; which therefore God seems here to declare, he would not suffer to be attempted or practised against his people (86).

(85) Exod xiv. 25. xx. 16. Num. xii. 1. & xxiii. 23. & alibi.
(86) Vid. Le Scen. & Essay on a new vers. p. 118.

camp; so that it was not long before the infection was become universal, and punished by a plague, which carried off about twenty four thousand of the offenders. Their severe punishment.

In the mean time, God, still highly provoked at their disobedience, which this severe punishment had not yet put an effectual stop to, commanded Moses to erect a court of judicature, consisting of the heads of all the families, and to try and hang all that had been guilty of this rebellion and idolatry, without respect to friendship or kindred (Z); which was accordingly done, and about one thousand more were put to death. By this time the greatest part of the people, being come a little to themselves, were bewailing their folly at the door of the tabernacle, when they were surprized with an instance of the most unparallelled boldness, in

(Z) Though we have given this place a different sense from our own, and most versions, which make God to command Moses to take all the heads of the people, and to hang them up in the face of the sun (87), whether guilty or not, we hope, those who understand the Hebrew will readily own, not only, that the words are capable of our interpretation; but likewise, that the context, as well as the reason of the thing, doth naturally lead one to it. For, whatever shifts commentators have made use of to justify the other version, such as that those heads were, either all as deep in the guilt, as those that were under them, which is not probable; or that they were guilty of a shameful neglect, in not opposing the growing mischief and punishing the offenders (88), both which, might, probably enough, be out of their power, since even Moses himself found them so often headstrong for him; yet it is plain from the directions which he gives those judges in the very next verse, viz. to punish all that they found guilty indifferently, that this command had nothing so unjust in it, as those versions intimate; and Josephus, who followed the common version, was so well convinced, that it could not be palliated by any futile arguments, that he has chosen to suppress it wholly; and this is one main argument to us, that he understood neither the Hebrew nor the Chaldee, else he might as easily have fallen into our sense of that command, as the Targum of Onkelos, rabbi Salomon, and other Jews after them have done, as well as the learned Fagius in his comment on the place, and others among the Christians. How Josephus has mutilated this place, and what account he has given of this defection, and the consequences of it, the reader may, if he pleases, see in his antiquities (89).

(87) Num. xxv. 4. (88) Ita Abarbanel in phirash bathorah. (89) Lib. iv. c. 6.

Zimri and Coſbi.

in one of the chiefs of the tribe of Simeon named Zimri, who had brought a young Midianitiſh princeſs into the camp, and, in ſight of Moſes and of the whole congregation, was leading her into his tent. However, their impudence did not go long unpuniſhed, for Phineas the ſon of Eleazar the high-prieſt, being moved with a juſt indignation, and fired with a godly zeal, followed them cloſe with a ſpear in his hand, and at one ſtroke joined their bodies in death, where they were joined in their ſin. This action was highly pleaſing to God as well as to Moſes, and the high-prieſthood was confirmed to him and his ſeed as a reward for his zeal. However, it is plain from the words of the Pſalmiſt [k], that he averted the divine vengeance more by his prayers to God, than by the puniſhment of theſe two offenders [l]. As for the authors and accomplices of this rebellion, they did not go unrewarded, Balaam was ſoon after killed in a ſet battle, which Iſrael fought againſt five kings of Midian, who likewiſe fell on that day, whilſt the conquerors made a terrible ſlaughter of their ſubjects, putting them all to the ſword, women and children excepted; plundered and burned their cities, and carried off a conſiderable booty † with them, which they brought to Moſes and Eleazar; and theſe ordered one fiftieth part of it to be diſtributed among the prieſts, and another fiftieth to the Levites. But though Moſes could not but be pleaſed with their victory and valour, yet the ſight of ſuch a number of Midianitiſh women, whom they had brought captive with them, and the remembrance of what the people had ſuffered upon their account, made him think it unſafe to ſpare their lives; he therefore ordered all thoſe that had ever known a man, as well as the male-children, to be immediately diſpatched, and that none but virgins ſhould be preſerved alive [m] (A).

Are ſeverely puniſhed.

Balaam, with 5 kings of Midian, ſlain.

Soon

[k] Pſal. cvi. 30. [l] Numb. xxv. per tot. † Vid. vol. ii. p. 109. [m] Numb. xxvi. per tot.

(A) We ſhall not need wonder at Moſes's ſeverity againſt theſe women, when we conſider how zealous they had been to proſtitute themſelves, to debauch the Iſraelites into the moſt obſcene and beaſtly ceremonies. The antient Jews give us a very ſtrange account of the worſhip of this filthy idol, and affirm in particular, that it conſiſted in making a common jakes of his temple, from which, according to them, he was called Baal-peor; of which the reader

SOON after this defection to Baal-peor, Moſes was ordered to take an account of all the children of Iſrael that were able to bear arms, that is, from twenty years old and upwards. Joſephus ſays from twenty to fifty †*, but it is more likely to have been to ſixty, and theſe were found to amount to ſix hundred and one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty, The Iſraelites numbered.

†* Ant. lib. iii. cap. 12.

reader may ſee more in Munſter's bible (90). They add, that Balaam's counſel was to proclaim a kind of large fair, in which ſhould be expoſed great quantities of fine linen, which he told Balak, the Iſraelites delighted much to wear, and that every booth where they were expoſed to ſale, ſhould have an old woman in the outward, and a young one in the inward apartment, beſides, a conſiderable number of other places for eating and drinking: that the youths of Iſrael were eaſily drawn to the fair, where having refreſhed themſelves at the common booths, their curioſity did naturally lead to viſit the other ſhops alſo. Here the buſineſs of the old women without was to aſk a moderate price for their linen, and of the young ones within to make a conſiderable abatement, or even to offer it at their own price; after which, that they might not make a dry bargain, ſhe offered the youth a bumper of Ammonitiſh wine, which at once ſet him on fire, and upon his aſking her the favour, ſhe anſwered, with all my heart, provided you'll pay your reſpect to this idol: and if he made any difficulty upon the account of his being an Iſraelite, ſhe anſwered, that he had nothing to do, but to break wind backwards, or eaſe himſelf before it, which he readily complied with, not knowing that to be the kind of worſhip that was paid to that idol (91). Something like ſuch a filthy ceremony ſeems hinted by the prophet (92), if rightly underſtood, where he ſays, that the Iſraelites did withdraw themſelves, or go aſide, to bluſh, or as the word may be rendered, to ſtink, when they came to Baal-peor. However, it is plain, from the account of Moſes, and ſome of the prophets, that there was ſomething elſe more abominable in the worſhip of that idol; for the Pſalmiſt ſays, that when they joined themſelves to Baal-peor, they eat the ſacrifice of the dead (93): but whether that falſe deity was ſurnamed Peor from the mount of that name where he was worſhipped, as Iſidorus and St. Jerom think (94), or whether the mountains had its name from the idol, and this laſt from the filthy ceremonies uſed in its worſhip, is neither plain nor very material.

(90) Vid. Munſter in Numb. xxv. ſub note a. (91) Goodwin's Moſes & Aaron, lib. iv. c. 3. (92) Hoſ. ix. 10. (93) Pſal. cvi. (94) Iſid. Orig. lib. viii. Hieron. in ix. Hoſ.

thirty, beſides the Levites, who were numbered from one month and upwards, and amounted to twenty three thouſand: this account was taken in the plain of Moab, near the river Jordan, over-againſt Jericho; and it is ſuppoſed, that the laſt puniſhment that befel the 24,000 adherers to the Midianitiſh deity, made a final end of the old murmuring generation, which had been excluded from entering into the land of Canaan, becauſe upon examination, there was not one of them found in this new liſt which Moſes took of the people, except Joſhua and Caleb, according to the ſentence pronounced againſt them [n] by God himſelf. The numbering of the people was no ſooner over, than Moſes received orders to direct the diſtribution of the promiſed land between the tribes to be made by lot, not into equal parts, but in proportion to the number of men in each tribe. As for that of Levi, it was not to have any inheritance with the reſt but was otherwiſe provided for [o].

WHEN this order was publiſhed, there came five of the daughters of Zelophehad, of the tribe of Manaſſeh the ſon of Joſeph, to petition Moſes and Eleazar for an inheritance with their father's brethren, that his name might not be loſt in Iſrael, ſeeing he had left no ſons, but was dead in the wilderneſs, not for any ſedition, but had ſhared in the common fate with the reſt. Their requeſt was approved by God, and readily granted by Moſes, who allotted them a portion in their kindred's inheritance accordingly. After which God was pleaſed to make a law, that for the future the eſtates of thoſe who died without iſſue-male, ſhould be inherited by their daughters, and if they had no daughters, that then it ſhould go to the next of the male, and in defect of that, of the female-line [p]. But there being ſtill ſome doubt remaining, namely, whether the latter might marry out of their tribe; that of Manaſſeh came ſoon after to Moſes, and repreſented to him the inconveniency of ſuch marriages, ſeeing thoſe heireſſes would carry their inheritance into other tribes, which might in proceſs of time, cauſe a great deal of confuſion, and probably leſſen one tribe and enrich another. This remonſtrance was likewiſe approved by God, who immediately declared, that neither theſe daughters of Zelophehad, nor any heireſſes for the future ſhould marry out of their tribes, nor even out of their own

Zelophehad's daughters portioned.

Some regulations about the marriage of heireſſes.

[n] Numb. xxvi. 64, 65.
[o] Numb. xxxvi. 62.
[p] Ibid. xxvii. 1, 2. & ſeq.

own family. As for the other females who had no inheritance, they were permitted to marry into what tribe they pleaſed [q].

IMMEDIATELY after this, God commanded Moſes to get up upon mount Nebo, which is one of the mountains that make that long ridge which is called Abarim (B), and to take a view of the promiſed land, ſince his rebellion in the deſart of Zin had debarred him from entering into it, and he was ſhortly to die in that very mountain, from whence he beheld it. Moſes was nothing ſurpriſed at the news of his approaching death, which he only looked upon as a haven of repoſe, after a life of the greateſt trouble and fatigue. Neither was he ſolicitous to have his commiſſion tranſmitted to his children, or in the leaſt diſpleaſed to ſee his own ſervant appointed his ſucceſſor before them; but, finding his end ſo near, he made it his chief buſineſs, during thoſe few remaining days, to ſettle things in the beſt order he could. The firſt care he took was to have Joſhua confirmed his ſucceſſor, in the moſt public and authentic manner, to prevent any oppoſition from his own family after he was dead. To this end he brought him forth in ſight of all Iſrael, layed his hands upon him, and having preſented him to Eleazar the high-prieſt, and given him all neceſſary directions, and in particular, that of conſulting God upon all emergencies by the Urim and Thummim (C), he

Moſes commanded to take a view of Canaan from Nebo.

Cauſes Joſhua to be proclaimed his ſucceſſor.

[q] Ibid. xxxvi. 1. ad fin.

(B) Abarim was a long ridge of mountains, that reached from the tribe of Reuben into the land of Moab, on each ſide the river Arnon; but the extent of which is not eaſy to fix. Euſebius and St. Jerom do mention them more than once: the former places it about ſix miles weſtward of Heſhbon, and ſeven eaſtward of Liviade (95). The mounts Piſgah, Peor, and Nebo, where Moſes died, were part of the ridge Abarim, or, as the original has it, עברים, Habarim, which ſignifies either paſſes, or paſſengers.

(C) What the faſhion of the Urim and Thummim was, as far as can be known, ſhall be taken notice of when we come to ſpeak of the high-prieſt's garments, of which they were an appendage. In the mean time, we beg leave to obſerve, that Joſhua could not be that prophet like Moſes whom God promiſed to raiſe, and commanded

(95) Sub voc. Nebo & Bel-phegor.

he cauſed him to be proclaimed head and general of all Iſrael [r].

As

[r] Ibid. xxvii. 16. ad fin.

manded under ſevere penalties to obey (96), as our modern Jews affirm, and ſome Chriſtians, whom we forbear to name, have too eaſily granted. Joſhua was in many particulars inferior not only to Moſes, but likewiſe to the generality of the prophets, ſince he was to have recourſe to the Urim and Thummim upon all emergencies, whereas the former ſpoke to God face to face, and the latter were always ready to declare the mind of God to thoſe that came to conſult them. How could he therefore be the head, prophet, and director of ſuch an numerous nation, who wanted a director himſelf? Or how could the people be charged to hear and obey him, who was himſelf to receive his orders from the high prieſt? as for this divine oracle of Urim and Thummim, which in the original ſignifies light and perfection; and the Septuagint and Philo(97) render by the words δήλωσιν and ἀλήθειαν, manifeſtation and truth, as having thoſe two diſtinct vertues; it was not to be conſulted by private perſons, but only by the judges whilſt Iſrael was governed by them, and afterwards by the kings, or ſuch as were ſent by them, or, according to the Talmudiſts, by the אב בית דין, Ab-beth-din, or the head of the Sanhedrin (98), and even by the general in time of war, (as in the caſe of Joſhua (99)). Spencer indeed thinks, that the head of the nation alone, and he in his own perſon, was allowed to conſult the Urim (100), but the contrary ſeems more probable from David's conſulting the Lord by Abiathar, before he was ſettled upon the throne (1). However that be, this ceremony of conſulting by the Urim, &c. was not performed without great ceremony. The high-prieſt alone was the perſon to apply to, he was to be dreſſed in his pontifical robes, particularly his breaſt-plate, and to go into the holy place, though not into the holy of holies, towards which he was only to turn his face, when he enquired of the Lord. Again, he was not to be conſulted upon trivial matters, but upon thoſe of the greateſt moment, ſuch as concerned the public good, and upon any ſudden and unexpected emergency, as the Jews do prove from thoſe places of ſcripture where ſuch counſel was aſked (2). Laſtly, things relating to faith or practice were

(96) Deut. xviii. 15. vid. John i. 45. Acts iii. 22. vii. 37. (97) In vit. Moſ. & lib. de Monarchia, c. 2. (98) Talm. Tract. in יומא Joma, cap. 7. & § 5. vid. Fag. in Exod. xxviii. Moſes & Aaron lib. iv. cap. 7. § 8. vid. & Jud. i. 1. (99) De Legib. ritual. Hæbr. lib. iii. Differt. 7. c. 1. 8. & alib. (100) Vid. Meyer de feſt. dieb. Hæbr. cap, 4. § 49. & 51. (1) 1 Sam. xxiii 4. xxx. 7, 8. (2) Abarban. R. Levi. Ben. Gers. ap. Buxt. Hiſt. Urim & Thum.

As there elapſed ſomewhat above a month, between Moſes's receiving the news of his death, and the day in which he expired, he ſpent the beſt part of that time in making ſome further regulations. Amongſt other things, he had the pleaſure to ſee the twelve thouſand men whom he were not to be enquired by the Urim, becauſe they had the old precepts quoted by Iſaias (3), to the law and to the prophets.

But how this divine oracle gave its anſwer, whether by the unuſual luſtre of the ſtones in the breaſt-plate, when the anſwer was favourable: and by their dimneſs in the contrary caſe, as Joſephus (4), and others after him, have imagined; or, as others think, by vertue of the name יהוה, written, or engraven, in, or between, the double breaſt-plate (5); or, 3dly, by the prominency of the letters engraved upon the twelve ſtones of it, which the high-prieſt being then inſpired knew how to range ſo as to give a true anſwer; which opinion is almoſt univerſally received by the Jewiſh Rabbies (6); (as for inſtance, they ſay, that when David enquired whether he ſhould go up into any of the cities of Judah, and the Lord anſwered עלה, go up, (7), thoſe three letters became prominent above the reſt;) or laſtly, whether God anſwered the high-prieſt vivâ voce, by an articulate voice, from the mercy-ſeat, where the cherubims covered the ark of the teſtimony, called therefore the oracle (8); from whence God promiſed, that he would meet and commune with Moſes, or, as the original has it, inſtruct and talk with him; which notion is embraced by the majority of Chriſtians, as being indeed the moſt probable and conſonant to ſome inſtances in the text relating to this matter, and eſpecially to that where the children of Iſrael are blamed for making a peace with the Gibeonites, without conſulting פי יהוה, the mouth of the Lord (9): all theſe opinions, we ſay, are liable to many objections, which we ſhall not trouble our readers with, but conclude with the ſaying of a wiſe Jewiſh Rabbi (10), that he is on the ſafeſt ſide, who roundly owns his ignorance in this point.

How

(3) Ch. viii. 20. Vid. Maimonid. Kele Hammikdaſh. cap. 10. (4) Ant. lib. iii. c. 9. (5) Rab. Salom. ap. D. Kimch. in Rad. vid. Exod. xxviii. 15. (6) Vid. Zohar. in Exod. ex. lib. Jalkuth Siphre. R. Bechai in Deut. xxxiii. Maimon. ubi ſupr. & al mult. (7) 2 Sam, ii. 1. (8) Exod. xxv. 22. & alib. (9) Joſh. ix. 14. Hoſ. iii. 4. (10) Kimch. in Rad.

he had choſen, that is, a thouſand out of every tribe, return from the total overthrow of the Midianites, we mentioned a little before, loaden with the richeſt ſpoil, and to order the diſtribution of it: one half of which he allotted to the conquerors, and the other to thoſe who had not gone to the war,

How long the Urim and Thummim continued is not ſo difficult to decide: the Jews in general agree, that it laſted no longer than the tabernacle. It is a maxim with them, that God delivered his oracles during the ſtanding of it by Urim and Thummim; by the mouth of his prophets, during the firſt temple; and by the Bath-col from the Babyloniſh captivity to the deſtruction of the ſecond. Spencer who has eſpouſed their opinion, has backed it with ſeveral arguments, de congruo †, but what weighs more with us than all his reaſoning, is, that we do not meet with one ſingle inſtance of the Urim being conſulted from the building of Solomon's temple; on the contrary, we read, that when Hilkiah the high prieſt found the book of the law in Joſiah's reign, and that good king was not a little perplexed at the terrible threatnings pronounced againſt the trangreſſors of it, he ſent to conſult the propheteſs Huldah about it (11), which he needed not to have done had the Urim ſtill ſubſiſted. All that can be objected againſt it is, that Moſes, in bleſſing the tribe of Levi, prays that the Urim and Thummim may continue with God's holy one (12): but this doth not imply, that it ſhould abide without king, prince, image, ephod, or teraphim, (13): but it doth not appear to us, that any of the three laſt have any relation to the Urim and Thummim. As for what Joſephus ſays, that the ſtones of the Urim had loſt their luſtre but about two hundred years before he wrote (14); that is, about 112 years before Chriſt; we think it not worth confuting, ſince it is allowed on all hands, that it ceaſed at the Babyloniſh captivity, if not before, and that it was one of thoſe things in which the ſecond temple came ſhort of the firſt (15), as Ezra and Nehemiah intimate plainly enough (16).

We ſhall diſmiſs this note with reminding our readers, that the Egyptians had an oracle, or teraphim, which they called truth. This is plain from the teſtimony of ſeveral antient writers (17); but as to the queſtion, whether they had it from the Hebrews, or theſe from them, we ſhall refer them to what has been ſaid be-

fore

† De Urim & Thum. c. 2. § 2. (11) 2 Kings xxiii. paſſ. (12) Deut. xxxiii. 8. (13) Hoſ. iii. 4. (14) Jos. ubi ſupr. (15) Vid. Prideaux's Connect. part. 1. lib. 3. (16) Ezra ii. 63. Nehem. vii. 65. (17) Vid. Ælian, var. Hiſt. lib. xiv. cap. 34. Diod. Sicul. lib. x. & al.

war reſerving, as we ſaid before, one fiftieth part of each for the prieſts and Levites; which deſtribution ſeems to have paſt afterwards into a law [s]. What added ſtill more to his joy was, that the chief captains, upon a ſtrict enquiry, had not found one man miſſing of all that went upon this expedition, and expreſſed ſuch thankfulneſs for it, that they preſented to the Lord an offering of the gold-rings, bracelets, and ornaments which they had taken, amounting to the weight of ſixteen thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty ſhekles, all which was depoſited by Eleazar in the tabernacle as a monument of their gratitude [t]. It is likewiſe ſuppoſed, that it was during this interval, that he diſtributed the land of Sihon and Og to the two tribes and half [u]. Part of the Midianitiſh ſpoils offered to God.

AND now, as the Iſraelites were on the eve of entering into the promiſed land, no time could be more proper to remind them of his former commands, of driving out the Canaanites, and deſtroying their idols, temples, groves, and all the monuments of their idolatry; forewarning them at the ſame time, that in caſe they neglected to drive the inhabitants out of the land, they would prove as thorns in their ſides, and an inexhauſtible ſource of vexation and trouble, and of the ſevereſt puniſhments from GOD [w]. At the ſame time he appointed the limits of the land which they were to conquer, and the diſtribution of it by lot (D) according to God's appointed. Idols of Canaan to be deſtroyed. The limits of the land

[s] Vid. 1 Sam. xxx. 21. & ſeq. 2 Macab. viii. 28. [t] Numb. xxxi. 49. & ſeq. [u] Uſher. ann p. 24. [w] Numb. xxxiii. 51. & ſeq.

fore in caſes of the like nature †. Thoſe who are deſirous to know more of the ſubject, may conſult at their leiſure the authors quoted in the margin (18).

(D) Nothing could be more prudently forecaſt than this partition of the land by lot, and making Joſhua and the high-prieſt the ſuperintendents of it, ſince it was the only one that could, and did, effectually prevent all murmurings and quarrels among that ſtubborn people. However as the lots were to bear a proportion to the bigneſs of each tribe and family, it is ſuppoſed from what followed, that every tribe drew its lot for its own canton, after which there were proper perſons to meaſure out a quantity

† Vol. ii. p. 407. note (R), & p. 609, 610. notes (Y), (Z.) (18) Prideaux ubi ſupr. Cunæus, Baſnag. Rep. Jud. tom. i. lib. ii. c. 2. Le Clerc's Comm. in Exod. Saurin's Diſcourſes on the Pentat. Calmet. Dict. ſub voc. Urim Id. Comm. in Exod. & al.

God's command, and committed the whole care of it to Joshua and Eleazar the high-priest, at the head of the chiefs of every tribe [x], and they saw it punctually executed, as shall be shewn in its proper place. But though these limits did not reach beyond the land of Canaan, strictly so called [y], yet he had added thereto all the land of the Amorites on the other side of Jordan, with all the tract of ground which reached from the wilderness, the mountains of Lebanon, and the river Euphrates, unto the mediterranean-sea as far as the Nile. Some further directions were also given concerning the forty-eight cities and their suburbs, or rather districts, which were to be alloted to the tribe of Levi [z]; six of these were to be cities of refuge for the manslayer to fly to, three of which were to be on the one side, and three on the other of Jordan; to which he added a permission to appoint three more, whenever the enlargement of their borders should make it necessary [a].

The nearer Moses drew to his end, the more solicitous he was to complete his arduous task. Accordingly on the first day of the eleventh month, answering to our saturday February 20, of the fortieth year of the Exod [b], the Israelites being still encamped in the plain of Moab, he assembled the people about him, and, in a long and pathetic speech, recapitulated to them all that had happened since their departure out of Egypt till that time [c]. He adds indeed one circumstance not taken notice of before, namely, his earnest request to God, that he might be admitted to go into the promised land, and his prayer being absolutely denied [d]. All the rest is what has been already said in this section, except what relates to the laws he made, which we reserve for another place. He concludes with exhorting them to continue faithful to God, and with the severest threatenings in case of disobedience.

Moses's speech to the Israelites.

This

[x] Deut. xi. 24. [y] Josh. i. 4. & seq. [z] Num. xxxv. pass.
[a] Deut. xix. 8. [b] Vid. Usher. Ann. p. 24. [c] Deut. i, ii, iii, & iv. ad ver. 4. [d] Ibid. ch. iii. 23. & seq.

quantity of land to each family, according to their bigness. But whether this last was done by this, or any other method, whether the subdivisions between the families were likewise carried on by lot or otherwise, sure it is, that we do not read, that it occasioned any broils or jealousies among them (19).

(19) Vid. Josh. xiv. xv. & seq.

THIS ſpeech was ſoon followed by another of a much greater length [e], in which more particular mention is made of all God's mercies and judgments, promiſes and threatenings; and whereing the bleſſings and curſes, which were to be the fruit of their obedience, or diſobedience, are expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt and moſt lively terms; after which he reminded them of the continual murmuring and rebellions of their fathers, and the ſevere judgments that followed them. Thoſe he interſperſed with a ſummary of all the laws which the divine providence had calculated for their welfare, in which thoſe of the decalogue are repeated almoſt word for word (E); which he concludes with a moſt elegant deſcription

A ſecond ſpeech of Moſes's.

[e] Ibid. from ch. iv. to xxvii.

(E) All the difference betwixt theſe two places is in the fourth commandment: in this Moſes expreſſes the injunction thus; keep the ſabbath-day in order to ſanctify it, as, or, in the manner in which, the lord has commanded; unto which he ſubjoins theſe two reaſons, namely, firſt, that the ſervants might enjoy the benefit of reſt as well as their maſters; and ſecondly, that God had appointed that day of reſt, to put them in mind that they had been ſervants in Egypt, out of which the Lord had brought them, with a mighty hand and ſtretched out arm, for that is the plain meaning of the text here; whereas in Exodus, theſe two reaſons were omitted, and another given which is not mentioned here, namely, that God ſanctified the ſeventh day, becauſe in it he had reſted or ceaſed from his work of creation. From this ſeeming difference and ſome other arguments foreign to our preſent purpoſe, ſome divines have inferred, with ſome probability at leaſt, that not the ſeventh, but a ſeventh day, or one in ſeven, had been inſtituted at, and obſerved from the creation till the Exod, and if ſo, moſt likely the firſt day of the ſeven; but that in memory of this great deliverance, it was ſuperſeded and changed into the ſeventh day, on which it was to continue till a much nobler redemption, namely, that which Chriſt wrought for us, made the leſſer give place to it; at which time it was to return to its firſt inſtitution (20). We ſhall not take upon us to affirm any thing in ſo delicate a point; only this, that we beg leave to obſerve, that nothing can ſo well account for appointing the obſervation of the Moſaic ſabbath in ſo indolent and inactive a manner, as the reaſon here given, that when they found the ſweetneſs of reſt, and enjoyed it even beyond what nature required, they might be the more ſenſible of

(20) Vid. Bedford's Chronol. p. 298. § 13. 373, & ſeq.

ſcription of the ſolemn and dreadful manner in which they were delivered from mount Sinai. He cloſes the whole with a moſt pathetic exhortation to obedience, and a ſubmiſſive reliance on that amazing goodneſs, that had ſo graciouſly choſen them before any other nation of the world, not for any merit of theirs, but that he might diſplay his almighty power in favour of them, in order to be glorified by them and future ages, as well for the great mercies he had ſhewed to them, as for the heavy puniſhments he had inflicted upon the neighbouring nations for their wickedneſs and idolatry [f]. And leſt their proſperity ſhould in time make them forget their divine benefactor, he preſcribed unto them a form of confeſſion, which they were to make every year, when they came to offer the firſt fruits of their land; in which they were to acknowledge their having received it from God. It was prefaced with theſe remarkable words, a Syrian ready to periſh was my father, and went down into Egypt; then follows a ſhort account of the Egyptian bondage, their deliverance from it, and induction into a land flowing with milk and honey; and concludes with begging, that God would accept of this offering as a thankful acknowledgment for it [g]. After this he directed Joſhua and the elders how to erect a copious altar upon mount Ebal, of unhewn ſtones covered over with plaiſter, upon which they ſhould write a fair tranſcript of all theſe laws, copies of which he delivered to the Levites to keep (F) [h]; and how

A form of acknowledgment preſcribed.

Bleſſings and curſes to be ſet up on mount Ebal and Gerizim

[f] Deut. ix. paſſ. xxxii. paſſ. & al. [g] Ibid xxvi. paſſ.
[h] Ibid. xxvii. 5. & ſeq. xxxi. 9.

of the goodneſs of God, in delivering them from that thraldom in which their labours, though beyond meaſure exceſſive, had been without the leaſt intermiſſion †.

(F) The words which our verſion renders to write very plain, and we by a fair tranſcript, are in the original באר היטב Baerhetbh, in the infinitive mood, that is, in order to be diſtinctly and eaſily read. What the contents of this law were, which was to be thus written or engraven upon the altar, or more probably along the ſides of it, is not agreed. For whilſt ſome will have it to be the whole Pentateuch, which the Jews call by way of excellency התורה, Hathorah the law (21), and Joſephus

† Vid. Vol. ii. p. 511. note (C) (21) Maimon. halak. melac. Jos. Karo. keſeph miſhn. vid. R. Simeon in jalkul. & al. mult. S. Auguſt. in Deut. xvii, 18. Grot. ibid. Danhawer. Schikard. & al. in loc.

how to ſet up the bleſſings and curſes upon mount Ebal and Gerizim, in full ſight of all Iſrael, ſix tribes of which, namely, Reuben, Gad, Aſher, Zebulun, Dan, and Nephtali, ſhould ſtand upon the former, and thoſe of Simeon, Levi, Judah, Iſſachar, Joſeph, and Benjamin on the latter, and ſhould alternately anſwer amen to all the bleſſings and curſes when they proclaimed and ſet them up there, which was accordingly done in Joſhua's time [1], as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. And, that there might be nothing wanting in theſe his laſt inſtructions, he preſcribed a kind of exhortation, which was to be ſpoken aloud at the head of the army, by a prieſt appointed for that purpoſe (G), whenever they were going to engage

[1] Joſ. viii. 33. & ſeq.

ſephus mentions only the bleſſings and curſes (22), others abſurdly confine it to the bare decalogue; but the moſt probable opinion is, that it was that ſummary of all the laws which is contained in the book of Deuteronomy. Accordingly, when it is ſaid there (23), *that the kings of* Iſrael *ſhall be obliged to write a copy of this law with their own hand*, it is more likely to have meant thoſe that are contained in Deuteronomy, than either the whole Pentateuch or the bare decalogue, not only becauſe the former contains the ſum and ſubſtance of all the laws in the other four books of Moſes, but likewiſe becauſe they are here enforçed by the moſt powerful motives (24).

(G) This prieſt was either then, or in proceſs of time, called אמרכל Amercol, from Amar, to ſpeak, and Col, all, becauſe he was to direct his ſpeech to the whole army. And though the Jewiſh nation hath had no need of ſuch an orator of a very long ſeaſon, yet they ſtill retain the name and notion of it in their game of cheſs, which, with regard to the analogy it bears to a fighting army, differs only from ours in their diviſion of each opponent's ſide into church and ſtate, and calling the former by eccleſiaſtical names, as follows: the queen is with them כוהן גדול Cohen-gadol, or high-prieſt. Her biſhop is the סגן Sagan, or the next dignity to the high-prieſt. The knight they ſtyle כוהן משוח Cohen Maſhuach, by which is meant that prieſt that was anointed the high one for the war, in order to ſupply his place, whenever God was to be conſulted by Urim; and the laſt, or the rock, is the Amercol above-mentioned. As for thoſe on the king's ſide, they

(22) Ant. lib. iv. c. 8. (23) Deut. xvii. 18. (24) Vid Le Scen. Eſſay on a N. Verſ. p. 92. Abarb. Luther & al.

engage their enemies, in order to inſpire the people with an unſhaken truſt in God, and aſſurance of victory. He ordered likewiſe, that a proclamation ſhould be made at the ſame time by proper officers, to permit not only all that had left a wife, houſe, or vineyard unenjoyed, but even all thoſe whoſe fear or puſillanimity might diſcourage the reſt to return home. And laſtly, how they ſhould behave themſelves towards thoſe cities that accepted of their proferred peace, and thoſe which rejected it [k].

The old covenant ratified by the whole nation.

He ſoon after aſſembled the whole nation, men, women, and children, in order to make them renew the covenant which their fathers had made with God in Horeb; and as he enforced the obſervance of it by the moſt engaging motives, ſo did he at the ſame time endeavour to deter them from the breach of it by ſuch threatnings, as proved no leſs than prophetical of thoſe miſerable ſlaveries which they underwent afterwards for their diſobedience [l], not only during the time of the judges and the Babyloniſh captivity, but much more ſince their rejection of the Meſſiah. There was one remarkable thing in this prophetic warning, which ought not to be paſſed by, which was, that under whatever captivity and diſperſion they happened to groan, if they applied themſelves to God, by prayer and an humble acknowledgment of their ſins, they ſhould ſtill be delivered from it. This was exactly verified by the event, for they no ſooner turned to God, but he either ſent them a deliverer ſoon after, as in the time of the judges, or ſome prophets to comfort them during their captivity, and to fix the time of its duration; as in that of Babylon. This needs not to be wondered at, the crimes, for which they ſuffered in theſe, idolatry, murthers, rapine, extortion, and the like, were of too glaring a nature, not to force the deepeſt remorſe and acknowledgment, whenever they ſmarted for them. It was far otherwiſe in their laſt ſin, their rejection of the Meſſiah; his mean birth and appearance, his ſufferings and death, and many other diſadvantageous circumſtances, were ſo oppoſite to thoſe glorious notions they had imbibed of him, and his religion was ſo

[k] Deut. xx. per. tot, [l] Ibid. xxix. paſſ.

they name the firſt his vicegerent, or the ſecond perſon to him, the ſecond his יועץ Johatz, his counſellor, and the laſt is his generaliſſimo (25).

(25) Vid. Dr. Hyde's Shahilud.

ſo pure and ſpiritual, that their prejudices made them eaſily overlook all the the viſible proofs he gave of his divine miſſion. And after they had once condemned him, they had too great a notion of their own ſagacity and uprightneſs, ever to feel, or at leaſt own, the injuſtice of the deed. We may add, that their poſterity has followed their ſteps, and has been ſo far from ſuppoſing, that the Sanhedrin could have been guilty of ſo fatal a miſtake, and ſo horrid a crime as the rejecting and murthering of the Meſſiah, that they are ſtill fully perſuaded, that it would have been the very firſt that would have acknowledged him. This is the ſource of their unbelief, and ſince they have ever ſince rather gloried in that deed, than acknowledged and repented of it, we need ſeek no farther for the cauſe why their captivity and diſperſion has proved ſo ſevere, of ſo long a duration, and without the leaſt comfortable prophecy, or even proſpect of God's putting an end to it. But to return; Moſes having cauſed this covenant to be ratified by the whole aſſembly, no doubt with a ſuitable ſolemnity, he commanded the Levites to depoſite a copy of it, which he delivered to them, in the ark, and concluded with calling heaven and earth to witneſs for the truth of what they had heard from him, for the reaſonableneſs of thoſe laws which God had given them, and for the certainty of thoſe bleſſings or curſes, which would infallibly follow the keeping or the breach of them [m]. However, in order to fix theſe important truths more ſtrongly in their minds, he compoſed a pſalm or canticle, in which they are expreſſed in the moſt elegant and lively language, and having cauſed it to be read before all the people, he delivered it to Joſhua, to be hereafter learned by heart by them and their poſterity. This inimitable piece of antient poetry, as far as our language can reach to the beauty of the original is thus prefaced [n]: Moſes's ſong.

Attend ye heavens whilſt I ſpeak, give ear O earth to the words of my mouth. The preface of it engliſhed.

Let my doctrine deſcend like drops of rain, and my ſpeech diſtil as the dew.

Let them fall as a gentle ſhower upon the tender herb, and as the rain that falls ugon the graſs.

And, whilſt I invoke the name Jehovah, reſound the greatneſs of our God.

His

[m] Deut. xxx. and xxxi.

[n] Ibid. xxxii. ad ver. 45.

His works, even the works of this our ſtrong rock, are perfect, and all his ways are equity.

He is a faithful God, without deceit, for he is juſt and righteous. And ſo on (H).

The lecture of this divine ſong being ended, Moſes went on with acquainting the people, that, ſince it was not the will of God that he ſhould go with them into the promiſed land, they muſt now look upon Joſhua as their leader, aſſuring them, that they could not fail of ſucceſs in their conqueſt of it, provided they faithfully obſerved the covenant which they had ſo lately renewed with God. He then delivered a written inſtrument of it, and a duplicate of the laws to be preſerved in the ark, with an order, that this latter ſhould be publickly read before the whole aſſembly at the feaſt of the tabernacles, every ſabbatic or ſeventh year °. He added ſome few laws, one againſt falſe prophets, another againſt magic, and a third for the expiation of murther, when the author of it could not be diſcovered.

And

° Ibid. xxxi. 10. & ſeq.

(H) We beg leave to aſſure our readers, who do not underſtand the Hebrew tongue, that we have not departed from our verſion in the ſketch we have given of this incomparable ſong, with any other deſign than to come up ſomewhat nearer to the genius and beauties of the original than that doth, though we own it impoſſible to come up wholly to it; for which reaſon we willingly excuſe ourſelves from going further in the verſion. The Jews do juſtly eſteem it a moſt elegant epitome of the whole Pentateuch, becauſe it makes mention of the greatneſs and magnificence of God, of the creation of the world, of the deluge, of the confuſion of tongues and diſperſion of the nations, of the call of Abraham, and of his poſterity, and of all that the divine goodneſs had done for them; of their murmurings, rebellions, idolatries, and of their inheriting the promiſed land; of the worſhip of the one only true God, of the reſurrection of the dead, and of the future life. But we much queſtion whether theſe two laſt will be ſo univerſally granted unto them, as all the reſt may and actually is, becauſe the words from which they prove them, *the Lord killeth and maketh alive* (26), may eaſily admit of another ſenſe, it being commonly uſed for preſerving alive, and even for forbearing to kill.

(26) Deut xxvii. 32.

And now his talk being at an end, and God having commanded him to go up to mount Nebo, and to reſign his commiſſion with his ſoul there, as ſoon as he had taken a view of the promiſed land; he had now nothing left to do but to gather the tribes about him, and to pronounce his prophetic bleſſing upon them. The text tells us, that he was a hundred and twenty years old, and that neither his ſight nor his natural ſtrength were in the leaſt impaired, and we may add, that, if one may judge of that of his mind by the ſtyle of this his laſt ſpeech, and by the beauty and energy of the expreſſions, it ſeems to have received an addition at the ſight of his departure, and of his people's approaching happineſs. The preface and concluſion of it are couched in as ſtrong and elegant terms, as the moſt divine enthuſiaſm could inſpire a prophet with. However, as we have already ſpoken of it in another place, and ſhewed how it agreed with that of Jacob †, which we there endeavoured to explain throughout, we ſhall not dwell any longer upon it at preſent. And here it will not be amiſs to obſerve, that our Engliſh verſion was certainly right to inſert the word not in the latter part of the 6th verſe of this chapter *, *let Reuben live and not die, and let not his men be few*; which is certainly the true ſenſe according to the genius of the original, which often omits that negative in the ſecond hemiſtic, though any verſion that did not ſupply it would make it ſpeak contrary to its plain meaning [p]. This is what the Septuagint and Vulgate have done, in order to render this latter part of the verſe applicable to the tribe of Simeon, of which Moſes had made no mention throughout this prophecy; but herein 'tis plain they miſtook the ſenſe of the text, not only from what we have juſt now hinted, but alſo becauſe being few in number would have been a curſe rather than a bleſſing, and was more particularly eſteemed ſuch by the Iſraelites; in which caſe that tribe alone would have been curſed, whilſt all the reſt were highly bleſſed, whereas they are ſaid to be all bleſſed in the very firſt verſe; beſides it is certain, that Simeon had his bleſſing, ſince he had an inheritance allotted to him as well as the reſt [q]. We need not therefore look for any other myſtery or reaſon for this omiſſion of Moſes, than that this tribe was wholly intermixed

His laſt bleſſing to the 12 tribes.

Why Simeon is omitted in this bleſſing.

† Vid. vol. ii. p. 484. & ſeq. * xxxiii. [p] Compare Pſ. vi. 1. and xxxviii. 1. See alſo Pſ. ix. 18. as they are in our bibles. [q] Joſh. xix. 1. 1 Chron. iv. 24. & ſeq.

termixed with that of Judah, according to their father's prophecy [r], and consequently shared in all its blessings, those only excepted which Jacob had confined to the latter; and hence it came to pass, that these two tribes did generally go hand in hand in all their expeditions [s].

Moses goes up to mount Nebo.

The Jewish lawgiver had no sooner ended this prophetic speech, than he obeyed the divine call, and in the sight of all Israel went up to mount Nebo, from the summit of which he beheld all the land which God had promised to Abraham's posterity. Josephus adds [t], that he was accompanied by Joshua, Eleazar, and the seventy, to the mount, and that, whilst the two last were taking their sorrowful farewel of him, a cloud conveyed him away into a certain valley; but the text seems rather to intimate that he went up alone. But be that how it will, the author of this last chapter,

His death, burial and character.

whoever he was, assures us, that he died immediately after, and that the Lord conveyed him into a valley in the land of Moab, over-against Beth-peor (I), and there buried him in so private a place, that his sepulchre was not known at the time of his writing [u]; to which we may add, that it never was discovered since [w]. Several inspired penmen, and apocryphal writers, have since given us the character of this truly great lawgiver, besides the abovementioned Josephus; but none has expressed it in fewer and stronger terms, than the author of these additions in the three last verses of this chapter

[r] Gen. xlix. 7. Vid. vol. ii. p. 485. note (F). [s] Judg. i. 3. & seq. Vid. Jun. in Deut. xxxiii. 6. [t] Ant. lib. iv. c. 8. [u] Deut. xxxiii. 6. [w] Vid. Horn. Hist. Ecclesiast. Basnag. Continuat. Joseph. tom. iv. lib. vi. c. 17. art 13. Bartoloc. Bibliot. Rabbin. tom. iii. p. 928. & seq. Calm. Dissert on the death and burial of Moses, at the head of his Epit. Canoniq. & al.

(I) Though the text says, in the land of Moab (27), yet, it is plain, as the learned primate of Ireland observes by comparing these with other places of scripture, that this valley was in the land of Sihon king of the Amorites, which the Israelites took from him, and assigned to the tribe of Reuben; and therefore, when it is here, and elsewhere, called the land of Moab, it can mean no more than the land which Sihon had conquered from them, and the Israelites from him (28).

(27) Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6. & alib. compared with Num. xxi. 26. Deut. iv. 16. Josh. xiii. 20. (28) Vid. Usher's Ann. p. 25

chapter ( ). His death happened on the firſt day (according to

(K) Nothing is plainer from the text, than that Moſes did really die and was buried ; and Joſephus tells us (29), according to our copies of him, that the ſcripture affirms him to be dead, leſt people ſhould think, becauſe of the excellency of his perſon, that he was ſtill alive and with God ; notwithſtanding which, the ſuperſtitious Jews have fallen into various notions about it ; ſome abſolutely denying his death, and others, without taking notice of that circumſtance, affirming him to have been tranſlated into heaven (30). Thoſe of the Chriſtians who have embraced this wild notion, do ground it upon his appearing with Elias, at the tranſfiguration upon mount Tabor (31), and upon that conteſt which Michael and the devil had about his body, which we find mentioned by St. Jude (32) ; though the moſt probable inference that can be made from ſuch a diſpute, if any ſuch there was, is, that the devil wanted to bring Moſes's body to light, that he might thereby enſnare the people to idolatry, or rather to λειψανολατρεια, the worſhip of relics, which therefore Michael oppoſed with a zeal worthy of an archangel (33). However, this circumſtance ſeems, in all probability, to be quoted by the apoſtle from an apochryphal book, intitled περὶ Ἀναλήψεως Μωϋσέος, or the aſſumption of Moſes ; ſomething like which we find in ſome Jewiſh writings (34). Other rabbies, though they believe that he was ſo far dead, as that there was a ſeparation of ſoul and body, yet deny his dying a common death, becauſe he is ſaid to have died עַל פִּי יְהוָה, that is, as we rightly tranſlate it, according to the word of the Lord ; but according to their literal ſenſe of it, upon the mouth of the Lord ; from which they affirm, that Moſes having begged of God not to deliver up his ſoul to the angel of death, breathed it out in a kiſs, which the Lord was pleaſed to give him (35).

As to his writing, beſides the Pentateuch, which is univerſally received by Jews and Chriſtians, as penned by him, if we except Abenezra and Spinoſa among the former, and ſome late writers among the latter, if their avowed principles can permit us to call them Chriſtians, who denied him to be author of it, and have been learnedly confuted by a late author (36) ; beſides the books, I ſay commonly called the five books of Moſes, there have been ſome other works attributed to him, though without any certainty, ſuch

(29) Ant. loc. citat. (30) Vid. Maimon. proem. ad Talmud. (31) Mat. xvii. 1. & ſeq. (32) Jud. verſ. 9. Vid. Fabric. Apoc. Vet. Teſt. (33) Uſh. Ann. ubi ſup. & auct. ab eo citat. (34) Vid. R. Nathan. פרקי אבית. (35) Vid. Gaulmin's פטירת-מושה. (36) Abbadie Verit. de la Relig. Chretien. pt. 1.

to Joſephus and archbiſhop Uſher ‡, or on the ſeventh according

‡ Ant. & Ann. ubi ſup.

ſuch as the book of Job, of which we have already ſpoken in another place †, eleven pſalms, viz, 90, 91, 92, and ſo on to the 100th. Origin believes him to have tranſlated the book of Job from the Syriac and Hebrew (37); though he is ſcarce followed by either Jew or Chriſtian. A few fragments of other books are likewiſe quoted by ſome of the antients, as wrote by him; ſuch as, 1. His Apocalypſe, out of which St. Paul is by them ſuppoſed to have taken thoſe words (38), *for in Chriſt Jeſus neither circumciſion availeth any thing, &c.* 2. His leſſer Geneſis. 3. His aſcenſion. 4. Aſſumption, mentioned a little above. 5. His teſtament, and ſome other myſterious books (39).

Some Rabbies attribute to him likewiſe a treatiſe entitled באר משה, Beer Moſheh, or באר חכמה Beer Chokmah, the fountain of wiſdom (40). As for the leſſer Geneſis, St. Jerom, who quotes a paſſage or two of it, tells us, that they had it in Hebrew in his time (41). The Sethites, an antient ſect of heretics, quoted likewiſe two of the aforementioned books, namely his teſtament, and his myſterious books or diſcourſes, but all theſe were ſo far from bearing any authority in the church, that they fell into contempt and oblivion, as faſt as Chriſtianity prevailed.

The wonders of his life have been no leſs multiplied by the Rabbies than his writings; we ſhall juſt hint ſome of them. They tell us, that he was born circumciſed: that Pharaoh's daughter, whom they call Bathia, being all over leprous, was cured by the touching of the little ark in which he was expoſed: that at three years of age ſhe brought him to her father, from whoſe head he took the crown to put it upon his own, for which Balaam, who was then at that court, adviſed Pharaoh to put him to death, but the other magicians choſe rather to try firſt whether this action was deſignedly done by him, or through childiſhneſs: upon which they ſet before him ſome diamonds and burning coals and the angel Gabriel forced his hands towards the coals, one of which he put in his mouth, and burnt himſelf, which was the occaſion

† Vid. vol. ii. p. 529. (37) Orig. in Job. (38) Galat. v. 6. vi. 15. (39) Syncell. ex parv. Gen. Pet. Crimit. De honeſt. Diſcipl. lib. xvii. c. 1. Clem. Alexand. ex Eupolem. Stromat. lib. i. Iſidor. Hiſpal. lib. i. Orig. c. 3. Cedren. Glycas. & al. vid. etiam Fabric. de Apoc. V. T. (40) R. Shabtai Strim. vid. & Wolf. Bib. Rabin. Num. 1582. (41) Epiſt. 127. ad Fabiol. Manſ. 18. & 24. Vid. Calm. Hiſt. V. Teſt. t. i. p. penult..

cording to the generality of the latter Jews) [x] of the twelfth month,

[x] Vid. Sedar. holam Rab. cap. 10. Maimon. Præf. ad Miſnaioth, &c.

occaſion of his ſtuttering. and that he ſaved his life by it. That he was afterwards condemned to loſe his head for the murder of the Egyptian, but that his neck became ſo hard, that the ſword, inſtead of hurting him, recoiled with ſuch force, that it killed the executioner; and that the king becoming dumb on a ſudden, and the reſt of the ſpectators being ſtruck blind or deaf, gave Moſes an opportunity of running away without oppoſition.

Being retired to the king of Ethiopia, who was then in Armenia, and Balaam having cauſed an inſurrection in Ethiopia, Moſes put himſelf at the head of the king's army, and beſieged Balaam in the metropolis. who endeavoured by his magic to obſtruct his approach, by an innumerable multitude of ſerpents, which he cauſed to ſurround the city; but Moſes having charmed them, took the town, married the queen, whoſe conſort had been killed at the war, and reigned in Ethiopia forty years, till his queen, complaining of his coldneſs towards her, cauſed a rebellion, which obliged him to retire to Jethro where he got the miraculous rod, of which we gave an account in a former note ‡, and married his daughter Ziphorah: that her father having ſtipulated that her firſt-born ſon ſhould not be circumciſed, two angels were ſent by God, who ſwallowed him up to the place of circumciſion, which made Ziphorah retrieve the fault, and ſave her huſband by the circumciſion of her ſon.

As for the manner in which they ſay that Moſes received the divine law, it is ſo abſurd, that we ſhall not trouble our readers with it, were it not to point out to them the ſpring from which Mohammed did pump out all the rapſodies of his Koran. Theſe grave gentlemen thought it not enough for their law-giver to have gone up and received it upon mount Sinai, but they make him take a journey to heaven in a cloud; and add, that he met in his way Kemuel the chief of a legion of angels, who endeavoured to come up to him, but that he was repulſed ſome thouſands of miles back, by his pronouncing the name of God, conſiſting of twelve letters. Soon after this, he was terribly frighted by the angel Adarniel's voice, which was ſo dreadful, that it was ecchoed from no leſs than two hundred thouſand ſpheres, all ſurrounded with a white fire. Moſes was juſt ready to run away, when God heartened him up again, and bid him put the ſpirit to flight by pronouncing the name of God written with ſeventy two letters, which made him

‡ Vid. vol. ii. p. 548. note (Z).

month, which is called Adar, and in the hundred and twentieth of his age; the laſt ſorty of which, the laſt month excepted, he had ſpent in the government of the Iſraelites. The people mourned for him one whole month, according to the cuſtom of the nation for the death of any eminent perſon, after which Joſhua entered into his office, and ſoon after that into the land of Canaan, as ſhall be ſhewn in the next ſection.

In

him cry out as he fled; how happy art thou Moſes to know thoſe things which the very angels are ignorant of. They add that the two tables which Moſes brought down from heaven being made of the fineſt ſaphire ſtone, he enriched himſelf exceedingly by the chips that fell off in the carving and poliſhing of them; which is no great wonder, if they were ten or twelve cubits high, as ſome of them pretend (42).

The Mohammedans have not only embraced all theſe rabbinical dreams, but have very much improved them. The reader may remember what they ſay concerning this laſt circumſtance of the two tables being brought from heaven and carried thither again †. We ſhall not trouble the reader with any more of their reſveries, thoſe who are fond of ſuch things, may find them at large in Monſieur D'Herbelot's Bibliotheca Orientalis, under the article Mouſhe (43). In the mean time, as the character of this lawgiver has been univerſally known by the antients, ſo has it been as much leſſened and blackened by ſome, as it has been exaggerated by others beyond all modeſty and truth, according to their different prejudices and intereſts. Joſephus, in his book againſt Apion (44), has not only recorded, but fully anſwered all that Manetho had ſaid to leſſen the glory of it; and what that learned Jew has ſaid there, will equally confute what Juſtin out of Trogus has ſaid of him (45) On the other hand ſome late authors, by comparing what we read of Moſes with what the fables tell us of Bacchus, Mercury, &c. have found ſo near a reſemblance in the characters, that they have not ſcrupled to affirm, that the heathen had applied what they had read of the former to the latter, concerning which the reader may, if he pleaſes, conſult the learned Huetius's Demonſtratio Evangelica, a work which could hardly have met with ſuch a ſtrenuous and bitter oppoſition from the Carteſian philoſophers, had it bore any other title than that of demonſtration.

(42) Vid. Elleſham rab. in Exod. xxxiv. Rab. Saſ. in loc. Pirke Aboth. Phetirath Moſhe. Six. Sienn. & al. ap. Calm. dict. ſub. voc. Moiſe. † Vid. vol. ii. p. 615. at the end of note (A). (43) P. 647. & ſeq. (44) Lib. i. (45) Lib. xxxvi.

In the mean time, it will be proper to obſerve here, that the ceremony of circumciſion was diſcontinued during the whole time of their abode in the wilderneſs [y]; for which no proper reaſon can be well aſſigned, unleſs it be either becauſe their frequent moving from place to place would have had made it dangerous for thoſe children who were circumciſed before a march, or that, the deſign of circumciſion being to keep the people in from intermingling with other nations, it became leſs neceſſary in the wilderneſs, where they were in leſs danger of ſuch a mixture [z]. But neither of theſe reaſons is ſatisfactory; for as to the firſt, beſides that their marches happened but ſeldom during the laſt thirty eight years, as we obſerved before †, it would have been more ſafe to have diſpenſed with the time, and, inſtead of the eighth day, to have performed it on the next encampment, than to have wholly omitted it, ſeeing there were ſome particular bleſſings belonging to it, which they were deprived of that died without it. For which reaſon therefore it did not become leſs neceſſary, though the preventing a mixture were allowed to have been the main deſign of its inſtitution. For that could not authoriſe them to diſpence with a poſitive precept, though none of thoſe neighbouring nations had been circumciſed, which was not the caſe, ſeeing the Edomites, and perhaps alſo the Midianites, were. But whatever be the reaſon of this omiſſion, one may conclude from it, that that ceremony was not ſo neceſſary to ſalvation as ſome, both Chriſtians as Jews, have imagined, among the latter of which, ſome have run to ſuch an extreme of ſuperſtition, as to cauſe thoſe children of theirs, that happened to die before they were circumciſed, to receive it before they buried them.

Before we diſmiſs this ſection, it will be expected, no doubt, that we ſhould give ſome account of the order and manner of encamping and marching uſed by the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs, becauſe it is not only curious, but uſeful, in order to underſtand ſeveral places of holy writ that allude to it, both in the old and new teſtament [a], eſpecially in the prophetical books. It is plain from the ſhort account which Moſes has left us of it [b], that it was preſcribed to him by

[y] Joſh. v. 2. & ſeq. [z] Baſnag. Rep. Hebr. tom. i. lib. iii. c. 5. Le Clerc, Grot. & Saurin, &c. † Vid. vol. iii. p. 11. [a] See Sir Iſaac Newt. Obſerv. upon the prophecies, p. 259. & alib. Med. Clav. prophet. paſſ. & al. [b] Num. i. 51, & ſeq.

God himſelf. And indeed, if we conſider their vaſt multitude, their untoward genius, the great mixture of other nations that joined themſelves to them, the quantity of lumber which they were forced to carry with them, we can hardly ſuppoſe, that any man, how wiſe and experienced ſoever, could be equal to ſuch a taſk without a ſupernatural aſſiſtance. 'Tis true indeed, that the word wilderneſs, by which the ſcence of their forty years wandering is called, ought not to be taken too literally, ſeeing they did generally encamp near inhabited towns and villages, whoſe territories could furniſh them with proviſions for themſelves, and paſture for their cattle, and when that failed, they were often miraculouſly ſupplied; but nevertheleſs, to provide for all other exigencies, which muſt needs be ſuppoſed to happen in ſuch a numberleſs hoſt, to ſettle ſuch excellent order and diſcipline in it, as to prevent confuſion, diſorders, and defection, to breed up ſuch a number of excellent ſoldiers, and to teach them to incamp and decamp, to march and to fight in ſo regular a manner as they did, whatever Moſes might have learned from the Egyptians, who underſtood doubtleſs as much of the art of war as any other nation then did, ſeems ſtill to have been above the power of a meer man. And this conſideration ſhould, one would think, ſtop the mouths of thoſe who can find nothing of military art worth admiring, except in the antient Greeks and Romans.

HOWEVER, as the ſubject has been copiouſly handled by other pens [c], who have been forced to ſupply the ſuccinct account of Moſes out of the writings of the Talmudiſts and other antient Jews, not to ſay ſometimes out of their own heads; we hope, our readers will eaſily excuſe us from launching farther into theſe particularities, than we have good grounds for from holy writ. Though where we find any thing in the Talmud, Joſephus, or any other Rabbi, that carries a face of probability, or gives any light to the account we have in the text, we ſhall venture to give it in a note.

THE text tells us, that *they were to pitch their tents every man by his own camp, tribe, and ſtandard, throughout the whole hoſt: that the tribe of Levi was to incamp round the tabernacle, and have the charge and cuſtody of it; and that the reſt of the tribes ſhould pitch their ſtandards with the enſigns*

[c] Baſnag. ex Cunæo. Rep. Hebr. tom. ii. c. 18. Calm. & al.

ſigns of their father's houſe round about it, at an equal and convenient diſtance from it [d]. This diſtance, let it have been what it would (L), compoſed not a perfect ſquare, becauſe the tabernacle and its court were oblong, much leſs a circle, as ſome have fancied it from the word round about taken too literally, but an oblong ſquare, in the centre of which was the tabernacle with its court, in length, one hundred, and in breadth fifty cubits *. Parallel to each of the four ſides of it, and at a proper diſtance between it and the other tribes, was that of Levi; along the eaſt end was Eleazar the high-prieſt, with the reſt of the family of Aaron, at the head of the four claſſes of Levites. As for Moſes's pavilion, all that he had told us of it is only, that it ſtood on the ſame ſide with thoſe of Aaron's children [f]; though we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that it was in the moſt honourable place of the whole camp, as he was their chief and lawgiver, and neareſt the tabernacle, to which he was obliged to repair upon all emergencies; but whether we may conclude

[d] Num. i. 52, & ſeq. ii. 1, 2. & ſeq. * Vid. Exod. xxvii. 18. [f] Num. iii. 38.

(L) The Rabbies affirm this diſtance of the tents of the tribes, except that of Levi, to have been two thouſand cubits, which they therefore call a ſabbath day's journey, becauſe they were not allowed to go further on that day. This was the diſtance between Jeruſalem and the mount of Olives (46). This ſpace of two thouſand cubits ſeems well grounded, it being the diſtance which God commanded the people to keep from the ark, when they were on their march. They affirm moreover, that there was likewiſe a diſtance of three miles between every tribe, which if true muſt form a ſquare of thirty-ſix miles about. Joſephus indeed doth not tell us what that diſtance was, but he calls it a great one, and adds, that there were as ſpacious ſtreets, lanes, markets, ſhops, &c. in the camp, and in as regular an order, as could be ſeen in the moſt polite cities (47). However, the moſt rational Jews extend not this diſtance between tribe and tribe beyond two thouſand paces, nor that which each tribe took up beyond four thouſand (48). To which they add, that in the center of the camp there was a ſpace of eight thouſand paces ſquare, of which the inmoſt four thouſand was for the tabernacle and the tribe of Levi, and the reſidue, which was between theſe and the other tribes, was for paſture ground for their cattle.

(46) Vid. Acts i. 12. (47) Ant. l. iii. c. 12. (48) Vid. Baſnag. ex Cun. Rep. Heb. tom. ii. c. 18.

conclude from his ſituation, that the tabernacle ſtood eaſt and weſt, that is, with the holy of holies towards the eaſt, and the entrance into it facing the weſt, as Cunæus and others do [g], is not very material. On the weſt ſide were the Gerſhonites under Eliaphaz the ſon of Levi, in number ſeven thouſand five hundred: 3. The Kohathites under Elizaphon, the ſon of Uſiel, in number eight thouſand ſix hundred: and laſtly, the Merarites under Zuriel, the ſon of Abihail, in number ſix thouſand two hundred; and theſe two laſt encamped along the ſouth and north ſides. All theſe together made an army of twenty two thouſand three hundred † (M). Each of theſe had their particular functions and charges allotted to them both as to the worſhip of God, and the cuſtody of the tabernacle, with all its apparatus, as may be ſeen by the text [h]. This is all that can be affirmed with any certainty concerning the Levitiſh camp, which the Rabbies affect to call the little hoſt, or camp of the Lord; probably, becauſe we find, that name given to them, where mention is made of Hezechiah's reſtoring them,——to ſing the praiſes of God within the gates of the Lords camp [i], whereas the other tribes are commonly called the grand army, or the great hoſt.

As the tribe of Levi made four ſmall bodies on each ſide of the tabernacle, ſo did the other twelve make four large camps parallel to them, each body conſiſting of three tribes. That

[g] Baſnag. ex Cun. ubi ſup. Calm. & al. [h] Numb. iv. per tot. † Vid. vol. iii. p. 26. [i] 2. Chron. xxxi. 2.

(M) This tribe was not numbered at the firſt recenſion of the people, but ſome time after. However, if the reader compares the amount of it mentioned in this place (49), with that of the three claſſes of which it conſiſted, he will find that it comes ſhort of the odd three hundred, which are therefore ſuppoſed to have been the firſt-born of that tribe, and therefore out of the caſe. And as the Levites were choſen out inſtead of the firſt-born of all the tribes, when the number of the former came to be taken and was found to fall ſhort of the firſt-born of the latter by two hundred eighty three, this overplus was redeemed at the rate of five ſhekles of the ſanctuary, and the money given to the ſons of Aaron (50).

(49) Num. iii. 39. Munſt. in loc.

(50) Numb. iii. 41. & ſeq. vid.

That of Judah, whether becauſe it was the moſt conſiderable, it muſtering ſeventy four thouſand ſix hundred fighting men, or in conſideration of the ſcepter, or the Meſſiah, being promiſed to it, had the poſt of honour, and encamped on the eaſt ſide behind the prieſts at the head of two other tribes; namely, that of Iſſachar, conſiſting of fifty four thouſand four hundred, and that of Zebulun, of fifty ſeven thouſand men; ſo that this body amounted to one hundred eighty ſix thouſand four hundred fighting men; but whether he encamped on the right hand of the other two tribes, as the Jews think, or, which is more probable, ſeeing he was as it were their head and general in the center betwixt them, is neither certain nor material; the ſame may be ſaid alſo of the heads of the other three bodies.

REUBEN was at the head of the next body, and his camp on the ſouth ſide; his tribe conſiſted of forty ſix thouſand five hundred men, and Simeon with fifty nine thouſand three hundred, and Gad with forty five thouſand ſix hundred and fifty marched under his banner; this body conſiſted of one hundred fifty one thouſand four hundred and fifty.

THE next was Ephraim at the head of forty thouſand five hundred of his own tribe, under whom Manaſſeh led thirty two thouſand two hundred, and Benjamin thirty five thouſand four hundred, in all one hundred eight thouſand one hundred; theſe encamped on the weſt ſide.

THE laſt was the tribe of Dan with ſixty two thouſand ſeven hundred, with that of Aſher, conſiſting of forty one thouſand five hundred, and Naphtali, of fifty three thouſand four hundred, in all one hundred fifty ſeven thouſand five hundred and fifty, and theſe were on the north ſide of the tabernacle. Thus the Iſraelitiſh hoſt amounting to ſix hundred and three thouſand five hundred fifty fighting men excluſive of the Levites. To which if we add the old men above ſixty, and the young men under twenty, their wives, daughters, ſervants, ſlaves, and ſtrangers, which, as we ſhewed before, amounted in the whole to little leſs than three millions, their vaſt number of cattle, waggons, and other lumber, the leaſt ſpace that can be left for ſuch a prodigious camp muſt be above twenty miles, though we ſuppoſed the ſpaces between each tribe to have been much leſs than the Jewiſh doctors affirm (N).

(N) This prodigious camp, is by the antient Jews called threefold, whereof the tabernacle with its precinct is called the camp

THESE four large bodies had each their general ſtandard (O), to which their own and the other tribes were to repair; under theſe were twelve more, one to every tribe, and under theſe again were thoſe of all the heads of families, amounting to fifty ſeven, according to Moſes's own account [k]; and indeed leſs than that number cannot be ſuppoſed. What the colours, emblems, and devices of thoſe enſigns were, neither Moſes nor any inſpired writer has told us. The Rabbies have ſupplied all thoſe defects very plentifully; but though they are not always to be depended upon, yet ſome particulars they have given us, relating to thoſe of the four main bodies and thoſe of the twelve tribes, ſeem not to be ill grounded. Of the firſt they tell us, that Judah had the emblem of a lion, with this device, let God ariſe, and let his enemies be ſcattered [l]; but the latter ſeems more proper for the enſign of Levi, if any belonged to that tribe, which is not improbable, becauſe

[k] Num. ii. & xxvi. paſſ. [l] Pſ. lxviii. 1.

of the divine Majeſty, the next the camp of Levi, and the largeſt the camp of Iſrael, and may well enough be compared to a cathedral in the heart of a city, round which are the biſhop, dean, canons, and inferior clergy, and round them the laity. The Gemarrah affirms (51), that it took up twelve miles in length and breadth, which they infer from that place in Numbers (52), where it is ſaid, that they pitched by Jordan, from Bethjeſimoth, even unto Abel-ſhittem in the plain of Moab, which they ſay is the diſtance between thoſe two places; but here we think there is no need of making the Jewiſh miles ſhorter than ours, as a certain author has done (53), without any foundation, only to juſtify the Gemarriſts, conſidering what a vaſt quantity of empty ground they allow between every tribe for paſture ground and the like,

(O) The Chaldee and Septuagint have indeed rendered the original word נֵדֶל, Gedel, enſign or ſtandard, the former by תקם borrowed perhaps from the Greek τάξις, גבר על תקסר and the latter by τάγμα. Ἄνθρωπος ἕκαστος κατὰ τάγμα αὐτοῦ, every man to his own order, ſtation, or rank, which phraſe the apoſtle doth ſeem to apply in a ſenſe ſomewhat different from this (54). However it is plain, that thoſe verſions muſt have ſuppoſed ſome ſuch thing as ſtandards ſet up in full ſight; without which it would have been impoſſible for them to repair every one to their own tribe and family.

(51) Tract. סוטה, cap. 1. ap. Goodwin, Moſ. & Aar. l. vi. cap. 8. § 4. (52) Ch. xxxiii. 49. (53) Goodwin, ibid. note 1. (54) 1 Cor. xv. 23. Vid. Goodwin. ubi ſup.

cauſe thoſe were the words which were uſed by the Levites, when the ark was removing. As for the lion, it is the emblem by which Jacob repreſented the tribe of Judah in his laſt will [m]; but they add, that it was painted of three colours on the ſtandard [n]. Reuben's enſign had the figure of a man, to which ſome add that of a mandrake, alluding to thoſe he found in the fields when a boy [o]. That of Ephraim was an ox or calf, and ſeems to be taken from the words of Moſes's bleſſing to that tribe; his glory is like the firſtling of his bullock [p]. To the tribe of Dan they gave an eagle, which agrees neither with Moſes's bleſſing, which compares him to a lion's whelp, nor to that of Jacob which compares him to a ſerpent in the way. However, in order to make it agree with the latter, they pretend, that the eagle was painted holding a ſerpent in his claws [q]; but we have ſtill a better authority for theſe four emblems, namely, 1. The viſion of Ezechiel [r], which is univerſally allowed to allude to it. 2. The pſalmiſt repreſenting the congregation of Iſrael under theſe emblems (P), and laſtly, St. John in his apocalypſe repreſenting the faithful by the four beaſts about the throne of God, crying night and day holy, holy [t], and ſo on; from which it is moſt likely, that the four evangeliſts came afterwards to have the ſame emblems more particularly appropriated to them.

THAT

[m] Gen. xlix. 9. [n] Ita RR. Jonath. Abr. ben Levi cabal hiſtor. ap. Cunæ. ub. ſup. [o] Gen. xxx. 14. [p] Deut. xxxiii. 17. [q] Vid. Aben-ezra & Fag. in Num. ii. [r] Ch. i. 10. [s] Pſ. lxviii. 10. [t] Revel. iv. 6, & 7.

(P) The pſalmiſt there deſcribes the Iſraelitiſh commonwealth, particularly whilſt in the wilderneſs, their marches, encampments, order, and many other circumſtances, in a moſt elegant and poetic manner, and amongſt other alluſions uſed there, he repreſents it under that of חַיָּה, Hajah (55), which our verſion rightly enough renders congregation, but in the original doth properly ſignify life, beaſt, or living creature; and being compared to that which is mentioned in Ezechiel, which had all theſe four figures, of a man, lion, ox, and eagle, is juſtly concluded to allude to theſe four general ſtandards, repreſenting the Iſraelitiſh congregation, as it doth that of the faithful under Chriſt in the revelations (56).

(55) Pſal lxviii. 10. (56) Vid. Mede. Sir Iſaac Newton. in apocal Tremel. L'abbadie & al in Ezech. i. 10.

That every tribe had, beſides their particular ſtandard of a different colour, and with a different emblem, and motto, if they uſed any ſo early, can hardly be queſtioned, and that theſe two laſt might be taken from thoſe illuſions which Jacob made uſe of in his laſt bleſſing, is far from improbable; and thus for inſtance, Naphtali might have a large tree, or a hind, in his enſign †, Iſſachar an aſs couching under his burthen, Benjamin a wolf [u], and ſo on, beyond which we dare not venture to affirm any thing (Q), much leſs concerning the enſigns of the principal families which other authors have thought fit to give us [w]. One thing more, however, is certain, that they had likewiſe a ſeparate camp for lepers, for thoſe who had running ſores, or any infirmities of that nature, or had defiled themſelves by touching a dead body, and the like; all which were excluded from this grand one [x]: Some other orders Moſes gave them to preſerve cleanlineſs and decency, which need not be dwelt upon.

The order of their decamping and marching, of their engaging in battle, and ſuch like, which as they are more particularly preſcribed by Moſes, we ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning the principal heads relating to each of them, and

† Vid. Vol. ii. p. 491 note (O) [u] Gen xlix. 14, 21, 27, &c. See alſo an antient apocryphal book called the teſtament of the twelve patriarchs. [w] Baſnag. ubi ſupr. Calm. & al.
[x] Numb. v. 1. & ſeq.

(Q) The Rabbies add, from what authority is more than we can gueſs, many other particulars relating to thoſe twelve ſtandards, at firſt, that their colour anſwered to that of the twelve ſtones in the breaſt plate of the high prieſt (57), on which the name of each tribe was engraven; but the misfortune is, that they are far from agreeing in aſſigning the names and colour of thoſe ſtones; beſides, another difficulty ariſes which they do not anſwer, which is, that Levi had its own name and ſtone, which they affirm to have been, ſome a beril, others a ſaphire, &c. on the breaſt-plate, though it be here numbered with the other twelve, but inſtead of it, that of Joſeph is divided into Ephraim and Manaſſeh. Concerning the four grand ſtandards they add, that each of them had three letters taken from the names of their three firſt patriarchs Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob. Judah had א י י, A. I, I. Reuben ב צ ע, B. T.Z. H. Ephraim ר ת ק, R. CH. K. and Dan ב ק ם, M. K. B. But theſe with the learned

(57) Vid. R. Jonath. paraph. in Num. ii. 5.

and removing ſome few difficulties that occur, and refer our readers for the more circumſtantial parts to the text itſelf, and to thoſe who have treated on them more at large [y].

In their decamping, whilſt in the wilderneſs, the firſt thing they were to obſerve was the ſignal from the miraculous pillar, of which we have already ſpoken †, which Moſes immediately took care to have communicated throughout the camp by two ſilver trumpets made by God's command [z]; and becauſe theſe were uſed for other ſignals, ſuch as the calling the elders to the tabernacle, proclaiming of anniverſary feſtivals, and the like; they were differently blown according to the ſignal they were to give, that is, for inſtance, ſingly when to call the elders; jointly when to call the whole congregation; with a conſtant and even ſound when they proclaimed a march; and with a tremulous interrupted one, when they ſounded to battle. To theſe the apoſtle ſeems to allude, when he ſays, *if the trumpet gives an uncertain ſound, who will prepare to battle* [a]? As ſoon therefore as the firſt ſignal was given for marching, every tribe ſet about making ready for it, and this took up ſome conſiderable time, eſpecially to the prieſts and Levites [b], who had the tabernacle with all its utenſils to take down, cover, and pack up (R), and ſet part upon waggons

[y] Vid. Baſnag. ubi ſupr. c. xix. † Vid. vol. ii. p. 580.
[z] Numb. x. 1. & ſeq. [a] 1 Cor. xiv. 8. [b] Vid. Numb. iv. 5. & alib.

interpretations of them, as well as ſome other wonderful things which they do tell us of this camp, ſuch as that, where-ever they pitched it, there ſprang up a fountain before the tabernacle, which divided itſelf into ſtreams which ran through and ſupplied every tribe with water, which we have elſewhere confuted †: that the miraculous pillar which went before them did lower the mountains, raiſe the vallies, &c. to make the way eaſier for them, with many more of the like nature, we willingly leave to thoſe who have either a Jewiſh faith to believe, or a Jewiſh conſcience to retail them.

(R) There ariſes a difficulty between the command here given about the taking down the tabernacle, with the veil, and covering, &c. and the prohibition for any but the high-prieſt to go into the ſanctuary, ſince even he was not allowed to enter it above once

a

† Vid. vol. ii. p. 596. note (T).

waggons for that purpoſe, and part to be carried upon mens ſhoulders (S). By that time the Levites had got every thing

a year (58). This ſeeming contradiction is generally ſolved by the common anſwer, that God can diſpenſe with his own laws. Others confine the entrance, permitted here to the ſons of Aaron, only to the holy place, whilſt the high-prieſt alone went into the moſt holy one, to take down the veil, cover the ark, &c. and this ſeems probable enough by comparing what is commanded in the 4th and 10th chapters of Numbers, if we can ſuppoſe one ſingle perſon, and he not over young to have been ſufficient for all this. But a learned critic has given us another ſolution, which we think is more ſatisfactory ſtill (59), which is, that this entrance was only forbidden, whilſt the tabernacle was ſet up, and the cloud which was the known ſymbol of the divine preſence, continued to cover the holy place, but when that was removed, and the ark or mercy ſeat had been covered, or perhaps ſhut up in ſome proper repoſitory ‡, then it might be lawful for the inferior prieſts to come in, and aſſiſt the high-prieſt and his ſons in the removal of the reſt.

(S) Another ſeeming contradiction is, where it is ſaid, that as ſoon as the ark was covered, which was to be with a treble covering, they ſhould put in the ſtaves of it (60). Whereas it is ſaid elſewhere (61), that the ſtaves ſhould never be taken out; beſides, how was it poſſible to put them in, after the ark had been packed up in ſo many coverings. Some therefore inſtead of they ſhall put in, read, they ſhall lay or put on, the ſtaves namely, upon men's ſhoulders; but ſince the original may as properly be rendered, and they ſhall let the ſtaves abide in, that is, they ſhall cover it over without taking them out, probably leſt the ark might be ſeen through the holes of the covering through which the ſtaves muſt afterwards have been put in; there is no occaſion to ſeek for a better ſolution than this, as the author above-quoted juſtly obſerves (62). All the other utenſils of the tabernacle had likewiſe their particular coverings, under which they were carried, as the moſt proper way to ſtrike an awe upon the people. And therefore the opinion of thoſe who think, that the ark was uncovered, when carried in proceſſion round the walls of Jericho, and into the camp of Iſrael by the two ſons of Eli, ſeems ſomewhat abſurd, eſpecially conſidering, what terrible puniſhments were denounced and actually inflicted on thoſe who ventured to look upon it. It is therefore more probable, that it had, in ſuch caſes at leaſt, a ſky blue covering thrown over it. But this by the by.

(58) Exod. xxx. 10. Levit. xvi. 2. & ſeq. Hebr. ix. 7. (59) Baſnag. ubi ſupr. ‡ See the next note. (60) Numb. iv. 6. (61) Exod. xxv. 15. (62) Baſnag. ibid.

thing ready for the march, the ſecond ſignal was given; for it is not to be doubted, but the other tribes could be ſooner in readineſs than they; and then all that bore arms repaired to their ſtandards, whilſt the invalids, women, children, and carriages marched towards the rear. Upon the next ſignal the tribe of Judah, at the head of the other two that belonged to his camp, began to march; and theſe were followed, according to the moſt general opinion, by the Gerſhonites and Merarites, who guarded the waggons loaded with the boards, ſkins, and pillars belonging to the tabernacle. Upon the next ſignal, Reuben and his two tribes began to move; after whom came the Kohathites, bearing the ark, altar, table, and other utenſils upon their ſhoulders, ſo that by that time they were got to their journey's end, the Gerſhonites and Merarites had ſet up the tabernacle, and got all things ready for their reception (T). The ark and its bearers were guarded by the tribes of Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manaſſeh, as ſoon as the third ſignal was given. To this alludes that of the pſalmiſt [c], *thou that ſitteſt between the cherubims ſhine forth before Ephraim. Benjamin, and Manaſſeh.* Laſt of all came the tribes of Dan, Aſher, and Naphtali, eſcorting the invalids that none might be left behind. For which reaſon this body is called the rear-ward, or, as our margins more properly word it, the *gathering hoſt* [d]. However, it is plain, that this order was not always obſerved,

[c] Pſal. lxxx. 1, 2. [d] Joſh. vi. 9. Vid. Munſt. in loc. Goodwin's Moſ. & Aaron. lib. vi. c. 4. art. 3. ſee alſo Numb. x. 21. & ſeq.

(T) It is not eaſy to gueſs how far ſuch a camp may be ſuppoſed to go in a day, by marching in that regular manner: an author often quoted upon this ſubject (63) has pretended to prove, that they did not exceed two miles a day, from what is ſaid of one of their marches (64), that they took up three days in going from Sinai to Kibbroth-hattavah, which he ſays, is not reckoned above ſix miles, according to the calculation of ſeveral authors. But who knows how far this ſmall progreſs might be owing to the ruggedneſs of the ways, to ſome mountains interpoſing, or to ſome other reaſon not taken notice of by the hiſtorian; this therefore can by no means be an argument, that they never marched further in one day, ſeeing in an open country ſuch an army might eaſily march above ſix times that ground, if not more.

(63) Id. ibid. (64) Numb. x. 33.

obſerved, for firſt, with reſpect to the ark, there are ſome places where it is ſaid it went before them upon ſome emergencies[e]; and with reſpect to the whole body, though they kept this excellent order of marching in columns, as often as the lands through which they paſſed would permit it; yet when they were obliged to croſs whole ridges of mountains, they were then forced to make the beſt of their way, ſome over heights, others through the valleys, preſerving ſtill the beſt order they could for their own ſafety (V). All that can be added upon this ſubject is, that when the ark was taking up for the march, Moſes uſed to ſay, *Ariſe, O Lord, and let thy enemies be ſcattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee*; and when the prieſts ſet it down, he ſaid, *Return, O Lord, unto the many thouſands of Iſrael*[f]. Theſe words are ſtill uſed to this day by the Jews, when they fetch the roll of the law out of its repoſitory, and when they carry it thither again.

Concerning their method of engaging with their enemies, order of battle, and the like, we have nothing certain, but what has already been occaſionally mentioned before. Such as the having one prieſt anointed to be conſulted by Urim, inſtead of the high-prieſt, who never went to the wars, the Amercol, or exhorting prieſt, who is thought

[e] See Numb. x. 33. Joſh. iii. 6. [f] Numb. x. 35, 36.

(V) If it be objected here, that it was unſafe or impolitic to leave the women, children, invalids, and all their baggage in the rear, where they had been once attacked by the Amalekites as we have ſeen before †, all that can be anſwered to this is, that, when they had once croſſed the red-ſea and ſeen an end of their enemies, they thought themſelves ſafe on that ſide, and conſequently appointed that order of marching, which was certainly the moſt convenient where it could be followed with ſafety. But we need not doubt, but whenever they had any reaſon to apprehend being attacked in the rear, they placed them nearer to the van-gard. Neither do we meet with any other inſtance of ſuch an attack, for thoſe other nations with whom they had any encounters always came in front, and endeavoured to obſtruct their paſſage. However, though we have ſpoken in this the ſentiments of thoſe who have wrote upon the ſubject, yet we are far from thinking it improbable, that the wives, children, and moſt valuable baggage might march either with each body to which it belonged, or in the ſpaces that were between them whenever the ground permitted it.

† Vid. vol. ii. p. ——598.

THE CAMP OF THE ISRAELITES.

WEST.

180400.

THE CAMP OF EPHRAIM.

Tribe of EPHRAIM *40500.*	*Tribe of* MANASSEH *32200.*	*Tribe of* BENJAMIN *35400.*

GERSHONITES.

The Camp *7500.* *of* God

All the Levites 22000.

CATHITES. MERARITES.

The Tabernacle

Moses. *Aaron.*

Tribe of ZABULON *57400.*	*Tribe of* ISSACHAR *54400.*	*Tribe of* JUDAH *74600.*

THE CAMP OF JUDAH.

EAST.

186400.

Tribe of GAD *45650*

Tribe of SIMEON *49300*

Tribe of REUBEN *46500.*

THE CAMP OF REUBEN.

SOUTH.

151450.

Tribe of DAN *62700.*

Tribe of ASHER *41500.*

Tribe of NAPTHALI *53400.*

THE CAMP OF DAN.

NORTH.

157600.

Gershonites

Caathites *Merarites*

Moses *The Tabernacle* *Aaron*

The Camp of the Israelites according to **Lamy**.

thought to be the ſame with the former by ſome authors [g], and whoſe ſpeech, at leaſt the ſubſtance of it, has been preſerved to us by the antient Jews (W) : all that we can ſay farther on this head with any certainty is, that, as ſoon as the trumpets had given the ſignal for the engagement, the combatants gave a great ſhout, and fell immediately upon their enemies [h] ; an inſtance of which we find ſome time after, when they went to engage the Philiſtines [i]. This was no leſs practiſed by the Greeks, Romans, and other warlike nations, who often encreaſed the horrid noiſe with knocking their weapons againſt their ſhields [k]. With relation to their beſieging of towns we are ſtill more in the dark ; all therefore that can be added here is, what the Jews tell us from a paſſage in Joſhua [l], that when he ſent to offer peace to the cities of Canaan before he enter'd it, he diſpatched three expreſſes to them : the firſt was to permit thoſe

[g] Calmet & Baſnag. ubi ſupr. [h] Vid. Cun. & Goodwin ubi ſup. [i] Vid. 1 Sam. iv. 5. & Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. lib. 3. [k] Polyb. vid. Cun. ubi ſupr. [l] Joſh. xi. 19, 20.

(W) Among other remarkable things in this ſpeech, were thoſe that follow : Hear, O Iſrael, ——you are now going to engage, not againſt your brethren, not one tribe againſt another, by whom, if you chanced to be taken, you might expect to be uſed with mercy : —— but againſt your enemies, into whoſe hands if it be your misfortune to fall, you muſt expect no quarter —— let not your courage fail you ; let not the neighing of their horſes, the brightneſs of their ſpears, the clattering of their ſhields, or the ſound of their trumpets diſhearten you——God is in the midſt of you ; your foes come againſt you with an arm of fleſh, but you truſt in the ſtrength of the Almighty ; and ſo on (65). Part of this ſpeech we find to have been certainly dictated by Moſes (66), but whether the reſt was ſo or not, we dare not affirm. However, one thing is worth obſerving with reſpect to theſe words, thou art not going to engage againſt thy brethren, from whom thou mighteſt expect mercy ; that the tribe of Judah having been captivated by thoſe of Iſrael, ſo long after as in Ahaz's reign, and theſe ready to uſe their captives with the ſame ſeverity as they did ſtrangers, a prophet of the Lord did ſtrenuouſly oppoſe it, and made the conquerors cloath, feed, and anoint them, and ſend them back to their brethren (67).

(65) Tract. סוטה cap. viii. vid. Goodw. Moſ. & Aar. lib. iv. c. 8. §. 14. (66) Deut. xx. 2. & ſeq. (67) Vid. 2 Chron. xxviii. 8, & ſeq.

thoſe who had a mind to leave the country, to depart; the ſecond was to offer peace to thoſe that would make peace with him, and the laſt, to declare war againſt thoſe that refuſed the two former offers [m].

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of the Jews under Joſhua.

The deſcription, conqueſt, and partition of the land of Canaan.

Year of the Flood, 1548. Before Chriſt, 1451.

THE Iſraelitiſh camp continued at Shittim, near the river Jordan, and in ſight of the land of Canaan, during the days of mourning for Moſes, and the people, whom a forty years wandering in the wilderneſs, under a diſcipline intermixed with the greateſt tenderneſs and ſeverity, had rendered more tractable, and more ſenſible of God's paternal care, were only waiting for the ſignal for paſſing over the river Jordan; when their new general received freſh and repeated promiſes of the divine aſſiſtance in the conqueſt of the promiſed land [n]. Nothing leſs than

The ſtate of the hoſt of Iſrael.

ſuch an aſſurance could indeed have ſupported Joſhua's courage in ſo arduous a taſk. He was now ninety three years of age, and had been trained up under Moſes at leaſt one third part of that time, ſo that he wanted neither experience nor ſagacity to foreſee all the difficulties he was to encounter with. He ſaw himſelf indeed at the head of ſix hundred thouſand fighting men, but on the other hand his army was clogged with an innumerable multitude of old men, women, and children, beſides ſervants, cattle, and other incumbrances. The very firſt ſtep he was to take was the croſſing of a large river, in doing which he knew himſelf equally expoſed to the arms of thoſe whom he went to attack, and thoſe whom he left behind. The nations he was to ſubdue were naturally warlike, of a gigantic ſtature and ſtrength, their towns well fortified by nature and art, their forces and intereſt united by the ſtrongeſt ty-

ties

[m] Goodwin ubi ſupr.

[n] Joſh. i. per tot.

tyes and alliances ; they had all long ago taken the alarm, and had made the greateſt preparations againſt him, reſolved either to obſtruct his conqueſt, or loſe their lives in the defence of their country °.

THIS was the ſituation of the Canaanites and of Joſhua's affairs, when he received the divine ſignal to prepare for the glorious conqueſt. His firſt care therefore was to make choice of two proper perſons to go privily to the land of Jericho, and examine what condition their cities and people were in. Theſe ſoon ſet out for this perilous expedition, and, having happily croſſed the Jordan, went and lodged at an inn-keeper's-houſe (X) named Rahab, where they had not

Two ſpies ſent to Jericho.

° Ibid. ix. 1, 2. & ſeq. x. & ſeq. paſſ.

(X) We have ventured to give Rahab a more favourable appellative than moſt verſions have done, who make no ſcruple to call her a harlot ; though it is plain, that the word זונה Zonah, doth as properly ſignify an inn-keeper, or one who ſelleth victuals and drink, as a harlot ; for it is derived from the root זן Zon, which ſignifies to give food, and is the feminine participle active of that verb. And in this we have followed the Chaldee paraphraſe, which renders it by the word פזנדקיתא, from פזנדק, an inn (68) ; in which he is alſo followed by ſome of the moſt learned Jews who paraphraſe the word here by מיכרת מזון Mokereth-mazon, a ſeller of victuals (69) ; and Kimchi allows, that it may be rendered either way (70) ; to which we may add, that the Septuagint, and after them St. James, have made uſe of the Greek word πόρνη, which is capable of both ſignifications namely, of a victualler or a harlot, as Junius has fully proved it (71). And indeed, as the word in its primitive ſenſe doth properly ſignify the former, it is not unlikely that the freedoms which thoſe kind of women were wont to allow to their cuſtomers, might give birth to the latter ſignification, and, from a hoſteſs or a victualler, come in time to ſignify a harlot. But as it doth not appear by the text, that ſhe did drive both theſe trades, but rather the contrary, the faith which ſhe expreſſed in God, and her behaviour to his two ſervants, might well deſerve to have the moſt favourable conſtruction put upon her profeſſion. To which we may add, that it is not likely, that Salmon would, or indeed could, afterwards have lawfully married her, if ſhe had been ſuch a public woman

(68) Vid. ערוך ſeu Lexic. R Nathan. Jona. Levi Ben. Gerſh. vid. & Munſt. in loc.
(69) R. R. Salom.
(70) In Rad.
(71) Vid. Jun. in Epiſt. Jacob. ii. 25.

Conceal'd by Rahab.

not been long, before a ſtrict ſearch was made after them, by order of the alarmed king of Jericho. Their fear, however, was ſoon diſpelled by their hoſpitable hoſteſs, who ſent away the ſearchers by telling them out of her window, that two ſtrangers had indeed refreſhed themſelves at her houſe, but that they were gone ſince towards ſun-ſet, and might be eaſily taken if cloſely purſued. Their backs were no ſooner turned, than ſhe went to the two ſpies, to whom ſhe freely owned the panic dread that had ſeized not only that city, but all the land of Canaan, at the news of what the God of Iſrael had done in favour of their nation, both

woman; he who was a prince of the houſe of Judah, and one of the Meſſiah's anceſtors.

However, we do not pretend to enter into a ſcrutiny, how far her hoſpitality to her guests was blameable or praiſe-worthy, or how far ſhe was guilty of betraying her country; much leſs ſhall we take upon us to juſtify the lye ſhe told the king's officers, as ſome have done with more zeal than diſcretion (72); but thus much may be ſaid on her behalf, letting even aſide her faith, for which ſhe is commended in the goſpel, that if ſhe had heard of the overthrow of Pharaoh, Sihon, and Og; the king of Jericho could not be ignorant of it. It was therefore as natural for her to be terrified at it, and to provide for her ſafety, as it was for him to make a brave reſiſtance, or periſh in the attempt. To this we may add, that if what the ſcripture ſeems to intimate plainly enough, be true, that Joſhua was obliged to offer peace, before he made uſe of the ſword againſt any of the Canaanitiſh nations †, it was lawful for her or any other ſubject to accept it, as it was glorious for a monarch to refuſe it. At leaſt we think, that the refuſal of ſuch advantageous terms from an irreſiſtible conqueror, at the riſk of being all infallibly maſſacred by him, for the ſake of a king, who, for ought that appears to the contrary, might be but a petty tyrant, and of a people whom fear had rendered incapable of making a defence, which perhaps the difference between being under the natural monarch, if he was really ſuch, or under the conqueror, was either inconſiderable, or, it may be, on the ſide of the latter, ſuch a refuſal, we ſay, would have been an inſtance of patriotiſm that could hardly be expected from a Canaanite, much leſs from a young ſun-burnt harlot, as Rahab muſt have been, as ſhe was the mother of Boaz above thirty years after, as Junius has fully ſhewn in the place above quoted.

(72) Vid. inter al. Tremel. in loc. † Vid. vol. iii. p. 20. note (P).

both at the red-ſea, and againſt thoſe kingdoms which they had ſo lately conquer'd. To this ſhe added, that, being now fully perſuaded, that he was the only true God, againſt whoſe decrees all oppoſition would be not only vain, but dangerous, ſhe was now ready to ſave them from their imminent danger, upon condition they ſwore to ſave her and her family, when they became maſters of the city. An offer ſo generous and ſo unexpected, joyned to ſo candid a confeſſion, could not deſerve a leſs reward, and the two ſpies, who in the condition they were in, would have purchaſed their ſafety upon much harder terms, were not long before they gave her all the deſired aſſurance, that not only ſhe and her family, but all that were found in her houſe at the taking of the city, ſhould be exempted from the common ruin. She kept them hid the remaining part of the time under ſome hempen ſtocks, and about mid-night led them down by a rope out of one of her back-windows, which was contiguous to the city-wall, after ſhe charged them to keep themſelves concealed in ſome cliff of the neighbouring mountains for two or three days, till their purſuers were returned home. Before they took their leave they agreed, that ſhe ſhould hang a ſcarlet line out of her window, which ſhould be a ſignal to them, and a ſafeguard to her houſe. The riſk they had run put a ſtop to their further progreſs, and what they had learned at Jericho made it as needleſs as dangerous; ſo that, having happily eſcaped all further diſcovery, they returned to their camp on the third day, and related to Joſhua all that had happened to them [p], who could not but applaud himſelf, that he had made ſo much better choice than Moſes had done before upon the like occaſion.

They ſwear to ſave her and hers.

THE conſternation, which they told him had overſpread itſelf throughout that whole land, was univerſally looked upon as a ſure omen of their future ſucceſs, and Joſhua failed not to improve it, by aſſuring them, that it was God himſelf who had injected ſuch a terror among their enemies, and that they had now nothing to do but to fight valiantly under his banner and protection. He then reminded the two tribes and a half of their former promiſe of aſſiſting their brethren in the conqueſt of the land, and they on their part as readily promiſed to obey his orders at the peril of their lives [q]. However, as thoſe tribes compoſed an army of upwards of an hundred thouſand fighting men, Joſhua

Return to the camp and make their report.

[p] Joſh. ii. per tot. [q] Ibid. i. 12. & ſeq.

contented himself with less than one half, and left the rest to defend their new possessions and families. After this he caused it to be proclaim'd through the camp, that they should pass over Jordan within three days, during which time they should make provision for victuals, seeing the manna was to cease as soon as they had set foot on the other shore, and had tasted the bread of that country, as it actually did †; and then gave the signal for marching from Shittim to the neighbouring shore of that river. As soon as they were encamped there, Joshua sent and communicated to every tribe the order that was to be observ'd in the solemn march. The priests bearing the ark were to begin the procession, and, as soon as their feet touching the water had opened a miraculous way [r] to them, each tribe was to follow in the same order as they had observed in all their marches, keeping however the awful distance prescribed, of two thousand cubits, from that sacred symbol of the divine presence *, whilst those that bore it were to continue in the middle of the river, till the whole host of Israel had got safe to the other shore.

They prepare to march towards Jordan.

The order of crossing that river.

To inspire the people still with a greater regard for this wonderful passage, they were commanded to sanctify themselves, as had been formerly done upon such solemn occasions ‡, by washing their cloaths, avoiding all impurities, and abstaining from matrimonial intercourse, on the eve of their march. He charged likewise every tribe to send a man to him, to be ready to execute such orders as he should give them on the morrow; which was no sooner come, than the priests began their march towards the river, and the people made themselves ready to follow them in two columns, one above, and the other below, the ark. This march happened on a friday, on the 10th day of the first month Nisan, which answers to our thirtieth of April, and was the day on which the lamb was to be chosen and set by for the passover [s], about which time the waters of Jordan, being usually swelled by the melting of the snows of the Lebanon and other neighbouring mountains, seldom or never failed to overflow its banks. As soon therefore as the priests that bare the ark had touched the extremity of it with their feet, God, who had promised to signalize their new general here, in as miraculous a manner as he had done their old one at the red-sea, caused the waters of the river from above to go

Which divides itself to open a dry passage.

† Ibid. v. 12.
‡ Vid. vol. ii. 454, 601.
[r] Ibid. iii. 13.
[s] Usher's Ann. p. 25.
* Ibid. ver. 4.

go back, and to riſe up in heaps far beyond the city of Adam, which is beſide that of Zaretan (Y), whilſt thoſe below, continuing their courſe towards the ſea of the plain, otherwiſe called the Salt, or Dead, ſea, opened a paſſage of about ſixteen or eighteen miles in breadth to the Iſraelites, till they were all got ſafe to the other ſide.

DURING all the time of their croſſing the prieſts continued with the ark in the midſt of Jordan, and waited only for Joſhua's orders, when to come out and join the reſt of the camp. But Joſhua, who deſigned to perpetuate the memory of this wonderful tranſaction, commanded them to ſtand ſtill, till he had made thoſe twelve men, whom he directed to wait about him, to take twelve large ſtones, one of each tribe, and lay them on one heap in the place where the ark ſtood, ſo that they might be ſeen afterwards from each ſhore, when the waters of the river were abated; and at the ſame time he made them take up twelve other ſtones from the bottom of the river, and to erect a monument with them on the ſhore; which was no ſooner done, than the prieſts had orders to march with the ark, and leave the waters to retake their uſual courſe. Joſhua, who by this time was in as high eſteem with the people as Moſes had been before, failed not to charge them to tranſmit to their poſterity the occaſion and meaning of theſe two monuments [t], both which, Two monuments of it reared up.

[t] Joſh. iii, & iv. per tot.

(Y) This city was afterwards called Zeredathah. It belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and became famous for the fine copper-works which Hiram did caſt there for the temple of Solomon (73). As for the city of Adam, though ſome geographers place it upon the Dead-ſea, that is, below the place where the waters divided themſelves (74), it is plain from the text, that it was above it towards Seythopolis; ſo that if the place where they croſſed was about Bethabara, where John did baptize, as ſome think (75), the waters muſt have riſen near ſixty miles upwards. What adds therefore ſtill to the miracle is, 1ſt, that none of theſe cities that were ſituate along the ſhore, where the waters roſe up to ſuch a heighth, were drowned, or even hurt, as we can find; and 2dly, that the inhabitants of Jericho, right over againſt whom they croſſed the river, did not make ſome bold attempt to have

(73) 2 Chron. iv. 17. (74) Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 13. (75) Vid. Calm. Comm. in Joſh. & Hiſt. V. T.

which, if we may believe Eusebius and others, were still to be seen many centuries after [u]. From this place Joshua commanded the vanguard, which consisted of forty thousand men of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, to march towards the plains of Jericho [w], and those were soon followed by the rest of the army, and encamped at Gilgal, about seven or eight miles from Jordan, and about three or four miles from Jericho.

In the mean time, the feast of the passover drew nigh, unto which no uncircumcised person was to be admitted under the severest penalties; and yet at least two thirds of the men were so. That ceremony had been intermitted during their forty years wandering, so that all that had been circumcised besides Joshua and Caleb, were only those who were under twenty years of age at the rebellion of Cadesh-barnea, all the rest were dead in the wilderness †; it was therefore necessary before all things that it should be renewed out of hand: wherefore Joshua was commanded to have it immediately perform'd. The circumstance of time was altogether favourable for such an operation; and their miraculous passage over the Jordan had spread such an universal dread among their enemies, that they had no cause to apprehend being surprized by them, as the Shechemites had been by Simeon and Levi. Besides, it was God that commanded, to whom they had all the reason in the world to commit their safety, so that his orders were chearfully and punctually obeyed. The sharp stones which they made use of being more proper for the ceremony than knives or razors made of metal, as being less apt to cause inflamations, was the means of their being sooner healed, and consequently in a condition to celebrate the passover at the appointed time, as it was accordingly done; and God, highly pleased with their obedience, told them, that he had now, removed, or rolled away from them, the reproach of Egypt, that is, that he did no longer look upon them as uncircumcised Egyptians, but disputed a pass of such consequence, and obstructed their crossing; all which can only be attributed to the same miraculous power which kept the waters suspended.

Circumcision renewed.

[u] Euseb. loc. Hebr. sub Bounos & Gilgal. Anselim. Albert. Job. Mosch. Vit. patr. & al. ap. Calm. Hist. V. T. lib. 3. cap. 1.
[w] Josh. iv. 12, 13. † Vid. sup. p. 10.

but as his own people, in memory of which the place was called Gilgal, or rolling (Z).

THIS

(Z) The text in this place (76) uſes an expreſſion which has puzzled ſeveral commentators, and even St. Jerom, as great an Hebraiſt as he was, to find out what this circumciſion was, that was performed a ſecond time. The generality of the Jews affirm, that they had been circumciſed in the wilderneſs, but that one of the three parts of the ceremony, namely the puſhing quite back the remainder of the ſkin of the penis after the fore-part was cut off had been omitted during thoſe forty years, becauſe it put the infant to too much pain and agony. And that it was this operation which Joſhua cauſed to be performed, and which, being as troubleſome as the other two, is therefore here called a ſecond circumciſion (77). Another learned Jew (78) having taken upon him to prove the words of Jeremiah, *I will puniſh the circumciſed that has a foreſkin* (79), for ſo he reads it, that it was poſſible to bring the foreſkin again by art, ſome have thought, that the Iſraelites had done ſo during their abode in the wilderneſs; for which they were ordered to be circumciſed afreſh. Thoſe Chriſtians, who have embraced this notion, pretend to back it by the words of St. Paul (80), *if any man is called, being uncircumciſed,* μὴ ἐπισπάθω, *let him not get a foreſkin again*, or, as we render it, *let him not be uncircumciſed* (81). To confute which, St. Jerom has taken a great deal of pains to prove, though perhaps without any reaſon, that this prepuce can never be recovered, when once cut off; and conſequently, that the circumciſion mentioned in Joſhua muſt be underſtood of the circumciſion of the heart, and to have been performed with a ſpiritual knife. The truth is, that good father, though the moſt learned of all that bear that name, was ſo fond of the virginal, and ſo prepoſſeſſed againſt a matrimonial ſtate, that he has wreſted theſe words, thoſe of the apoſtle, and a vaſt number more out of the old and new teſtament in favour of his favourite opinion, right or wrong, and wrote with ſuch an air of triumph, and with ſo much heat againſt his oppoſers (28), that when he became ſenſible of it, he made no difficulty to cenſure himſelf for it in a pathetic apology, which is perhaps the fineſt piece of oratory that ever he penned, and may well atone for his indiſcreet zeal in favour of celibacy. However, all the difficulty in the words before us ariſes from miſunderſtanding the idiom of the original, and would have been

(76) Joſh. v. 2. (77) Vid. Munſt. in loc. (78) Rab. Nath. in Lexic. ערוך ſub. voc. ערלה. (79) Jerom. ix. 25. (80) 1 Cor. vii. 18. (81) Vid. Drus. ap. Cun, (82) Hieron, cont. Jovinian. in Joſh. in loc. & alib,

This was the third time of their celebrating that festival; the first was at their departure out of Egypt, and the second on the next year at the setting up of the tabernacle at the foot of mount Sinai, since when, whether for want of corn to make unleavened bread, or any other reason, it had been wholly intermitted till now; when, the text tells, the Israelites having provided themselves with corn both old and new, they baked themselves unleavened cakes with the former, and parched the latter in the sheaves, and eat it instead of bread, this last being equally suitable to the feast, as being eaten without leaven. In this place it was also, that God, or, as some will have it [x], his angel, appeared unto Joshua in the plain, in the shape of a warrior, standing at some distance from him with a drawn sword. Joshua knew him not, and was probably gone thus far alone to *reconnoitre* the city, and contrive the propereſt means of besieging it. Being therefore surprized to see a man stand so near him in that hostile posture, he asked him, whether he was for or against Israel? and upon his answering, that he was the captain of the Lord's host, Joshua fell down at his feet and worshipped him, whilst the vision commanded him to shew the same respect to the place, as Moses had formerly done at the sight of the miraculous bush *. He had no sooner obeyed, and in the humblest terms expres'd his readiness to receive his command [y], than the Lord was pleased to direct the wonderful manner in which he would have Jericho besieged, that the rest of the Canaanites might be made sensible, that it was not an arm of flesh that fought against them (A).

The passover celebrated.

God appears to Joshua.

We

[x] Grot. Le Clerc, & al. vid. vol. ii. p. 535 note (S) & alib.
* Vid. vol. ii. p. 545. at the end of note (V). [y] Josh. v. per tot.

easily removed if they had been translated or paraphrased thus: ——Let, the ceremony of, circumcision, which has been so long discontinued, be renewed, or set on foot once more.

(A) Nothing could be more wisely ordered than this miraculous manner of taking the city; not only to signalize the first conquest of the Israelites in the land of Canaan, but likewise to inject such a terror into its inhabitants, as might either make them more ready to accept their terms of peace, or at the worst to induce them to save their own lives, by timely abandoning the country to the conquerors. To say that the latter was impracticable is begging the question; nay, the contrary seems plain from the Gibeonites finding

We have already given ſome account of the ſiege and taking of this place in the hiſtory of Canaan †*. All that needs be added to it here is, that the city, into which great numbers out of the neighbouring villages had retired, ſome to help to defend it, and others to ſave themſelves, had been cloſely ſhut up by order of the king, who commanded in it in perſon, no man being ſuffered to go in or out of it, and that, on the ſeventh day which was the ſabbath, the circumvection of the ark was repeated ſeven times with the uſual ſolemnity; the prieſts ſounding with the rams-horns (B), and the ſame guard of armed men marching

†* vol. ii. p. 200.

finding means to ſend two different embaſſies to Joſhua ‡; though they could not do it without paſſing through ſome of the territories of the allied kings, as will appear by and by from the geography of that country.

(B) The original is שפרות היובלים Shopheroth-hajoblim, which all the Jews in general (83), and after them very many Chriſtians, underſtand, as we do of trumpets, made of rams-horns *. And from the word יובל, jobel, the ſingular of it, they alſo think the Jubilee to have taken its name, becauſe it was to be proclaimed by the ſound of that inſtrument (84). We ſhall have occaſion to offer a more proper etymon of the word, when we come to ſpeak of the jubilee itſelf; in the mean time there have not been wanting thoſe who have oppoſed this notion as ridiculous, becauſe they think it impoſſible to perforate them ſo as to give any ſuch ſhrill ſound (85), and therefore have ſuppoſed them to have been made of copper, in the ſhape of rams-horns. But this notion, as well as the impoſſibility of boring a ram's-horn, has been ſufficiently confuted by our learned Spencer. Sure it is, that it has a ſofter part in the inſide, which is eaſily drawn out whole by art, after which they are hollow all the way up, except about four or five inches towards the tip; part of which is ſawed off to make it broad enough for the mouth, after which the reſt is eaſily bored. And we can aſſure our readers, that we have ſeen ſome of them made in that manner, and uſed by ſhepherds and ſwineherds in the ſouth parts of Germany.

Joſephus,

‡ Vid. vol. ii. p. 201. & ſeq. (83) Ita Rabbin. fer. omn. vid. Munſt. in loc. * Spenc. & Myer. de tem. ſacr. c. xiv. § 11. Goodw. Moſ. & Aar. lib. iii. c. 10. § 2. & al. mult. (84) Id. ibid. vid. & R. Selomo Ben. Melech in Levit. xxv. 10. (85) Maſius in Joſh. vi. 4. Bochart Hieroz. l. ii. c. 43. Calm. & al.

The manner of taking Jericho.

marching before and after it, as had been done during the firſt ſix days. The whole proceſſion, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, kept at ſuch a diſtant from the walls as to be out of reach of their ſhot, whilſt the beſieged, too well ſkilled in warlike affairs to think, that a city was to be taken by ſuch whimſical marches, did probably conclude, that they were only making an aukward ſhow of their ſtrength. However, as ſoon as the ſeventh round was ended, the ſound of the trumpets was accompanied with an univerſal ſhout of all the beſiegers, and this was followed by the fall of the city wall which opened a way into it, at which every man mounted the breach that was next before him.

Rahab and her family ſaved.

Their firſt care was to convey Rahab and all her family out of the city, and theſe were no ſooner got ſafely out, but the Iſraelites killed all the men, women, children, and cattle that were found in it, after which, having ſeized upon all the gold, ſilver, braſs, and other baſer metals to be repoſited in the treaſury, they ſet the place on fire, and levelled it to the ground. Joſhua added a prophetic curſe on the man that ſhould afterwards attempt to rebuild it, importing, that he ſhould lay the foundation of it in his firſt-born,

Joſephus, who is very particular in deſcribing thoſe ſilver ones which Moſes made (86), ſays little or nothing of thoſe here, but calls them plainly horns (87); only when he comes afterwards to ſpeak of thoſe which Gideon and his men made uſe of (88), he calls them rams-horns (89). However, let them have been made how, and of what they would, 'tis plain from this inſtance of Gideon and ſome others both before and after him, that beſides thoſe trumpets which were appropriated to the prieſts, to ſound before the ark, to proclaim feaſts, jubilees, and the like, whoſe number was encreaſed to ſeven in Joſhua's (90), and to ſix ſcore in Solomon's time (91); (Joſephus ſays (92) two hundred thouſand, and adds, that it was according to Moſes's command, though upon what authority is hard to gueſs) beſides theſe, I ſay, 'tis plain, there were others for the war, which each general cauſed to ſound upon all exigencies. Thus Ehud, after he had privately killed Eglon king of Moab, ſounded the trumpet, and gathered Iſrael on mount Ephraim (93). And the ſame was afterwards done by Joab, Abſalom, and many more (94).

(86) Ant. lib. iii. c. 12. (87) Ibid. l. 5. c. 1. (88) Judg. vii. x. & ſeq. (89) Ant. l. v. c. 8. (90) Joſh. vi. 4. (91) 2 Chron. v. 12. (92) Ant. l. viii. c. 2. (93) Judg. iii. 27. (94) Vid. 2 Sam. ii. 28. xv. 10. & alib.

born, and ſet up the gates againſt his youngeſt ſon [z], by which the Jews do underſtand, that all his children from the biggeſt to the leaſt ſhould die an untimely death before he had finiſhed it [a]. However, we find it literally fulfilled above five hundred and fifty years after by Hiel the Bethelite, who laid the foundations of it in his eldeſt ſon Abiram, and ſet up its gates in his youngeſt ſon Segub accordingly [b]. Such was the fatal end of Jericho, which Moſes choſe to call by the name of the city of palm-trees [c], by reaſon of the great number of them that grew in the plain round about it. To which Joſephus adds, that the tree from which flowed the famed balm of Gilead, and other odoriferous trees, did likewiſe grow in its neighbourhood [d], from whoſe flagrancy it is ſuppoſed to have been named Jericho, which in the original ſignifies odour (C). As for Rahab and her family, they had a place aſſigned them out of the Iſraelitiſh camp, and ſhe was ſoon after incorporated into their commonwealth, by her embracing the Jewiſh religion, and her marriage to Salmon [e], head of the tribe of Judah as was hinted before: whether the reſt of her kindred

She is married to Salmon.

[z] Joſh. vi. per tot. [a] Vid. Munſt. in loc. [b] 1 Kings xvi. ver. ult. [c] Deuter. xxxiv. 3. [d] Jew. Wars. l. v. c. 4. [e] Matth. i. 5. Vid. Uſher's Ann. p. 46.

(C) This, however, muſt not be literally underſtood, as if there had been no city of that name, from Joſhua to Hiel, ſince we read of the city of Palm-trees in Eglon's time (95). and of Jericho in David's days, for there it was that he bid his embaſſadors ſtay, till their beards, which had been cut off by Hanun king of Ammon, were grown again (99). And Joſephus tells us, this new one was rebuilt not upon the ſpot of the old, the ruins of which, he ſays, were ſtill to be ſeen in his time, but at a ſmall diſtance from it (97), as ſhall be further ſhewn in the geography of Canaan. However, after Hiel had ventured to rebuild the old town, no ſcruple was made of inhabiting it; ſo that it became afterwards famous upon many accounts. Here the prophet ſweetened the waters of the ſpring that ſupplied it and the neighbouring countries: here Herod built a ſumptuous palace: it was the dwelling place of Zaccheus, and was honoured with Chriſt's preſence, who likewiſe vouchſafed to work ſome miracles there.

(95) Judg. iii. 13. (96) 2 Sam. x. 5. (97) Joſeph. Ant. lib. v. c. 1. & al.

kindred followed her example or no, is neither certain, nor of great conſequence (D).

In the mean time, though the wonderful ſucceſs of the Iſraelites againſt this city opened a way to new conqueſts, yet their general, wiſely conſidering the time which the making and dividing them would take, during which his numerous army muſt be ſupplied with proviſions, choſe to make that fruitful plain the center of his camp, from whence he might conſtantly draw out a ſufficient number of men to invade other territories, till they had ſo far enlarged their own as to admit of a diſtribution between the tribes, which was not done till ſix years after †. As ſoon there-

† Vid vol. ii. p. 205.

(D) The Jews tells us, that Joſhua was very doubtful, whether the promiſe which the two ſpies had made to Rahab was lawful or not, and that he could not ratify it, till he had firſt conſulted Eleazar the high-prieſt and the ſeventy elders, who not only gave ſentence in her favour, but pronounced her worthy of a greater reward than ſhe had ſtipulated; upon which, as ſoon as ſhe had accompliſhed the days of her purification without the camp, on account of her being a Gentile, ſhe was admitted a proſelyte, and ſoon after married to Salmon, the ſon of Naaſhon, and great grandfather of David. A Romiſh chronologiſt (98) ſays upon the authority of the Jewiſh rabbies, that Joſhua married her, from which another writer of the ſame church has inferred, that it was a grand daughter of hers of the ſame name, that was afterwards married to Salmon (99); but, as we can ſee no foundation for either of theſe notions, we have choſen to follow the far greater majority of chronologers, and particularly the learned Uſher, who affirms, that it was this Rahab whom Salmon took to wife †. However, as it is forbidden, by the cxiid negative precept of Moſes, to make any affinity with any of the ſeven nations there mentioned (100), the Jews affirm her to have been of ſome other nation, and only an inhabitant of Jericho (1), which is not at all improbable, ſeeing they were ſo ſtrangely intermixed, as we have ſeen elſewhere ‡.

(98) Genebr. Chronol. p. 13. de Peup. de Dieu. Age iii. l. 1. 26.

(99) Berruy. Hiſ

† Uſh. Ann. p

(100) Deut. vii. 1, & ſeq. מצות לא תעשה: ſub מצוה: cxii.

(1) Vid

‡ Vid. vo

ii. p. 181. & ſeq.

therefore as Joſhua had ſettled the beſt order he could in his camp, he detached a body of three thouſand men againſt the king of Ai, whoſe capital was about ten or twelve miles from Jericho, where they received an unexpected repulſe, with the loſs of about thirty ſix men. This defeat, how ſmall ſoever, did ſo damp the people's courage, that Joſhua was forced to have recourſe to God, who immediately anſwered by Urim, as is ſuppoſed, that his command had been ſacrilegiouſly infringed, and ordered him to diſcover the guilty perſon by lot, and (E) to puniſh him with immediate death. Joſhua loſt no time, and having caſt lots from the tribes to the families, Achan, the ſon of Carmi of the tribe of Judah, was found to be the ſacrilege, who, at the general's requeſt, confeſt, that he had concealed ſome of the curſed plunder of Jericho. His crime was no ſooner verified by the ſearch that was made in his tent, than he, his children, cattle, and all he had, were conveyed to the adjacent valley, which was from that time called the valley of Achor, or trouble, from the trouble which this crime had brought upon the people, and

The Iſraelites repulſed at Ai.

Achan's crime puniſhed.

(E) How theſe lots were caſt is neither plain from ſcripture, nor agreed about by commentators, though we have a great many inſtances of their being made uſe of, both to diſcover guilty perſons, not only by the Jews, as in this and the caſe of Saul (2), but by other nations, as we find by the hiſtory of Jonah; and for ſeveral other purpoſes, bad as well as good. As to the manner in which the ceremony itſelf was performed, except the calling of tribes one after another till it came to the right, and ſo down to the inferior branches of each family till they came at laſt to ſingle perſons, as in the two caſes above mentioned, except this we have nothing about it. Joſephus (3) only ſays, that it was done before the high-prieſt and ſeventy elders. To this other Jews add, that they were made to paſs before the ark, and that the high-prieſt was directed by the Urim to pitch upon the right tribe, family, &c. (4). However that be, the lawfulneſs of this way of caſting lots cannot be denied, ſeeing it was not only countenanced, if not preſcribed, by God, but afterwards practiſed even by the apoſtles (5), though the heatheniſh ſuperſtition, which did ſince mix itſelf with it, and the vile purpoſes to which it has been put, hath made it exceeding dangerous, if not altogether criminal.

(2) 2 Sam. xiv. 38, & ſeq.
(3) Ant. l. v. c. 1.
(4) Vid. Munſt. in Joſh. vii.
(5) Acts i. ver ult.

and there the former were ſtoned to death, and the reſt burnt (F); after which they reared up an heap of ſtones, for a monument of his crime and a determent to the reſt [f].

Canaan conquered in ſix years.

The army being thus purged, as Joſephus words it, they had much better ſucceſs, not only in their next expedition againſt Ai, but alſo againſt the whole land, the conqueſt of which was, though not perfectly, finiſhed in ſix years. But as we have already given ſome account of it in the hiſtory of Canaan *_*, we ſhall, to avoid prolixity and repetition, refer the other material circumſtances, that have been either but lightly touched upon there, or poſtponed as foreign, ſuch as ſetting up the tabernacle in Shiloh, engraving the law on ſtone, ſetting up the bleſſings and curſes, and the like, to the next article of the geography and partition of the land, where the whole will be more diſtinctly ſeen at one view.

In the mean time, our readers will not think it amiſs, if we venture to ſubjoin here ſome few, we hope not improper, remarks upon thoſe two miraculous tranſactions which happened at this time; namely, the ſtopping the courſe of the ſun by Joſhua, and the remarkable rain of hail-ſtones,

The ſun ſtands ſtill at Joſhua's prayer.

[f] Joſh. vii. per tot. *_* Vol. ii. p. 203.

(F) The law againſt ſacrilege condemning the tranſgreſſor to the flames, and God commanding the perſon here guilty to be burnt accordingly (6), the Jews affirm, that Achan was actually burnt (7); and whereas it is ſaid in the text, that he was ſtoned (8), they think it to have been done accidentally by the people, who were ſo highly provoked, that they could not forbear caſting ſtones at him as he was led to execution (9). However, the large comment on this place obſerves judiciouſly enough, that he was alſo guilty of the breach of the ſabbath, becauſe it was on that day that Jericho was taken, and therefore that as he had been guilty of a double crime, ſacrilege and ſabbath breaking, ſo he received the double puniſhment preſcribed, ſtoning and burning (10). The Jews add, that the place where the 3000 men were routed by the men of Ai, was called עברים, Shebarim, branches or defeats, from the defeat which they received thera, as עכיר, Achor was from the grief which Achan cauſed them.

(6) Joſh. vii. 15. (7) Vid. Munſt. in loc. (8) Ibid. ver. 25. (9) Munſt. ibid. (10) Bommidbar. Rab. in loc.

hail-ſtones, which did ſuch a terrible execution upon the confederate army of the Canaanites, both which happened on the ſame day ᵍ; but having been but barely mentioned before ‡, and having no connection with what is to follow, can no where be more properly offered than in this place. We need not tell them. how many, otherwiſe learned men, among the Chriſtians have ſcrupled to fall in with the Copernican ſyſtem, in this and many other countries free from the inquiſition, upon a miſtaken notion, that it is point blank contrary to ſeveral expreſs teſtimonies of holy writ, among which the ſun and moon ſtanding ſtill is ſtrenuouſly urged by them; whilſt others, from a contrary principle, have been induced to queſtion its divine authority, becauſe it favoured ſo abſurd a one as that of Ptolemy is now generally allowed and proved to be. It was doubtleſs this laſt error which gave occaſion to thoſe two witty, though profane, ſayings, reported of that great philoſopher Alphonſo king of Naples, that if the ſyſtem of the earth's ſtanding ſtill were true, the whole univerſe was but a bungling piece of mechaniſm; and that if he had been admitted into God's council at the creation, he could have ſaved him a world of trouble †.

Now it is plain, that theſe two extremes might have been eaſily avoided by two very obvious obſervations, namely, 1ſt, the expreſſions here made uſe of, *ſun ſtand ſtill upon Gibeon*, and ſo on, are figurative, and incapable of a literal ſenſe (G); and 2d, that the ſyſtem which places the

ᵍ Joſh. x. 12. & ſeq. ‡ Ubi ſupr, † Vid. Bacon's Apophthegms.

(G) The words literally run thus: *Sun be thou ſilent in, or upon, Gibeon, and thou moon in the valley of Ajalon*; and in the next verſe it is ſaid, that they ſtood ſtill accordingly; now it is plain, that thoſe luminaries were neither in, upon, or even over, theſe places in any other than a relative ſenſe, and that they had a different ſituation with reſpect to thoſe that were one mile eaſt or weſt of the place where Joſhua ſtood. We may venture to add. that it was impertinent to make the moon ſtand ſtill with the ſun, upon any other ſuppoſition than that Joſhua had the ſolar ſyſtem in his thoughts when he uſed thoſe expreſſions, becauſe the preſence of the moon was uſeleſs to him as long as he had that of the ſun, but if he only prayed, that their light might continue in ſtatu quo, till he had accompliſhed his conqueſt,

the earth immoveable in the center, and ſuppoſes the ſun, moon, and ſtars to turn round it, was the moſt univerſally received, the moſt adapted to vulgar capacities, and the freeſt from ſeeming difficulties, becauſe moſt agreeable to common appearances and obſervations; and that the groſs Iſraelites were ſo uſed to it, that had Moſes, Joſhua, or any other inſpired writer, known any thing of the ſolar one, yet it would have been improper, if not dangerous, to have ſo much as hinted at it. However, theſe conſiderations, though obvious and reaſonable, have been ſo far from being univerſally admitted, that a great number of authors, both Jews and Chriſtians, have ranſacked their brains to find out more ſatisfactory ſolutions, though with ſo little circumſpection and ſucceſs, that they have rather multiplied,

The ſyſtems of ſome authors concerning it, examined.

queſt, which is certainly all he meant, he could not but know, that upon the earth's ſtanding ſtill, both the ſun and moon, and all the reſt muſt ſeem to do ſo. It is plain our great philoſopher Sir Iſaac Newton, who was ſufficiently maſter of the Hebrew, was not frighted by theſe, or any ſuch popular phraſes from his favourite ſyſtem, though no man payed a greater deference to the authority of the ſcriptures than he did; and that he thought it ſufficient that the effect was the ſame, whether the ſun or the earth were ſuppoſed to be ſtopped in their career.

If it be aſked, how it was poſſible for the earth to reſiſt, for ſo many hours, the impulſe of the circumambient fluid of the Carteſians, or of the attraction and gravitation of the Newtonian ſyſtem, or of whatever other mover that hurries it along, without cauſing an univerſal ſtop in the whole ſyſtem? beſides, that the objection will be equally ſtrong, if not ſtronger, in the other hypotheſis of the ſun ſtanding ſtill, it may be anſwered, that the fact being altogether preternatural, we need but ſuppoſe a ſufficient power to have diverted that impulſe from the earth, and directed it to glide on each ſide of it, and then all the reſt might eaſily keep on their motion, though this ſtood ſtill all the while. However, we do not pretend to anſwer all the objections that have been raiſed againſt the poſſibility of this miracle from principles, which, for ought we know, have no foundation but in the heads of thoſe who firſt invented them; we think it enough to ſay, that the ſupreme author of nature, who firſt gave motion to matter, and whoſe will alone appointed the laws of it, can either ſuſpend, or diſpenſe with them, whenever his own glory, or any wiſe ends of providence, make it neceſſary or expedient; to doubt of this is to deny the truth of all miracles, and unworthy of any anſwer.

multiplied, than removed the difficulties which they endeavoured to avoid.

AMONG the first some have affirmed, that the motion of the luminaries was only abated in its velocity, as that of a chariot is from a full gallop to an even pace [h] from an expression used there, that the sun did not hasten to go down about a whole day. But whether or no they thought it easier to retard, than wholly to suspend their motion, sure it is, that neither of them could be done but by a supernatural power; the same may be said of what some rabbies affirm, that God substituted some meteor, or body of light [i], or that he retained the moon above the horizon to supply the absence of the sun [k]; but all these are modest men in comparison to the learned Maimonides, who makes all the miracle of this transaction to have consisted in a bare wish or prayer of Joshua, that the sun might not go down till he had gained a complete conquest, and in God's granting his request, not by stopping the sun's career during so many hours, as we understand it, but by enabling that general and his army, to do as much execution in one, as would reasonably have taken up two days [l]. After this we need not wonder, if Spinosa, the last among the Jews we shall mention, has still improved upon him, and quite removed the difficulty by denying the miracle, and attributing the extraordinary length of that day to the bare refraction of the sun's rays by the sky, which was then more than ordinarily charged with hail, but which the people mistook for the sun's standing still. According to him Isaiah was no better a philosopher than Joshua, when he attributed the change that happened upon Ahaz's dial to the retrogression of the sun, rather than to a refraction of it from some cloud [m].

Maimonides and Spinosa confuted.

WE do very much question, whether any of these, especially the two last, would ever have been thought worth answering, or even mentioning, had they not been too closely followed by some very learned christians, protestants as well as papists. We shall only take notice of three of the most eminent of them, namely, Grotius, Peirerius, and

[h] Chald. Paraph. R. Levi Ben Gersh. & al. Vid. Munst. in loc. & Calm. Differt. [i] R. Eliakim. B. Naphtal. שם טוב. [k] Jos. & Dav. Kimchi. vid. מבלול. & epist. sup. mor. nevoch. Maimonid. [l] More nevoch. part ii. c. 39. [m] Tract. theologico politic. c. ii.

and Le Clerc, whose sentiments, as well as what has been said to confute them, we shall now give in as few words as the subject will admit of.

Grotius confuted.

As for Grotius, though he doth not think it impossible, that God should suspend the course of the sun, or make it appear upon our horizon after it is set, yet he is so far from granting that it was really done, that he thinks its not being mentioned, among other things of less moment, in the epistle to the Hebrews[n], to be a strong argument against it (H). And therefore what is said in Joshua, that God

[n] Hebr. xi. ad fin.

(H) The misfortune is, that the argument will hold equally against several other miraculous transactions, which are likewise omitted by the apostle, though expresly mentioned in holy writ; such as the plagues of Egypt, all the wonders wrought by Moses in the wilderness; the miraculous passage over Jordan, and many more of the like nature. He doth not so much as speak a word of the conquest of Canaan, or mention Joshua among his worthies, though his character be so vastly superior to that of Gideon, Jephtha, and others that are mentioned in that place. Besides it it is plain, the design of this chapter was only to give some few notable instances of the wonderful power of faith: to have enumerated all that is recorded upon the subject would have swelled it beyond the bulk of the whole epistle; and to have been too curious in the choice of them, especially to those of his nation, who knew all these things as well as himself, would have been too affected, and have favoured too much of art and human wisdom, which was always carefully and professedly avoided by the inspired writers *.

Under this head we may rank another objection, namely, the silence of all the antient historians, which, it is urged, could never have been so universal, had such a memorable transaction ever happened. But it ought to be remembered, that this fact is vastly previous to any profane writer, either extant or quoted, so that it was easy for the remembrance or monuments of it, if there were any, to be lost among a vast multitude of others, during the long and dark interval between it and the most antient authors. However, if light may be allowed to be fetched out of darkness, whence could the notion come into the poets heads of their demigods and heroes, having the power of lengthening days and nights, as best served their warlike or amorous designs, but most likely from this wonderful event? How came Jupiter, so

instanc

* Vid. Luke xxi. 15. 1 Cor. i. 17, 21, 27. 2 Cor. i. 12. & alib

God hearkened to the voice of a man, he thinks with Maimonides to mean no more, than that God, at his requeſt, granted him as much time and diſpatch as was neceſſary to gain a complete victory °.

Peirerius, mentioned before † for his extraordinary ſkill in accounting for all ſcripture miracles in a natural way, ſuppoſes P, contrary to all reaſon as well as the plain meaning of the text, that Joſhua only wiſhed for a longer day, about the time of the ſun's ſetting, upon which the land of Paleſtine or perhaps the territories only about Gibeon, were enlightned by a kind of twilight, or ſomething like our Aurora Borealis, which, continuing long enough to anſwer Joſhua's purpoſe, was miſtook by him for the ſun, though it was actually ſet as uſual; and made him and his army fancy that day to have been longer than any other by all that interval. But here the queſtion is, not how far theſe Parelia, or mock ſuns, can ſupply the abſence of the real one, but whether the hiſtorian's account can be capable of ſuch a forced interpretation. The text ſays expreſly, that the ſun ſtood ſtill in the mid heaven (I) at Joſhua's prayer, and

Peirerius confuted.

° Comm. in Joſh. x. 14.
P Præadamit, lib. iv. c. 6.
† Vol. iii. p. 12- note (L).

inſtance to be ſuppoſed to have ſpun the night which he ſpent with Alcmene to twice its natural length? or Minerva to have done the ſame in favour of Ulyſſes, whilſt he was butchering his competitors, and making himſelf known to his wife (11)? and many others of the like nature (12); but though we could bring nothing out of profane hiſtory to confirm this fact, yet would this be no fair argument againſt the truth of it; or the veracity of the writer, abſtracting even from his divine authority, if we judge of him with the ſame candor, as we do of any other hiſtorian.

(I) The words are בחצי השמים, in the midſt of heaven, or in the mid-heaven, which is always underſtood, both by aſtronomers and by the vulgar, to ſignify the place where the ſun is at noon; and that he haſted not לבוא to go down, or literally to decline towards its ſetting, during one whole day (13). What follows in the next verſe, that no day was ever like it, either before

(11) Vid. Hom. odyſſ. xxiii. ver. 242, 243. (12) Vid. Bacon. ſyren. Huet. demonſtr. evan. Calm. differt. & al. (13) Joſh. x. 13.

and that his more than usual continuance above the horizon, or rather in the same situation, made that a longer day than ever was known before or since. Supposing then for once the whole army to have been so little acquainted with these kinds of

fore or since, doth plainly confirm it. However, as these authors seem to rely little on the authority of the text, whatever they pretend to the contrary, it will not be amiss to try to confute them in their own way, by shewing that their supposition of the sun's being then near setting, when Joshua stopped it, makes against their favourite hypothesis, and leaves him not time enough for all the work which he is recorded to have done on that day.

It is expresly said, that the army marched all that night from Gilgal, and came early in the morning to Gibeon, where Joshua engaged and beat the enemy, put them to flight, and pursued them from the ascent of Bethoron to Azekah and Makkedah; and that, as they were going down the descent of Bethoron, the storm of hail fell upon them, after which he commanded the sun to stand still in Gibeon, and the moon in Ajalon. All this might be done easily enough before the sun was past the meridian, and the situation of those two last places shows, that it must have been about that time of the day. From the Bethoron here mentioned, or lower Bethoron, he pursued them to Azekah and Makkedah, which could not be less than twelve or fourteen miles, according to St. Jerom, who places the former at nine, and the latter at eight, miles, northward of Eleuteropolis †. There he is told, that the five kings had hid themselves in a cave, and he ordered the mouth of it to be stopped with a heap of stones, and then continues his pursuit till part of the enemy is killed, and the rest fled into fenced cities, and then returns to Makkedah. Here again he causes the mouth of the cave to be opened, and the five kings to be hanged till sun-set, and then to be taken down and buried again in the same cave. Can an army which had marched all the night, and fought all the day, be supposed to have pursued their enemies so many miles, kill them all the way they went, then come back to Makkekah, and execute and bury the five kings with such solemnity, after sun-set and by the help of a refracted light? And if so, what sun was that which they saw setting when they took the kings down? how much less probable is it still, that they should have done all this before the real sun-setting? The reader may further convince himself how much the situation of Gibeon and Ajalon is incompatible with the supposition we have been opposing, from the maps and geography that is to follow.

† Vid. epitaph. Paulæ. & loc. Hebr.

of lights, as to have fancied the ſun ſtill above the horizon, could they be ſo ſtupid as not to know his uſual place at noon from that of his ſetting? but ſhould we ſuppoſe even this, could they chuſe being undeceived, either by ſeeing it riſe on the next morning at his uſual time, or by the concurring teſtimony of other people who had ſeen him riſe and ſet as at other times? And if they were undeceived, is it likely, that they could have tranſmitted an account of it in ſuch terms, as muſt of neceſſity betray either their want of common ſenſe, or common honeſty? Laſtly, can our author, or any of his admirers, if they really believe this book to be divinely inſpired, ſuppoſe, that the holy Ghoſt would have ſuffered the Hebrew general, not only to have continued under ſuch a deluſion, but even to have tranſmitted it to poſterity with the divine ſtamp upon it?

Le Clerc confuted.

THE laſt perſon, we propoſed to mention under this head, is the famous M. Le Clerc, who has not only embraced the ſentiments of the two former, but has endeavoured to back them with new reaſons. The two firſt are taken from Joſhua's expreſſion, *Sun ſtand ſtill upon Gibeon*, which can admit of none but a figurative ſenſe; and from the literal one being contrary to the received ſolar ſyſtem. We have already ſhewn above, that they prove nothing on either ſide of the queſtion, and refer the reader to it. But he goes farther and ſays, 3. That providence is too ſparing of miracles, to beſtow ſo ſignal a one, as the overturning the whole order of nature, upon a thing of ſo ſmall a moment, as the defeat of the Canaanitiſh army in one day rather than in two. To this it is added, that Joſhua's prayer was too unreaſonable for God to grant in the ſtrict ſenſe it is commonly underſtood in, ſince the next day might have done as well, without lengthening this at the expence of ſo great a miracle (K): But is not this very preſumptuous,

(K) The Jews indeed tell us, that the reaſon of the lengthening of this day was, becauſe the next was the ſabbath, which would have given the Canaanites an opportunity either of rallying or eſcaping, whilſt Joſhua and his army were at reſt (14); but, beſides that we have nothing but their bare word for it, it is plain from their own confeſſion, that it was not always unlawful for them to do execution on the ſabbath, ſince Jericho was ſo lately taken on that day, as we hinted before. Some Chriſtians, however,

(14) Rabbin in Sedar Olam. vid. Munſt in loc.

ſumptuous, and may not ſuch bold way of reaſoning, againſt the plaineſt facts mentioned in ſcripture, prove the ſource of endleſs errors and infidelity? Will it not equally hold againſt all the other miracles wrought from Moſes to Chriſt himſelf? Why were ſo many done in Egypt, when Pharaoh might have been ſoftened into compliance at a much eaſier rate? Why muſt the red-ſea or the Jordan be miraculouſly divided, when the former might have been coaſted, and the latter forded at more places than one? In a word, why did Chriſt and his diſciples work ſuch a great number of miracles, when one or two great ones, well known and atteſted, were ſufficient to prove their divine miſſion! Well might Job ſay, vain man would be wiſe [q]. 4, The ſame author ſuppoſes the account of this tranſaction to have been taken from the book of Jaſher, or the upright, in which, like the expreſſions of other poetical works, eſpecially thoſe that are written in the eaſtern tongues, are too ſwollen and hyperbolical to admit of a literal ſenſe, and cannot be rightly underſtood, unleſs they be reduced vaſtly below it. We ſhall not trouble ourſelves with examining how unreaſonable the ſuppoſition of ſuch diſparate and unnatural hyperboles is, and eſpecially of their being afterwards cloſely followed by an inſpired hiſtorian, whoſe ſtyle is every where elſe rather in the other extream: It will be ſufficient to ſay, that all this is affirmed gratis, and without any foundation. For who told Grotius, or our author, that the book of Jaſher was a poetical piece, abounding with ſuch hyperbolical flights? Sure it is, that no mention is made of it any where, but in this place and in the ſecond book of Samuel *; and theſe would rather incline one to believe it to have been a hiſtory of Hebrew worthies, written, and continued, by ſeveral hands, and at different periods. But even this is upon the ſuppoſition that they are the ſame book, which yet doth ever, ſay, it was on a ſunday that the ſun ſtood ſtill (15). The learned Uſher ſays nothing of the day, or even the month, in which it happened, but only ſuppoſes it to have been towards the latter end of the year (16). As for the number of hours which that day laſted more than uſual, the text is neither plain, nor authors agreed, and therefore we ſhall affirm nothing about it.

[q] Ch. xi. 12. * Ch. i. 18.

(15) Serrar. Bonfrer. De Lyr. in loc. (16) *Ann.* p. 26

doth not appear. The Jews indeed think ſo, but then they underſtand by Jaſher, or righteous, Moſes himſelf, and this book to be the Pentateuch, in which are contained ſeveral promiſes of the wonders that God was to work in favour of his people **. But, as this is owing to a ſuperſtitious unwillingneſs in them, to own that any inſpired book could be loſt, they are not followed by any Chriſtian. However that be, M. Le Clerc has taken the pains to verify the two places in queſtion, by the tranſpoſition of ſome words, in order to make it appear at leaſt probable, that the author of the book of Joſhua, in quoting them out of that of Jaſher, had only reduced them to hiſtorical proſe by the contrary tranſpoſition. But here we beg leave to obſerve, that it is at leaſt a very bold aſſumption to ſay, that a writer, who barely appeals to another for the truth of a ſingle inſtance, has taken the whole from him. The moſt that can be fairly concluded from ſuch an appeal is, that the fact is equally affirmed by both, either in the ſame or equivalent terms; but ſuch as an honeſt hiſtorian would never have uſed, who had had the leaſt ſuſpicion of their being ſo monſtrouſly exaggerated by poetic rapſody; and that all that was meant by thoſe expreſſions of the ſun and moon ſtanding ſtill in the mid-heaven, and of that day being thereby ſo miraculouſly lengthened, was no more than that there remained ſo much light after their ſetting, occaſioned by ſome unuſual refraction, as made the whole army think thoſe luminaries to be ſtill above the horizon.

As to what our author adds, that it is more probable, that Joſhua ſhould pray for a longer day, when he perceived the ſun juſt going to leave him, than when it was at his height; though it carries a great appearance of reaſon, yet can it by no means conclude againſt a poſitive text, backed with other circumſtances equally ſtrong on the other ſide. Joſhua might have his reaſons for what he did, though they are not recorded, nor we able to gueſs at them. He was an old experienced general, eager for a complete victory, which alone could ſave his new allies from the impending ruin, and able no doubt to compute what time it would take to atchieve it; ſo that his fear of loſing any part of it might make him pray, that the day might be thus prolonged, till he had gained the whole. But after all, where is the unreaſonableneſs of ſuppoſing, that God, who deſigned to ſignalize this day's action, by one of the greateſt miracles

** Vid. Munſt. in loc.

that ever was done, did himſelf inſpire the Hebrew general with that wiſh or prayer, which otherwiſe perhaps would never have come in his head?

BUT here it is further objected, that the occaſion was too inconſiderable to deſerve ſuch a ſignal miracle, ſince it was only the giving one inconſiderable nation an advantage over another, for which the next day might have done as well: but beſides, that this ſeems to ſet limits to the divine wiſdom and power, our author ſeems not to have examined the caſe throughly; we beg leave, to do it for him, and to ſet it in a fairer light, by reminding the reader, that this battle was not fought offenſively, but defenſively on Iſrael's ſide, and in order to ſave a people, whom they had ſolemnly taken under their protection, from being utterly deſtroyed upon that very account. The Gibeonites, as a free people, had a right to take all proper meaſures for their ſafety, ſo that Joſhua could not but look upon the confederacy formed againſt them as cruel and unjuſt, and conſequently, that it would have been baſe and diſhonourable in him to have refuſed them the deſired ſuecour upon any pretence whatſoever. To this we may add, that the honour of God himſelf was concerned in the preſervation of his new made proſelytes, whoſe alliance with the Iſraelites had been ratified in his name, by the mouth of his high prieſt. Upon theſe conſiderations Joſhua loſes no time, but marches all that night to their aſſiſtance, and on the next day God is pleaſed to reward his faithfulneſs and zeal by a miraculous victory, which not only ſaves the oppreſſed by the total defeat of the oppreſſors, but makes at once the whole land of Canaan ſenſible, that a mightier God was on Iſrael's ſide than any that was worſhipped there, by ſtopping the courſe of the ſun and moon, the two grand deities of theſe idolatrous nations. Had Iſrael's ſword alone gained the conqueſt, it would have been imputed to their ſuperior valour and ſtrength; had there nothing more remarkable happened in it than the rain of ſtones or large hail, it might have been thought owing to chance, or, at beſt, been only known in that neighbourhood; whereas the ſtopping of the two great luminaries in the height of their career, thus univerſally felt, could not but convince thoſe unhappy people, that the gods which they truſted to were ſubject to that of Iſrael, as well as prove a moſt powerful determent to the latter from falling into the idolatries of the former.

WHAT ſhows this laſt to be more than a bare conjecture is, that noble zeal which the nine tribes and half did expreſs ſome

years

years after againſt their brethren on the other ſide of Jordan, whom they ſuſpected to have ſet up an altar there with an idolatrous intent. This ſignal inſtance, being the more remarkable as it is perhaps the only one of that kind, is recorded by the divine hiſtorian †††, with all its circumſtances, very much to their praiſe, and may be as properly inſerted here, as in any other place in this hiſtory, and is as follows.

THE tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manaſſeh, having aſſiſted the reſt in the conqueſt of Canaan, as far as was thought neceſſary, were honourably dimiſſed by their brethren; but before they landed on the other ſide of Jordan, they took care to erect an altar of a prodigious ſize upon the border of that river, in order to perpetuate the memory, both of the relation they bore to the other tribes, and of the wonders which God had wrought in their favour. However, their intention was ſo far miſtaken by their brethren, that they aſſembled themſelves at Shiloh, and there reſolved to enter into a bloody war againſt them, in caſe they could not diſculpate themſelves from the crime of rebellion and apoſtacy, which this new altar had given them cauſe to ſuſpect them guilty of. They therefore deputed ten of their chiefs, with Phineas the high-prieſt's ſon at their head, to go and enquire into the reaſons of this proceeding; and theſe were no ſooner come, than they began to charge them home with a manifeſt violation of God's law, and with a deſign of ſetting up ſome idolatrous worſhip there, ſince it was expreſly forbidden by Moſes to offer up any ſacrifices any where, but in the place which God was in due time to appoint. They reminded them of the heavy judgments which their former idolatries had brought upon them, and concluded their pathetic ſpeech with aſſureing them, that they were reſolved one and all to oppoſe, even at the peril of their lives, the introduction of any new worſhip, which might involve them in a greater guilt.

THOUGH their alarm and reproaches were ill grounded, yet, being imputed to their heat of zeal, they were not in any ways reſented by the reſt, who, being heard in their turn, took God to witneſs, that they had not built that ſumptuous altar with a deſign to offer up any ſacrifices there, much leſs to withdraw themſelves from his worſhip at the place that was to be appointed; but, on the contrary, to prevent their poſterity from being debarred that

††† Joſh. xxii. per tot.

that privilege in process of time, either by their being disowned by the other tribes, or by a pretence that God had separated them from the commonwealth of Israel, by setting the river Jordan as a barrier between them. This answer, which was couched in the humblest terms, and backed with the strongest tokens of sincerity, not only gave the deputies and the rest of the nation a full satisfaction, but fully shows how great a change all those wonders had wrought on both sides, and turned their strongest propensity to idolatry into a dread and utter detestation of it. Upon the whole then, since this miraculous transaction of stopping the course of the two luminaries is recorded in words so express, so free from ambiguity, and so incapable of any other interpretation, without doing the greatest violence both to the text and to the character of the historian, we cannot see, how it is possible to depart from the obvious meaning of the former, without denying the authority of the latter.

Some other objections urged against our side of the question, such as the intolerable heat to which Joshua's army must have been exposed, had the sun continued so long over their heads; the necessity there was of their stopping to refresh themselves with some sustenance; and, lastly, that had Joshua wrought a miracle, which so far exceeded those of Moses, he would have been greater than he: these, we say, would hardly be worth mentioning, were it not to show to what strange shifts a favourite notion or system will drive men of the greatest learning. For 1st, the excessive heat of a vertical sun might be allayed by interposing clouds and refreshing winds: none certainly ought to be more ready to grant this supposition than they who think, not that that day was longer, but that more execution was done in it than usual ‡ (L). As to the next, we need not tell our readers

‡ Ita Masius, Grotius, Le Clerc post Maimon. ubi sup.

(L) We may likewise add here, that the effects of such a violent heat, as is here supposed, might be nothing so dreadful or fatal as is pretended, especially to a people inured to it from their infancy, as the Israelites had been, during the space of forty years. History furnishes us with instances enough of marches and battles in as hot regions and seasons at least, though those excessive heats were nothing so natural to the armies that were exposed to them. Even

readers, that nothing is more common in ſuch exigencies as theſe, than for the ſoldiers, who carry their proviſion in their knapſacks, to take a piece in their hands and eat it as they march. The laſt thing objected, that ſuch a miracle would make Joſhua a greater man than Moſes, contrary to ſome expreſs texts of ſcripture, is too jejune to deſerve an anſwer. Moſes and Joſhua were both inſtruments in the hands of God, to whoſe glory alone the greatneſs of the miracle redounds, without adding any preference to the one over the other, ſince one miracle cannot be ſaid to be greater than another, with reſpect to an Almighty power.

IT is plain then, that, if we admit the divine authority of this book, we cannot but look upon this tranſaction as altogether ſupernatural, and of the number of thoſe many which God was pleaſed to work in favour of the Iſraelites; it will be therefore needleſs to dwell long upon our next enquiry, how far the ſtorm of hailſtones that preceded it was ſo or not?

The rain of ſtones which fell upon the Canaanites.

HOWEVER, though we have ventured to give it the name of hail, not ſo much in compliance with the modern taſte, as becauſe the original is capable of that ſenſe, without any great violence being done to it; yet it is plain to thoſe that underſtand it, that the moſt natural one is, that it was a ſhower of real ſtones (M). The misfortune is, that men who Even theſe more northern climates have ſometimes, nay, very lately, endured ſuch a degree of ſultry weather, during ſome weeks ſucceſſively, as came little ſhort of that of the torrid zone, without any of thoſe ill conſequences which are urged by the other ſide.

(M) The text literally runs thus, *And the Lord cauſed great ſtones, to fall or to be caſt upon them, and many more died by the* אבני הברד, *Abne habarad, the hail-ſtones, than by the ſword*; and it is this laſt expreſſion that made the Septuagint, and, after them, Joſephus (17), and the author of Eccleſiaſticus (18), to underſtand them of a real hail of more than ordinary bigneſs, in which there is nothing but what is agreeable enough to the genius of the tongue. But on the other hand it is certain, that it is ſo far from being the obvious meaning of it, that the word hail ſeems rather to be uſed here to expreſs the vaſt quantity, bigneſs, vehemence, and execution of thoſe ſtones which

(17) Ant. lib. v. c. 1.

(18) Eccluſ. xlvi. 6.

who are more afraid than hurted, are apt to run themselves into greater difficulties than those they endeavour to avoid; and whilst they take such care to screen themselves from the suspicion of being over credulous, especially in cases which carry the appearance of a miracle, they not only call in question the most pregnant testimonies of the like facts in profane history, both antient and modern, but likewise cast a distant reflection on the divine historian, and those inspired writers who have mentioned the same facts after him, as if they had designedly made choice of such terms in their recording of them, as would make them appear more supernatural than they really were. For if nothing had fallen on the Canaanites but a common shower of hail, in which there was nothing extraordinary but the size, why must they be supposed to have exaggerated it at any such rate?

Le Clerc's notion confuted.

But here our two learned critics, Grotius and Le Clerc, who used to go hand in hand before, have taken a separate tract: the former believes them to have been real stones, because he finds many parallel instances of it in profane history; and indeed it is no more than what has been fully proved by several eminent authors on that side of the question[r]. However, Le Clerc has not scrupled to affirm, that it was nothing else but a large shower of hail; to call testimonies alledged out of history mere forgeries, and the endeavours of some authors to account for it in a natural way trifling and not worth confuting. How easy he would have found the task, had he gone seriously about it, will be best known by an impartial view of the testimonies themselves, and of what has been urged to prove the possibility of the thing from natural causes.

As to the first, we hope our readers will think it sufficient for our purpose, to instance in two or three of the most pregnant

[r] G. J. Voss. in loc. Calm. Dissert. on the subject, and others.

which then fell; and the expression of flying and falling as thick as hail is not only common to all the antient, but is likewise retained in most modern languages; for which reason several learned men have understood it of a miraculous shower of real stones, as being the most easy and natural meaning of the text (19).

(19) H. Grotius, Masius, Bonfrer. Ger. Voss. Jun. Munst. & al. mult. Vid. Calm. Dissert. on the subject.

pregnant and unqueſtionable facts recorded in an antient hiſtory, and back them with ſome few of a more recent date, but too authentic to be ſo eaſily eluded: and if the latter are of ſuch a nature as to lead us to an eaſy diſcovery of their cauſe, we ſhall not be at a loſs for a ſufficient ground to admit the poſſibility, if not the reality, of the former. It is no wonder, that they who lived in the early ages of the world did look upon a ſhower of great ſtones as too miraculous to be credited without ocular demonſtration. Such prodigies happen ſo ſeldom, that we find the Romans, above a thouſand years after Joſhua's time, very backward to believe the report of that which fell upon the mountain Alba, in the reign of Tullus Hoſtilius ſucceſſor to Numa Pompilius, till they had it confirmed by thoſe whom they ſent thither on purpoſe to examine it, who brought them word, that the fact was not only true, but that thoſe ſtones had fallen from the ſkies in the ſame manner as hail that is driven down by the wind [s]. They became in time more familiar and leſs queſtioned, eſpecially after that remarkable one which fell upon the ſame mountain, which the ſame author tells us [t] laſted two whole days. The ſame, or ſomething like it, is likewiſe affirmed to have been ſeen at Rome, Capua, Lavinium, and ſo many other places in Italy, by ſo many authentic authors [u], that we cannot ſee how they can with any modeſty be called in queſtion (N). We might

Inſtances of it out of hiſtory.

[s] T. Liv. lib. 1. dec. 1. Vid. Calm. ubi ſup. Amian. Bell. Civil. lib. iv. & al.

[t] Id. lib. xxv, xxx & xxxiv.

[u] Vid. & de Bell. Afric. c. 47. Auguſt de Civit. lib iii. c. 32.

(N) To theſe various inſtances, of which the authors quoted above, have given us ſeveral other particulars, ſuch as that thoſe ſtones that fell in that prodigious manner were ſometimes red-hot, and at other times cold, ſometimes like hard clods of earth, and ſometimes like ſand or duſt, we might add, what is likewiſe recorded by others of equal credit, of ſtones that have been obſerved to be carried for ſome conſiderable time in the air, and thence fallen with great violence upon the earth. Such was that which is mentioned by Plutarch to have fallen in Thrace into the river Argos (20), which Anaxagoras fancied to have fallen from the ſun (21), and which the author, from whom the former has it, tells us (22), was

(20) In Vit. Lyſand. Not. Menag. in Laert.

(21) Vid. Diog, in Anaxag. &

(22) Damachus. ap. Plut. ubi up.

might here alſo take notice of ſome other kinds of ſtony rains, mentioned by antient and modern authors, which are ſtill more natural, as being occaſioned either by vehement hurricanes, earthquakes, or by ſubterranean fires. Of the firſt ſort were thoſe which fell upon and routed the Perſians, when they went to plunder the temple of Delphos [w], and are affirmed by other travellers to be very frequent in ſome parts of America †. Thoſe that fell upon the Gauls, upon the like attempt, are attributed to a vehement hurricane by Pauſanias, but to an earthquake by Juſtin [x]. The laſt ſort is that which is cauſed by volcanoes and ſubterraneous fires; and theſe are ſo well known, that we ſhall mention but two remarkable inſtances of it, of a very late date, namely, that which preceded the ſurprizeing emerſion of the iſle of Santorino out of the Archipelago in

Some cauſed by hurricanes and earthquakes.

[w] Vid. Diod. Sicul. Bibl. lib. xi. † Vid. Coreal and Feuillee's Voyages. [x] Pauſ. lib. i. Juſt. lib. xxiv. ſub fin.

was obſerved to fly about in the air like a luminous cloud, about the ſpace of ſeventy-five days, during which time ſeveral ſplinters did now and then break off and fly about like wandering ſtars before they fell down. The main ſtone itſelf was of ſuch prodigious bigneſs, that Pythagoras could by no means think with Ariſtotle (23), that it had been broken off from ſome rock, and carried up into the air by ſome vehement wind, becauſe as he juſtly obſerves, it would have been impoſſible for it to have kept itſelf ſo long ſuſpended there, as Damachus affirms it to have done. Pliny, who tells us, that it was ſtill carefully preſerved in his time, ſays, that it was *magnitudine vehis* of the bigneſs of a four-wheeled cart, or rather of a loaded waggon, of a dark burnt colour. Such was that likewiſe which is recorded to have fallen in Alſace, in the midſt of a ſtorm of hail, in November 29, 1630, (24) which our author (25) tells us he has ſeen in the great church of Anxiſſem, where it is ſtill preſerved, and is like a large, dark, flint ſtone, whoſe ſurface has been ſplintered by the fire, and weighs near three hundred pounds. Of the ſame nature were thoſe which count Marcellin relates to have fallen in Thrace, A. D. 1452, and ſeveral others. For if ſuch prodigious ſtones could either be engendered in the air, or carried up thither by the force of vehement winds, or of ſubteranneous fires, the like may be more reaſonably ſuppoſed of thoſe which fell upon the Canaanites, which had nothing ſo extraordinary either in their ſize, appearance, or effects.

(23) Meteorolog. lib. i. c. 7. (24) Geſner. & Anſ. de Boot Hiſt. Lapid. & Gem. (25) Calm. ubi ſup.

in the year 1707, concerning which we have the following account. That a dreadful noiſe had been heard ſeveral days, like that of thunder, or of great guns, during which volleys of ſtones all on fire were ſeen to riſe out of the ſea, and to fly up quite out of ſight like ſo many rockets, and then fall into the ſea again about five miles from the place whence they were thrown up. All this while the air was filled with a thick ſulphureous ſmoke, mixed with cinders, which with much difficulty diſperſed itſelf, and fell in ſuch abundance, that the neighbouring countries were covered with it, and with ſmall ſtones that fell with it. Something like this is what Montfaucon tells us happened in Italy, near the village Tripergola, whence, after ſeveral terrible ſhocks and earthquakes, during which the air was darkened, and the ground was covered with ſtones and duſt, which kept pouring down from the ſky during the ſpace of two days, at the end of which a mountain was obſerved to have reared itſelf in the midſt of the lake Lucrino; this happened according to our author in the year 1538 [y].

THE reader may find ſeveral other inſtances of the like, and perhaps of a more ſurprizing nature, in ſome of the authors above-mentioned [z], which we forbear to dwell upon; all that we ſhall add at preſent is, a remark or two on the poſſibility of ſome ſort of ſtones, different from thoſe of hail, being ingendered in the air, according to the hint we have given in the laſt note. How common hail is formed in the clouds is too well known to want any explanation; that duſt, ſand, earth, and other ſuch materials, may be carried up a conſiderable height into the air by a ſtrong whirlwind, is no more than what is commonly obſerved; here then we need but ſuppoſe, that theſe, mingling themſelves with other exhalations, whether ſulphureous, bituminous, oily, vitrioline, and with the moiſture of the clouds, are there conglomerated and hardened by their own weight, by the preſſure of the air and clouds, and thence fall down when they can be no longer ſupported (O). There is nothing

Others ingender in the air.

[y] Vid. Montfaucon's Diar. Ital. [z] G. Voſſ. Calm. ubi ſup. Gaſſend. in lib. x. Diog. Laert. de Meteor Epicur.

(O) Of this nature ſeem to have been thoſe which, an author of credit (26) tells us, did fall in the neighbourhood of Abdua, to the

(26) Cardan. de Variet. lib. xiv. c. 72.

thing in all this but what is natural, and might, for ought appears to the contrary, have been the caſe of that which is mentioned in Joſhua. We ſee therefore no reaſon for having recourſe to allegory for fear of admitting the fact to be miraculous, as Le Clerc has, nor to the aſſiſtance of good and bad ſpirits to prove the poſſibility of the ſuppoſed miracle,

the number of twelve hundred, which he ſays were of the colour of ruſty iron, ſmooth and hard, and of a ſulphureous ſmell, not unlike in all theſe reſpects to thoſe which are commonly called thunder-ſtones, or bolts. Theſe, he adds, were obſerved to fall from a vehement whirlwind, which appeared like an atmoſphere of fire, and were ſo large and heavy, that one of them weighed ſix ſcore, and another ſixty pounds.

To all this we may add, that theſe rains of ſtones were ſo far from being queſtioned either by the Greeks or Romans, that they were looked upon both by them, and by other leſs polite nations, as ominous; who therefore never failed of conſulting the oracles, or endeavouring to avert the impending omen by ſacrifices, and other religious rites, which are reported to have laſted nine days (27), inſomuch, that theſe kinds of heatheniſh expiations have induced ſome chriſtians to believe, that the devil was the author both of thoſe prodigious rains, and of the ſuperſtitious rites that were uſed to avert them (28), in order to confirm mankind in their idolatry. But as ſuch overſtrained notions need not be confuted in the age we live in, we ſhall cloſe this note, and the ſubject with obſerving, that it is not unlikely, that the fabulous ſtory of Hercules obtaining ſuch a ſhower of ſtones from Jupiter to cruſh thoſe enemies, which his arm and valour could not overcome (29), might owe its birth to this we are upon. We have already obſerved under a former head, that the poets have joined in the character of that fabulous hero ſeveral characters and exploits, which they have taken from thoſe of Moſes, Joſhua, Samſon, and other Jewiſh worthies (30); what makes it very probable, that this rain of ſtones is of that number, is, that thoſe enemies, againſt whom he procured it, are called the ſons of Neptune (31), which expreſſion, being diveſted of the fable properly ſignifies any people that traffick by ſea, and is very applicable to the Phœnicians, and to their neighbours the Canaanites. But this we ſubmit to the reader.

(27) Alex. ab Alex. Genial. Dier. l. v. c. 27. ap. Calm. ubi ſup. (28) Vid. Maſi. in Joſh. x. (29) Mela lib. ii. Gall. Narbon. Plin. lib. v. Æſchyl. ap. Strab. lib. iv. & al. (30) Grot. de Verit. Huet. Demonſt. evang. (31) Vid. Melam. ubi ſup.

miracle, as others have done [a], ſince if any thing was ſupernatural in it, it was only the directing of that ſtorm to fall juſt at that time and place upon the flying Canaanites. However, the reader is at his liberty to attribute the phanomenon to which of theſe ſyſtems he pleaſes, though the ſeaſon of the year, the nature of the ſoil, of which we are going now to give the geography and natural hiſtory, and many other circumſtances, do rather incline us to aſcribe it to the laſt.

SECT. III.

A Deſcription of the Land of Promiſe.

THIS remarkable country, at firſt, a great part of it at leaſt, called the land of Canaan [b], or Chanaan (A), has been ſucceſſively known by ſeveral names; as the land of Iſrael, the land of God, the Holy Land, and ſimply the Land;

[a] Maſius, Bonfreriut, & al. [b] See vol. ii. pag. 183.

(A) This name ſometimes includes the whole land poſſeſſed by the twelve tribes, though it peculiarly belongs to no more than the country weſt-ward of the river Jordan. This being evident and agreed on, we ſhall only obſerve that the Jews themſelves make a diſtinction between the land of Canaan promiſed to their fathers, and recommended for its abundance of milk and honey, and the lands of Sihon and Og, which were to the eaſtward of the river (1). Moſes plainly does the ſame (2) in this expreſſion: *Until I ſhall paſs over Jordan, into the land which the Lord our God giveth us (3).* But we muſt not forget that Canaan, in the general extent of it, may be divided into the larger and leſſer. The larger was to have extended to the Euphrates on the one hand, and the Mediterranean on the other (4). This was promiſed, but the Jews never had peaceable poſſeſſion of this wide dominion, though they, in a manner, ſubverted all the Syrian powers (5). The leſſer Canaan was confined

(1) Vide Reland, Palæſt. illuſt. c. 1. pag. 5. (2) Deut. ii. 29. (3) Ibid. See vol. ii. pag. 220. Vide etiam Reland. ub ſup. (4) Deut. vi. 24. (5) See vol. ii. pag. 308.

Land; as alſo Judea, or Judæa, Palæſtine, or Paleſtin, Syria Palæſtina, Syria, Cœle-Syria, Idumæa, or Idumea, and Phœniciaor Phœnice.

THESE are the various names that have been in general impoſed on this ſmall part. It was called the land of Canaan, as a great ſhare of it was originally poſſeſſed by the deſcendants of the ſon of Cham of the ſame name [c], who being expelled and cut off to make room for the Iſraelites [d], it thence was called after their name •; to which we ſhall alſo add, that it was ſometimes called the land of the Hebrews [f], and ſometimes the land of the Jews [g]. It was called the land of God, as it was immediately given by him to the poſterity of Abraham, the place of his more eſpecial choice, and as he cauſed it to produce in proportion as his worſhip was obſerved or neglected; as it was alſo the place which he ſelected for his royal ſeat, and as here it pleaſed him to dwell, and more particularly in the temple of Jeruſalem [h]. It was called the Holy Land firſt by the Jews, and ſince by the Chriſtians. By the Jews it was ſo called, as God declared it to be particularly his own, to be as it were his only ſeat, and ſolely appropriate to his

[c] See vol. ii, pag. 182. [d] See before. [e] 1 Sam. xiii. 9. 2 Kings vi. 23. Ezek. vii. 2 Matth. ii. 22. Joſeph. Antiq. vii. 10, &c. &c. &c. [f] Idem ibid. l. xv. c. 7. [g] Pauſan. lib vi, c. 24. Joſeph. ub. ſup. lib. vii. c. 9. [h] Vide Reland. Palæſt. illuſt. lib, c. 3.

ſined to the land poſſeſſed by the nations particularly marked out for exciſion and expulſion (6). It is obſerved as an eſſential difference between the larger and the leſſer Canaan, that in the former, when the Jews beſieged a city, they were by God himſelf commanded to make offers of peace, while in the latter no conditions were to be granted on any account, but the people were to be deſtroyed and utterly rooted out (7). Again, the land on this ſide of Jordan was eſteemed more holy than the land on the other; nay, ſuch a wide difference was in this reſpect ſuppoſed to be between them, that the latter was even accounted unclean, if compared with the former, tho' poſſeſſed by the two tribes and a half (8). The one was barely called, *the land of your poſſeſſion*, the other, *the land of the poſſeſſion of the Lord* (9).

(6) See vol. ii. pag. 322. (7) See Fuller's Piſgah ſight, lib. i. c. 2. (8) Vide Reland. ubi ſup. c. 4 (9) See Joſhua xxii. 19.

his ſervice ; beſides, that God had promiſed it to his own people, upon the expulſion of the prophane and unclean nations (B). By the Chriſtians it obtained this ſame name, as it was the great and ſtupendous ſcene of what was wrought and ſuffered for their ſalvation, and that of the whole world [i]. It ſometimes ſimply called the Land, by way of pre-eminence, and as above all others ; as when at the crucifixion it is ſaid, *there was darkneſs over all the land*, which cannot ſafely be extended beyond the limits of this [k]. Whence it derived its appellation of Judæa is ſeemingly plain ; Judah, being the head or chief of the tribes [l], communicated its name to the reſt ; beſides, that the kingdom of Judah, ſtanding after the diſſolution of the kingdom of Iſrael, may have given ground for the extenſive (C) and general uſe of this

[i] Vide eund. ibid. c. 5.
[k] Vide eund. ibid. c. 5.
[l] See Numb. xi. 3. vii. 12, &c. Revel. vii, 5.

(B) This region was holy to the Jews, as it was God's choſen ſeat, and as it had been promiſed to their forefathers upon the expulſion of its prophane and unclean inhabitants ; but much more to the chriſtians, as there it was their ſalvation was wrought and effected (10). But the Jews did not account their whole poſſeſſion to be equally ſacred, as we have obſerved in the note next above, and that the Chriſtians ſeemingly at leaſt, give preference to ſome place above others, it may be needleſs to ſay. But the Jews particularly exalt this land far above all others elſe in the world, as they believe, that here is to be the reſurrection of the dead, and that perſons buried elſewhere cannot enjoy a re-union of the ſoul and body, 'till the body has been transferred to the land of Iſrael (11). Abarbanel (12) pronounces, that whatſoever lives without the limits of the land of Iſrael is as he that is without God.

(C) That the name of Judæa not only comprehended what the Jews poſſeſſed on this ſide of Jordan, but alſo what they held on the other, is plain, from Joſephus's (13) Ιυδάια περὰν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, or Judæa beyond Jordan, or the Judæa of Jordan (14), by way of diſtinction. For the portion of Judah, whence this general denomination derives its origin, was not bounded by

(10) Vide Reland. ubi ſup.
(11) Vide eund. ibid.
(12) Apud eund. ibid.
(13) Antiq. lib. xii. c. 5.
(14) Vide Reland. ub. ſup. c. 6.

this name. There are other, but erroneous, accounts of the origin of this name. In short it was called Palestine, as being a part of that tract or region very early so denominated (D); and this is the name that has since prevailed with the christian doctors, and mohammedan writers [m]. It has

[m] Vide Reland. ubi sup. c. 7.

the Jordan, but by the Dead-sea, or Asphaltite lake (15). The extensiveness of this name in honour of the patriarch Judah and his posterity, is thus foretold by Jacob, according to those who favour this translation of the text, (16) *Juda te confitebuntur, (de nomine tuo dicentur) fratres tui*: Judah thy brethren shall confess thee, or be called by thy name. This version is approved by a man (17) of great eminence, tho' different from any other we have seen; but the completion of the prophecy in this sense, having been most remarkably made good, may incline us to embrace it. The common interpretation is, *that his brethren should praise him, or pride themselves in him*, which in the judgment of some may imply what is suggested above. Eusebius (18) attributes the prevalence of this name to the efficacy of the same prophecy. Alexander Polyhistor (19) derives the name from the children of Semiramis, Juda and Idumæa; while Claudius Iolaus (20) borrows it from one Judæus, the son of one Sparto who followed Bacchus to Thebes; absurd fables.

(D) We have elsewhere observed, that tho' this name properly belonged to no more than what is commonly called the Pentapolis of the Philistines, it had the fortune to spread itself over almost all the neighbouring region (21). We have also touched on the vague and uncertain use of this name, together with those of Syria and Phœnice (22). Dio Cassius (23) ignorant, as he himself confesses of the origin of the name of Judæa, tells us, that the name of Palestine was prior thereto; and Julian (24) speaks of the Jews as a handful of people, inhabiting a part only of Judæa. That the Philistines should have been considered above the Jews by the idolatrous nation of old, is no wonder, and thence it must seemingly have happened, that Palestine been has so much the name of all this tract for so many ages, and with such numbers of nations and sects as it has been.

(15) Vid. eund. ibid. (16) Gen. xlix. 8. (17) Reland. ub. sup. (18) Demonstrat. Evang. lib. viii. (19) Apud. Steph. Byzant. in Ἐθνικοῖς. (20) Apud. eund. ibid. (21) See vol. ii. pag. 217. (22) See vol. ii. in the notes, pag. 329. (23) Hist. Rom. lib. xxxvii. (24) Contr. Christianas.

has alſo paſſed under the names of Syria Paleſtina, Syria, and Cœle-Syria, as being generally comprehended under the noted appellations of Syria [n], and Cœle-Syria [o], the antient cuſtom, as it is alſo at preſent, with the Arabian geopraphers [p]. How this country came to be known by the name of Phœnice we have ſufficiently explained already [q], and ſhall inſiſt no farther thereon. We have already obſerved, that the whole nation of the Jews were ſometimes called Idumæans [r]; and now add as conſequential thereto, that the country of the Jews was ſometimes called Idumæa, from the Edomites who ſeized on the ſouthern parts of the country during the Babyloniſh captivity [s] (E). Theſe have been, and are, the ſeveral names of the land promiſed to the deſcendants of Abraham, and theſe are the beſt and moſt ſuccinct reaſons we have to aſſign for their variety.

Situation and boundaries.

IT was a received opinion formerly, that this country was, as it were, the navel of the whole earth [t], and exactly in the midſt of the nations (F); a notion which may be

[n] See vol. ii. pag. 326. [o] Stab. lib. xvi. [p] See vol. ii. pag. 264. [q] See vol. ii. in the notes, pag. 329. [r] See vol. ii. pag. 170 [s] See vol. ii. pag. 107. Vide etiam Reland. ubi ſup. c, 9. [t] Vide eund. ibid. c. 10.

(E) This is what we have formerly obſerved (25). It has been remarked above (26), that Alexander Polyhiſtor derives Judæa from one Juda, the ſon of Semiramis, to whom he gives a brother by the ſame queen called Idumæa, who according to him muſt have communicated his name to his country. But not to inſiſt upon ſuch authorities, it is evident, that this name naturally flows from the Edomites, who, being vaſſals to the great monarchies, and ever active againſt the Jews (27), came into great conſideration with the heathen, who may have accounted them more honourable than the Jews, and have therefore propagated their name beyond its natural bounds. Whenceſoever it happened, Idumæa was very often uſurped for Judæa (28).

(F) This was alſo arrogated to themſelves both by the Athenians and the Delphians. The Jews borrowed this notion from paſſages in ſcripture, ſuch as theſe—— *This is Jeruſalem: I have ſet it in the midſt of the nations and countries that are round about her*

(25) See vol. ii. pag. 169. (26) In not. (27) See vol. ii. pag. 170. (28) Vide Reland. ubi ſup. c. 9.

be well excuſed in thoſe who had ſo ſlight a knowledge of the ſtructure and extent of the world as the antients. Its ſite, with regard to the ſeveral people round about, may be gathered from the geography of the ſeveral countries that precede in this hiſtory; wherefore we ſhall touch no farther thereon, than to exhibit the boundaries that have been aſſigned to this favourite land: but not to enter into a long detail of critical niceties, we ſhall briefly and roundly ſay, that to the ſouth it had the mountains, or land of Edom [u], and Amalek [w]; to the eaſt it had the Aſphaltite lake, the river Jordan, the ſea of Tiberias or Galilee, and Samachonite lake; to the north it had the mountains of Libanus, or Antilibanus rather, or the territory of the Phœnicians; to the weſt it had the great or Mediterranean ſea. We forbear to ſet bounds to the Pereæ, or land beyond Jordan, and content ourſelves with what is more peculiarly the Land of Promiſe. Theſe were its natural bounds; but the bounds of the conqueſts and other acquiſitions are not ſo eaſy to be ſettled (G).

We

[u] See vol. ii. pag. 171. [w] See vol. ii. pag. 152.

ber (29)—*that dwell in the midſt*, or (as it is in the margin) *the navel of the land*. Theſe expreſſions, taken in too vulgar and literal a ſenſe, have tempted men (30) to pronounce the land of Iſrael to be in the midſt of the habitable world, and to be the navel, as it were, of the earth. What the Delphians and Athenians had to ſay for themſelves, as to this particular, may be beſt deferred 'till we come to treat of them diſtinctly.

(G) We need only obſerve, that the river Arnon is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt northren boundary of the children of Iſrael, on the other ſide of Jordan: With regard to the boundaries on this ſide of the river, Reland (31) takes notice of a great difference between the Hebrew and Samaritan pentateuch; his words are Quod ad terminos Palæſtinæ attinet deſcriptos, Gen. x. 19. eſt obſervatu dignum, pentateuchum Hebræo-Samaritanum non niſi duos treſve extremos memorare, uti fluvium Ægypti & Euphraten vel mare magnum, licet in codice Hebræo plurimorum aliorum locorum in finibus ſitorum fiat mentio. Contextus Hebræus ita habet; & termini Canaan ſunt a Sidone, Geraram uſq; Gazum, qua itur Sodomam,

(29) Ezek. v. 4. (30) Kimchi & Hieronym. in Ezek. ubi ſuF. (31) Ubi ſup. c. 25.

Divi ſion.

WE have already exhibited the diviſion of this land by the Canaanites, its firſt inhabitants [x], we are next to part it between the children of Iſrael. Simeon was the ſouthermoſt of all, he had Edom to the ſouth, the Dead-ſea to the eaſt, Judah to the north, to the weſt uncertain whether a deſart tract, or inhabited land. Judah was the next: he had Simeon on the ſouth, the Dead-ſea on the eaſt, Dan and Benjamin on the north, the Philiſtine on the weſt; Dan had the Philiſtine and Judah on the ſouth, Benjamin on the eaſt, Ephraim and the half tribe of Manaſſeh on the north, the Mediterranean-ſea on the weſt; Benjamin had Judah on the ſouth, the Jordan on the eaſt, Ephraim on the north, Dan on the weſt; Ephraim and the half tribe of Manaſſeh we join together in one common incloſure; they had Dan and Benjamin on the ſouth, the Jordan and part of Iſſachar on the eaſt, part of Iſſachar and Aſher on the north, the Mediterranean on the weſt; Iſſachar had Ephraim and the half tribe of Manaſſeh on the ſouth and ſouth-weſt, the Jordan on the eaſt, Zebulun on the north, Aſher on the weſt; Aſher had the half tribe of Manaſſeh on the ſouth, Iſſachar, Zebulun, Naphtali on the eaſt, the Phœnician on the north, the Mediterranean-ſea on the weſt; Zebulun had Iſſachar on the ſouth, part of the Jordan and part of the ſea of Galilee on the eaſt, Naphtali on the north, Aſher on the weſt; Naphtali had Zebulun on the ſouth, part of the ſea of Galilee and the Samachonite-lake on the eaſt, the mountains of Antilibanus on the north, Aſher on the weſt. To croſs on the other ſide; Reuben and Gad had their portion along the eaſtern banks of the Jordan between the Dead-ſea and the ſea of Tiberias, and the half tribe of Manaſſeh lay along the eaſtern ſhores of the ſea of Tiberias and the Samachonite-lake; in this order was the land on this and that ſide of the river divided and diſtributed to the children of Iſrael under Moſes and Joſhua.

SOLOMON.

[x] See vol. ii. p. 183.

domam, Gomorram, Adamam, & Tezeboim uſq; ad Leſcha, Samaritanus hoc comma ita exhibet——Et fuit terminus Cananæorum à fluvio Ægypti uſq; ad flumen magnum Euphratem, & uſq; ad mare poſterius, i. e. occidentale. Vides inſignem differentiam quæ inter Hebræum & Samaritanum codicem intercedit.

Solomon afterwards divided the land into twelve portions (H); but as the bare mention of this is ſufficient for our preſent purpoſe, and as it is impoſſible, ſeemingly, to aſcertain the limits and extent of each, we ſhall proceed to obſerve, that under the ſecond temple, it began to be divided into tetrarchies and toparchies, greater and ſmaller parts; the greater were Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee (I); the leſſer were Daroma, Geraritica, Sarona, and others (K); theſe were on this ſide of Jordan. The other ſide of the river was divided into Gilead, the Peræa, Gaulonitis, Batanæa, and Decapolis.

In after times, and under the chriſtian diſpenſation, it was comprehended, for the moſt part, if not quite, under the denominations of Palæſtina prima, Palæſtina ſecunda, Palæſtina tertia, or ſalutaris.

Again,

(H) is ſaid, (32) he appointed *twelve officers over Iſrael, to provide victuals for the king and his houſhold: each man his month in the year made proviſions.* Now there was great inequality, as to extent at leaſt, between the portions of land belonging to the tribes; ſo that to have taxed them alike had been a ſeeming hardſhip. It muſt therefore follow, that this new diviſion was in equal parts, either in regard to extent or production, and that this new diviſion was very different from the old. Reland (33) has confronted Joſephus with the Scripture as to this matter, and to him we refer the curious reader.

(I) Reland (34), in the map he gives us of this diviſion, makes Idumæa encroach conſiderably upon Judæa, but in his text takes no notice of it, either as a tetrarchy or toparchy. Perhaps he does this upon ſufficient aſſurance, that Judæa and Idumæa were promiſcuouſly uſurped for each other, as we have obſerved before (35). To enquire father into this were needleſs. We have only to add, that Galilee was twofold, the upper and lower (36).

(K) Pliny (37), reckons up ten toparchies in this country; Jericho, Emmaus, Lydda, Joppa, Acrabatena, Gophna, Thamna, Bethleptephene, Orine, Herodium. Joſephus (38) has eleven, Cophna, Acrabatta, Thamna, Lydda, Emaus, Pella, Idumæa, Engadæ, Horodion, Jericho; a very obſcure piece of geography, which we ſhall not take upon us to illuſtrate.

(32) 1 Kings iv. 7. (33) Palæſt. Illuſt. lib. 1. c. 29.
(34) Ub. ſup. c. 31. (35) See vol. ii. p. ,169 & vol. iii. p. 101.
(36) Vide Reland. ub. ſup. (37) Lib. v. c. 14.
(28) De Bell. lib. iii. c. 4.

AGAIN, it is divided into the hilly country and the low (L), which will naturally lead us, and no place more proper, to take a ſurvey of the more remarkable mountains, valleys, and plains. The midland, between the Jordan and the Mediterranean, is on all hands allowed to be particularly mountainous, while the land towards the ſea, mount Carmel excepted, and towards the river, is flat, except ſome gentle riſings, as at this day.

IT may be reckoned inaccurate in us to comprehend the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus, or either of them, within the diſtrict before us, ſeeing they might have been more properly deſcribed in our geography of Syria and Phœnice, and we in part ſubmit thereto, and the rather as we have tacitly, as it were, admitted them to have been a part of the proper Syria, when we formerly deſcribed the cedars of Lebanon among the natural curioſities of that country [x]. But, having occaſion to make mention of theſe hills once more, we would venture here to ſupply our former omiſſions. Theſe mountains, as to their extent and ſituation with reſpect to each other, have been very obſcurely deſcribed by the antients, and very confuſedly underſtood by all the modern geographers, one ſeemingly excepted (M), who agrees very well with the only antients (N), who have ſpoken with ſome degree of clearneſs relating thereto. It is a confirmed opinion [y], that, whether you call them Libanus Mountains.

[x] See vol. ii. p. 264 c. 48.

[y] Vide Reland. ub. ſup.

(L) The Jews, in their Talmud (39), have a threefold diviſion of their country into mountains, valleys, and plains, allotting to each its peculiar (40), to the mountain the aſh, to the valley the palm, and to the plain the mulberry.

(M) Maundrell (41) is the perſon we mean; who has very ſatisfactorily diſtinguiſhed between the one and the other, which have been moſt unaccountably blended together, and confounded by all the geographers we have ſeen; but as we ſhall copy theſe mountains from his map publiſhed by Reland (42) we may ſave ourſelves the trouble of his verbal deſcription.

(N) We mean Strabo and Pliny, who make them two diſtinct ridges running almoſt parallel with each other.

(39) In Shevith. c. 9. 2.
(40) In Gemar. Hieroſolym.
(41) Journey to Jeruſalem.
(42) Palæſtin. Illuſt.

Libanus † or Antilibanus, they derive their names from the whiteneſs of the ſnow which lies upon them; which ſome ſeem to think it perpetually does (O); while others aver, it is there but for a certain ſeaſon only (P). St Jerom [z] ſays, that no hill in the Land of Promiſe is more lofty, more woody, or thicker ſet, than Libanus, and elſewhere [a] it is ſaid to be the higheſt of all Paleſtine. The cedars, once the great pride and ornament of theſe hills, are now, in a manner, extinct [b], though ſome few there are among the pines, cypreſſes, and other noble vegetables, here

[z] In Zachar. ix. [a] Theodor. in Pſal. lxxi. [b] See before, ub. ſup.

† Some have affected to derive it from Λίβανος, Libanus, the Greek for frankincenſe; but Reland (43) very juſtly remarks, that they ſhould, in the firſt place, prove, that any ſort of aromatic ever grew there.

(O) We have already touched (44) upon this; Rauwolf (45) will have it, that the ſnow reſts on theſe mountains all the ſummer long. Le Bruyn (46) ſays, theſe hills are covered over with ſnow. Sandys (47) obſerves, that when he was in this neighbourhood, a Moor, returned from theſe ſnow-topped mountains in company with an Engliſh merchant, periſhed with the exceſſive cold, tho' at the ſame time, the heat in the valleys on both ſides was exceſſive. Prince Radziville (48) reports, that the ſnows on the tops of thoſe mountains never melt away, tho' the heats here be far more intenſe and ſcorching than in Italy. Phochas (49) ſpeaks of the mountains as covered with ſnow from the head to the foot; which agrees well with what Maundrell (50) relates. We have been the more particular upon this, as well formerly (51) as now, becauſe it has been roundly and formally contradicted by a traveller of more than ordinary reputation.

(P) The perſon who ſo differs from all the reſt is Monſ. La Roque, or rather the chevalier d'Arvieux (52); but it being ſo common for ſnow eternally to lye on the ſummits of great hills, the abſence of it he obſerved muſt very likely have been owing to ſome very extraordinary cauſe.

(43) In Palæſt. Illuſt. ub. ſup. c. 48. (44) See before in the notes, vol. ii. p. 266. (45) Itinerary into the Eaſt Count. part ii. c. 1. (46) Voyage au Levant, tom. 2. c. 57. p. 286. in 4to. (47) In his travels, book iii. p. 163. (48) Peregrinat. Hieroſolym. p. 27. (49) Apud Reland. ub. ſup. c. 48. (50) Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. (51) See in the notes, vol. ii. p. 266. (52) Vide ibid.

here produced. Finally, theſe mountains have, at ſeveral times, been a place of refuge and retreat for robbers and other deſperate people in great numbers.

MOUNT Hermon (Q) appears next, like Libanus capped with ſnow [c] (R), but for nothing more remarkable than the abundant dews which fall upon and about it (S).

MOUNT Carmel (T) on the ſkirts of the ſea is the moſt remarkable head of land of all the coaſt, at leaſt ſouthward of it, on all hands famed for its fertility (V), of particular note

[c] Vide Reland. ub. ſup. c. 49.

(Q) It was alſo called Baal-Hermon (53), and ſeemingly by other names. not ſtrictly to our purpoſe. Hilarius (45) derives Hermon from חרם, anathema. Hermon, ſays he (55), is a mountain in Phœnice, whoſe interpretation is anathema — It is reported —— that the angels, when they deſcended from heaven for love of the daughters of men, aſſembled together upon this very lofty hill. That it was a place of antient ſuperſtition may be not only gathered hence, but is alſo confirmed by Euſebius (56), who ſays, that on the top of it there was a famous temple, held in high veneration with the neighbouring Heathen about, in Libanus and Paneus.

(R) Travellers have but little on the remarkables of this hill.

(S) We were, ſays Maundrell (57) ſufficiently inſtructed by experience, what the holy Pſalmiſt means by the dew of Hermon, our tents being as wet with it, as if it had rained all night.

(T) This was a name common to both a town and a mountain, and is equally applicable to any fertile and woody place; or it may be underſtood of purple, which was fiſhed at the foot of this ſame mountain (58). It was alſo a name common both to a mountain and a god (59.) Thevenot (60) obſerving there are two Carmels mentioned by St. Jerom, ſuppoſes they are both mountains,

(V) This mountain is rich in olives and vines when huſbanded, and abounding with ſeveral ſorts of fruit and herbs, both medicinable and fragrant; though now much overgrown with woods and

(53) Judges iii. 3. (54) In Pſ cxxxiii. (55) Ibid. (56) In Onomaſtico, ad vocem Ἑρμὼν. (57) Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſ. p. 57. (58) Bochart. Hier. pt. 2. lib. v. c. 9, &c. (59) Tacitus. (60) Coſmog. de Levant. pt. 180.

note among the antients for being, above all others, the favourite place of Pythagoras (W); but by far more revered among the Christians, as here they supposed Elias sojourned in a cave, sometime before he was ravished into heaven (X).

Thabor

and shrubs of sweet savour (61). But according to another (62), this mountain is round about, towards the sea-coast, very bare and rough, that we may very well say with the holy prophet Amos, that the pastures of the herdsmen shall look miserably, and the top of the mountain dried up. Others there are who do not speak of this place, as it is at present, with any greater advantage, than as it were a rock (63).

(W) It was antiently called ὄρος ἱερὸν Διὸς, (64) the holy mountain of Jupiter, if not rather, as it is thought (65), ὄρος καὶ ἱερὸν Διος, the mountain and temple of Jupiter. The name of Carmel was common both to a mountain and a God (66). In short, in such high veneration it was, either for its advantages of nature, or the famed traditions of Paganism, that here Pythagoras is reported (67) to have taken particular delight, and to have frequently amused himself alone in the temple. But Tacitus (68) denies there was here any temple, or image of a god, but an altar only and veneration.

X) This is on all hands allowed, and on this account it came to be in such high esteem with the Christians, that it is seemingly early, that they began to distinguish it by particular marks of piety There was here a very large monastery, which, by the envy of time, and the rage of the enemy, being brought to decay, the ruins of it were, as we may say, a new consecrated, by a Calabrian priest, urged hither to the work, by revelation, who gathered together about ten monks, and restored the venerable credit of the place (69). "From hence proceeded the order of the "frier Carmelites, as successors to the children of the prophets "there left by Elias, who had their beginning in the desart of "Syria, in the year 1180, instituted by Almercius bishop of Anti-"och; and said to have received their white habit from our lady; "whom Albertus the patriarch of Jerusalem transported first into "Europe. There is yet to be seen the remains of their monastery, "with a temple dedicated to the blessed virgin; under which a "little chappel, or cave, the antient dwelling of Elias (70)——— "Some years ago, without doubt, have a great many of this order

(61) Sandy's, ub. sup. p. 158. (62) Rauwolf. ub. sup. p. 225. (63) Theven. Voy. au levant, pt. 1. c. 58. (64) Scyl. Caryand, in minor. hudf. vol. 2. (65) Vide Reland, palæstin. illust. lib. i. c. 50. (66) Vide eund. ibid. (67) Jamblich. in vita pythag. c. 3. (68) Histor. lib. 2. (69) Johan. Phoc. ap. Reland. ub. sup. (70) Sand. trav. lib. iii. p. 158.

THABOR is the next mount we are to ſurvey. There was a cityof the ſame name. It was alſocalled Itabyrion and Atabyrion (Y), and borrows its Hebrew name from its form (Z). It is remarkable for the regularity of its form, and proportion of its parts (A); for its being ſeated in the midſt of a plain,

" order [of Carmelites] lived hereabout, as ſtill to this day doth " appear by their cloyſters and churches, which by age are ſo " mightily decayed, that they are left deſerted and uninhabited " (71). Their convent now is not on the top of the mountain, where they had a lovely one before the chriſtians loſt " the Holy Land, the ruins whereof are ſtill to be ſeen; but " there is a very little one ſomewhat lower, and needs no more " than three monks to fill it, who would have much ado to ſubſiſt, if they had not ſome alms given them by the French " merchants of Acre, who go often thither out of devotion.— " Their church is the very ſpot where Elias abode, which is " very neatly cut out of the rock."—They have an excellent proſpect, eſpecially upon the ſea (72). This mountain ſeems not to have much bettered its condition with regard to its religious ſtate, though the late king of France did what he could to regain its former ſplendor (73), and the reaſon may be, becauſe it has been pretty much the ordinary reſidence of an emir of the Arabs (74).

(Y) Names beſt known to the Greeks, and ſuppoſed to be derived from אתדביר, a place where cattle was led to paſture (75). Other places there were of the ſame name; in Rhodes there was a mountain called Atabyrum: in Sicily there was an Atabyrium, a city of the ſame name in Perſia, and laſtly another in Phænice (76). There was a Ζεὺς, Ἀταβύριος, who was chiefly worſhipped in Rhodes (77): but what relation this Atabyrian Jove, may have had to our mountain, does no where plainly appear, tho' that ſome he had may be eaſily conjectured, eſpecially if we recollect what has been ſaid of mount Carmel, that its name belonged both to the mount itſelf, and to a god (78).

(Z) מביר Tabor, is properly a navel.

(A) In the ſeventh century, it is deſcribed to have been of wonderful regularity, verdant and florid, to have had an ample plain at top, ſurrounded with a great wood, with a great monaſtery,

(71) Rauwolf's itinerary, pt. 3. c. 1. (72) Theven. voy. au. levant. pt. 1. c. 59. (73) De la Roque voy. dans la paleſt. in the preface. (74) Sand. ub. ſup. De la Roque, ub. ſup. (75) Hiller. in onomaſt. ſacr. ad. Reland. ub ſup. c. 51. (76) Steph. Byzant, Ἐθνικῶν. (77) Polyb. lib. ix. (78) See before in the laſt note but one.

plain, at a distance from any other hill; for its fertility and beauty of production, and for its height (B); but above all for

nastery, and many cells in the midst thereof (79). This monastery, or church, was dedicated to our Lord, Moses, and Elias (80.) The same author adds, it was by the inhabitants called Age Mons; which must have been, in some sort, a corruption of the Greek ἅγιον ὄρος, the Holy Mount, which denotes the veneration it was in, even in very early days, as well as at present. It seems to have been an antient tradition, that upon this hill, at the last day, four angels will with four trumpets raise the dead from the beginning of the world, that they may appear alive before our Lord, in the valley of Jehosaphat (81). But not to insist farther on the received sanctity of the place, we will only add concerning its amænity as at this day, that "it has a plain area at top, most fertile and delicious, of an "oval figure, extended about one furlong in breadth, and two "in length. This area is enclosed with trees on all parts, ex-"cept towards the south. It was antiently invironed with walls, "and trenches, and other fortifications, of which it exhibits "many remains at this day (82)." Another traveller (83), describing the appearance of it more particularly, observes, that it seems to have been rather the work of art than of nature, and of wonderful beauty; that from the bottom to the top it looks like a continued spiral of cinder-coloured rock continually crowned with verdant trees, which agrees not amiss with the cut the former has given us to represent this same mount. A third (84) tells us, that most of the trees on this hill are hard oaks.

(B) Josephus writes, that this mountain is thirty stades or furlongs in height, and Adamnanus (85) agrees with him exactly therein; but that it falls much short of this measure, whether considered perpendicularly, or obliquely, will appear by the undoubted testimony of modern travellers. Maundrell (86) says, he ascended it in less than an hour, and Thevenot (87) computes the ascent of it at not quite half a league, tho' at the same time he observes, that some of his company went up on horseback; so that the acclivity seems to be not so abrupt as is commonly imagined, by the sugar-loaf shape of this hill. In short, this account tends to depress the perpendicular height of

(79) Adamnan. de loc. sacr. lib. xi. (80) Itin. Sir Willibald. ap Reland. ub. sup. (81) Maundev. c. 10. (82) Maund. Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. p. 113. (83) Radzivil. Peregrin Jerosol. p. 43. (84) Theven. ub. sup. c. 55. (85) Ub. sup. (86) Ub. sup. (87) Ub. sup.

for being the ſcene of the glorious transfiguration (†), which has derived on it the particular veneration of Chriſtians in almoſt all ages, but that here this ſplendid miracle was wrought is doubted by ſome (C).

MOUNT

of it. Before we cloſe up this note, we muſt remember, that Adamnanus (88) gives the plain at top an extent of twenty five ſtades, which is very ſufficiently contradicted by Maundrell, in the note above.

(†) This place being had in great veneration by the Chriſtians, as we have partly obſerved already (89), we have only to add, that there are ſtill ſome remains of the religious ſtate of it. Prince Radziville (90) writes, that on the top of it, there is a middling ſort of a church, between two cells, or chappels rather, according to him erected by St. Helen, on the ſpot of the transfiguration. Thevenot (61) has it, that there is here but one grott, and that but a little one, in which is a chappel, made up of four arches croſs-wiſe: that the firſt is the entrance only; the ſecond, oppoſite to it, the place where our Lord was transfigured; and on the right-hand of this, the place where Moſes ſtood; that on the left where Elias: thus does he ſeemingly differ from the former traveller. A third there is, (92) who varies from both, and tells us, that on the top of this mount, there is a grott, which ſeems to be a part of ſome old ruins, all lined with great ſtones, and with many vaults ſtill ſtanding. The ſame author tells us, the mount itſelf is ſo ſteep that there is no aſcending it on horſeback, which Thevenot contradicts (93). Finally, we have a fourth eye-witneſs (94) who ſeems to vary from the three in the deſcription he gives us of theſe remains, which is, that they are no more than three contiguous grottoes, made to repreſent the three tabernacles. St. Peter propoſed to erect, in the aſtoniſhment which poſſeſſed him at the glory of the transfiguration.

(C) " Its being ſituated in ſuch a ſeparate manner has induced " moſt authors to conclude, that this muſt needs be that holy " mountain, as St. Peter (95) ſtiles it, which was the place " of our bleſſed lord's transfiguration, related by Matthew (96) " and Mark (97). There you read, that Chriſt took with " him Peter, James, and John, into a mountain apart; from " which deſcription they infer, that the mountain there ſpoken

" of

(88) Ub. ſup. (89) See before in the laſt note but one (90) In peregr. Jeroſ. ub. ſup. (91) Voy. au levant, ub. ſup. (92) Le Bruyn Voy. au levant, tom. 2. in 4to, (93) In the next note before this. (94) Maund. ub. ſup. (95) 2 Epiſt. i. 18, (96) xvii, (97) ix.

Mount Olivet, or the mount of olives (D), is the next that claims place, where on some accounts, it may almost do before all others. It is about a mile distant from Jerusalem, and commands the best prospect over that city (E). It is said to have sometime been the residence of the Shecinah (F). It has been falsly, or rather inaccurately, supposed to have

" of can be no other than Tabor. The conclusion may possibly " be true; but the argument used to prove it, seems incom- " petent; because the term κατ' ἰδίαν, or apart, most likely re- " lates to the withdrawing and retirement of the persons there spoken of, and not the situation of the mountain (98)." Reland (99) thinks it in some sort rash to dispute a point, which has been so generally received for so many ages, but confesses himself in some doubt as to the thing, for many very strong geographical and other reasons, but particularly, because there is no mention made of the name of this hill, as of the mount of Olives, mount Carmel, and others; the sacred writers having been so very particular in naming the places where any thing memorable was wrought by Christ.

(D) By the Greeks ὄρος ἐλαιώνος or ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν by the Jews, in their language, called the mount of Unction, or the mount of Olives, or Oil. It was also called the mountain of three Lights, because it was lighted on the west by the fire of the altar, because on the east it received the earliest light of the sun, before the city; and because it produced much oil, an aliment of light (100). But it is rather supposed to have been called the mountain of the three heads or tops, as Sandys in the cut he gives us of it, describes it to be. For three summits it had, the first, in the middle, whence Christ ascended into heaven, the second to the southward of it, called the mountain of Offence; the third to the northward, and highest of all (1).

(E) In this the bulk of travellers are agreed, it being the loftiest eminence in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and overlooking the highest part of that city. But this must be observed, that Jerusalem being itself seated high, it from thence looks to be no very lofty hill; but from other places it appears a mountain (2). Hence a poet (3) calls it a small hill.

(F) The Jews say it rested here during the space of three years and a half, to try whether or no the Jews would return to God, during which it cried out, Return to me, O my children, and I will return to you; and that, having expected in vain, it migrated

(98) Maund. ub. sup. (99) Ub. sup. (100) Reland. palæst. illust. lib. i. c. 52. Idem ibidem. (1) Vid. eund. ibidem. (2) Phoc. in descript. loc. terr. Sanct. (3) Prædic. Ephes. in descript. Hierosolym.

have been in, or on, the ſkirts of Galilee (G). Of fame it was (H), and ſtill might be (I), for fertility. In eſpecial veneration held by the Chriſtians (K) for what was here

grated again to its place (4). This is underſtood to have reſpect to the true Shecinah, our Saviour, who often ſojourned here, and would have recalled the Jews to the true worſhip of God (5).

(G) This miſtake certainly aroſe from the diſciples who were Galileans, though in a deſcription of this mount it has been roundly aſſerted, that but two furlongs thence was Galilee, and Cana where the marriage was, at which Chriſt turned the water into wine (6). Whence this extraordinary miſtake aroſe is pretty well explained to us; for on the higheſt ground of this mount there was formerly erected an high tower, in memory of the apparition of the two angels to the apoſtles, after the aſcenſion (7), from whence the tower itſelf had the name given it of Viri Galilæi (8); not to examine farther into this, hence the miſtake may very likely have derived its origin.

(H) It is thus deſcribed by an author (9) of the ſeventh century: few or no trees are there to be found, except the olive and the vine, according to the report of Acculfus; but wheat and barley there flouriſh in a moſt kindly manner: for the nature of the ſoil is quite productive.

(I) The weſt ſide of mount Olivet is "bedecked with olives, "almonds, fig-trees, and heretofore with palms; pleaſantly rich "when huſbanded, and now upbraiding the barbarous with his "neglected pregnancy (10),

(K) This mount is much reſorted to by pilgrims who viſit Jeruſalem; nor do travellers, who have been this way, forget to enumerate the ſeveral ſanctuaries of this famous eminence; but it will be enough for us to conſult one of them, who agrees almoſt to a tittle as to what is here to be ſeen. He (11) tells us, they here ſhew. "about two thirds of the way up, certain "grottoes cut with intricate windings and caverns under ground, "theſe are called the ſepulchres of the prophets. A little higher "up are twelve arched vaults under ground, ſtanding ſide by "ſide; theſe were built in memory of the twelve apoſtles, who "are ſaid to have compiled their creed in this place. Sixty "paces higher, you come to the place where, they ſay, Chriſt "uttered his prophecy concerning the final deſtruction of Jeru-

"ſalem

(4) Vid. eund. ibid. (5) Vid. eund, ibid. (6) Anonym. ap. eund. ib. (7) Acts. i. 10, 11. (8) Maundr. Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag. 105. (9) Adamnan. de loc, ſanct. lib. i. ap. Reland. ub. ſup. (10) Sandys ub. ſup. (11) Maundr, ub. ſup.

here wrought, tranſacted, and fulfilled by our Saviour, and particularly for his aſcenſion into heaven; nor much leſs revered even by the Mohammedans (L).

The foregoing are the more remarkable of the greater mounts, the more remarkable of the leſſer are theſe, both on

" ſalem (12). And a little higher, on the right hand of this, " is the place where they ſay he dictated, a ſecond time, the " pater-noſter to his diſciples (13). Somewhat higher is the " cave of St. Pelagia; and as much more above that a pillar, " ſignifying the place where an angel gave the Bleſſed Virgin " three days warning of her death. At the top of the hill you " come to the place of our bleſſed Lord's aſcenſion. Here was " antiently a large Church, built in honour of that glorious " triumph: but all that now remains of it is, only an octogonal " cupola, about eight yards in diameter, ſtanding, as they ſay, " over the very place, where were ſet the laſt footſteps of the " ſon of God here on earth. Within the cupola there is ſeen, " in a hard ſtone as they tell you, the print of one of his feet. " Here was alſo that of the other foot ſometime ſince; but it " has been removed from hence by the Turks into the great " Moſch upon mount Moriah —— About two furlongs from " this place northward is the higheſt part of mount Olivet; " and upon that was antiently erected an high tower —— " called Viri Galilæi. This antient monument remained till " about two years ſince, when it was demoliſhed by a Turk, " who had bought the field in which it ſtood." More of this ſort is added by other travellers, but this ſhall ſerve our purpoſe.

(L) The Turks pretend ſo great veneration for the building over the print of our Saviour's foot on this mountain, that they have ſometimes denyed the Chriſtians all entrance into it; ſo that they were allowed only to ſtand at the door, to perform their devotions, and view the holy ſtone of impreſſion at the diſtance of about four cubits from them (14). This it ſeems was owing to the rigid humour of the governor of thoſe parts, tho' before it was free and open to both Chriſtians and Mohammedans (15), as it has been ſince (16). But notwithſtanding this pretended veneration on the part of the Turks, with regard to this and other places, it is ſhrewdly doubted (17), whether they do it " out of real devotion, or for lucre's ſake, and to " the end that they may exact money from the Chriſtians for " admiſſion into them."

(M) Euſebius

(12) Matt. ii. 4. (13) Luke. xi. 1, 2. (14) Radziv. Peregrin. Jeroſolym. pag, 74. (15) Idem. ibid. (16) Sandys ub. ſup. (17) Maund ub. ſup.

on the one ſide and the other of the river Jordan; mount Gilead, mount Baſhan, mount Gilboah, mount Gerizim, mount Ebal, mount Sion, and others we need not name.

Of the low couutry, and firſt of the valleys.

WE will not enter into a nice diſquiſition of what were properly vales, and what were properly plains, in this country: whoever contemplates the face of the country, ſo very remarkably diſtinguiſhed into high lands and low, may think it a needleſs taſk; and beſides, it has been done to our hands with all the accuracy and induſtry imaginable [d]. To proceed then, the vale of Gerar was where Iſaac ſojourned when he departed from Abimelech [e]. The vale of Shittim of ſituation quite uncertain. The vale of Hinnom, or the valley of the children of Hinnom, near the walls of Jeruſalem (M), remarkable for the ſuperſtition there practiſed in times of old (N). The vale, or valley, of Salt, of note for the overthrow of the Edomites [f] there. The vale of the Rephaim, called alſo the vale of the Titans, and of the Giants (O), of uncertain ſituation (P). The valley

[d] Vide Reland. ub. ſup. c. 54. [e] Vid. vol. ii. p. 233.
[f] Vid. vol. ii. p. 165.

(M) Euſebius (18) writes it was cloſe, or near, to the walls of the city on the eaſt-ſide; but Reland (19) is rather inclined to believe, it lay ſouthward of the ſame (20)

(N) This ſuperſtition we have already (21) dwelt on, and given a ſufficient deſcription of the ſpot in general (22).

(O) So rendered by the ſeventy and Joſephus; whence St. Jerom (23) haſtily ſuppoſes the Rephaim of ſcripture to have been the Titans, and giants of the fabulous antients. But that the Rephaim were one of the ten nations of the Canaanites, we have ſhewn elſewhere (24); nor have we forgot to obſerve all that can be well ſaid of them, down to their exit and migration (25.

(P) Euſebius (26) places it within the portion of Benjamin; Bonfrere will have it to be in the tribe of Judah; but we forbear ſo uſeleſs and uncertain an inquiry.

(18) Ad vocem Γαιεννος. (19) Ub. ſup. c. 54.
(20) See vol. ii. p. 120. (21) Ibidem. (22) See vol. ii. in the notes, p. 120. (23) In comment. ad Gal. iii.
(24) See vol. ii. in the notes, p. 182. (25) Ib. p. 324.
(26) In Onom. ad voc. Εμὲκ Ῥαφειν.

valley of Jehoshaphat (Q), mentioned but once in scripture [g], close in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and supposed to be the place of the last and general judgment (R). The vale of Berachah (S) in the wilderness of Tekoa. The valley

[g] Joel iii. 2, and 12.

(Q) According to St. Cyril (27), it was a few stades or furlongs eastward of Jerusalem, a bare spot and fit for riding. Aben-Ezra (28) takes it to be the same with the valley of Berachah, Blessing, or Praise, so called by Jehoshaphat (29). Kimchi (30) takes it to be a valley in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, where, perhaps, Jehoshaphat erected some building, or performed some memorable action. Concerning the situation of this valley, Sir John Mandeville (31) expresses himself thus, "between Jerusalem and the mount of Olyvate is the vale of Josaphathe, "under the walls of the cytee.—And there righte nyghe, is "the tombe of kyng Josaphathe (*); of whom the vale berethe "the name." He adds, "This Josaphathe was kyng of that "contree, and was converted by an heremyte, that was a worthi "man, and dide much gode." Thevenot (32) insinuates the situation of it to be the very same, as does also prince Radziville (33), and the whole class of travellers, antient and modern.

(R) This tradition took birth from this text of scripture (34), *I will also gather all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with them there for my people, and for my heritage Israel, whom they have scattered among the nations and parted my land.* Hence says Reland (35), the Jews have gathered that the general judgment is to be on mount Olivet; adjoining to which many have persuaded themselves this valley of Jehoshaphat to be, tho' upon a very slender argument. Reland then is not satisfied with the situation of this valley, so universally laid down by travellers; and no body has ever considered the geography of these parts like him.

(S) In the Latin of the Vulgate, Vallis Benedictionis; in the Greek of the Septuagint, Κοιλὰς Εὐλογίας, the valley of Blessing or Praise, so called because of the overthrow and miraculous rout of the Moabites (36), Ammonites (37), and the Edomites (38) or

(27) Comment. in loc. Joel. (28) Ap. Reland. ub. sup. (29) 2 Chron. xx. 26. (30) Ap. Reland. ub sup. (31) Cap. 8. (*) Vide etiam Maund ub sup. pag. 103. (32) Cosmog. de levant. pag. 177. (33) Peregrin. Hierosolym. p. 60. (34) Joel iii. 2. (35) Ub. sup. (36) See vol. ii. p. 113. et seq. (37) See vol. ii. p. 127.

valley of Shaveh (T), or the king's dale [h], famous for the interview between Abraham and Melchiſedeck. The valley of Elah, or of the Terebinth (U), where David ſlew Goliah. Others we forbear to mention.

We ſhall only take a curſory ſurvey of the plain part of this country, though a very conſiderable portion of it. In Paleſtine there are two great plains, the one properly ſo called, and divided by the Jordan, one hundred and fifty miles in length; the other called the great plain of Eſdraelon, or of Legion [i]. The former of theſe, according to Joſephus [k], extended from Scythopolis, on the ſea of Tiberias, to the Aſphaltite-lake. In the new teſtament [l] it is called the region about Jordan (W). Beſides, there was, as we juſt now ſaid another great plain, which from the city of Jezreel, and Legion (X), is called the plain of Jezreel, or Eſdraelon (Y) or the great plain of Legion [m]

[h] Gen. xiv. 17. [i] Vide Reland. ub. ſup. 55. [k] Antiq. lib. vi. c. 2. [l] Matth. iii. 5.

(38), or inhabitants of mount Seir, in their war combined againſt Jehoſhaphat.

(T) In the Greek of the Septuagint, it is called, Κοιλας τοῦ Σαβη, or τῆ Σαβυ the valley of Saba, or Saby; which by the ſame is interpreted to mean, τὸ πεδίον τῶν βασιλευων, the field of kings,

(U) By Aquila and Theodotion render'd Κοιλας τῆς δρυὸς (39), the valley of the oak.

(W) So the Greek interpreters have rendered it, περίχωρον τοῦ Ἰόρδανη (40), and τὰ ἔρημα τοῦ Ἰορδανη (41), or the wilderneſs of Jordan, and that ſuch it might, properly enough, be called, or at leaſt comparatively, will hereafter appear.

(X) Now ſuppoſed to be called Legune (43.) Reland (44), thinks, this great plain was partly in Samaria, and partly in Galilee, and that thence we have the μέγα πεδίον Σαμαρειτιδος Magnus Campus Samaritidis of Joſephus (45).

(Y) So the ſeventy call it Πεδίον μεγα Ἐσδρηλὼν, with a little variation, the name either way being ſuppoſed to have been moulded

(38) See vol. ii. p. 167. (39) Euſeb. in onomaſt. ad vocem. Ηλὰ. (40) 2 Chron. iv. 17. (41) Iſa. xxxv. 2 (43) See Maundr. Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſal. (44) Ub. ſup. (45) De Bell. Judaic. lib. ii. c. 2.

Legion [m] (Z). Beſides theſe, which are moſt remarkably diſtinguiſhed as flat parts of the country, the whole coaſt from mount Carmel, to the ſouthermoſt borders of the land, is a plain and a level; excepting here and there a gentle hill, or ſand-heap. This great extent was not all known by the ſame name under the ſecond temple [n]. The northern part of it, from Joppa to Cæſarea, and no more as ſome will have it [o], was called Saron and Saronas (A). To the ſouthward of this was the plain of Sephela (B). The

[m] Vide Reland ub. ſup. [n] Vide eund. ibid. [o] Vide eund. ibid.

moulded by the Greeks, from the Hebrew name Jezreel (46). It being objected, that this valley of Jezreel appears not to have been conſidered as of any great dimenſion in ſcripture, confirmed by St. Jerome; it is anſwered, that to this great level it may have happened as to ſeas, which are divided into many portions, diſtinguiſhed by different names, borrowed from the more conſiderable places on the coaſts (47); ſo that the plain of Eſdraelon, or Jezreel, peculiarly ſo called, may have been of ſmall circumference, while the name itſelf, by a uſual cuſtom among men, may have extended itſelf over the whole of what it was only a part; inſtances of which it were needleſs and endleſs to give.

(Z) Euſebius calls it, μέγα πεδίον Δεγεῶνος, Campum Magnum Legionis; and St. Jerome calls it, Latiſſimum Campum, vel Campum Maximum, or, adding the name, Grandem Campum Legionis (48).

(A) In our verſion Sharon (49). It afforded excellent paſture, and it is obſerved, that it is no wonder the Gadites, or children of the tribe of Gad, who were chiefly addicted to a paſtoral life, ſought here to feed their flocks (50). But hence it has been miſtakenly concluded (51), there was another Sharon in the tribe of Gad. That this is a miſtake, may be ſeen, where it is ſaid, *the children of Gad——dwelt in Gilead, in Baſhan, and in her towns, and in all the ſuburbs of Sharon* (52). Now would they have dwelt in the ſuburbs and not in the cities, if the country had been their own? is this likely? The truth is, *the ſuburbs were appointed for cattle——and for*

(46) See Well's Geog. vol. ii. ſub. fin. (47) Reland. ub. ſup. (48) Vide eund. ibid. (49) 1 Chron. v. 16. (50) Vide Reland. ub. ſup. (51) Vide eund. ibid. (52) Chron. ub. ſup.

(B). The other plains, as that of Jericho (C), which may be included into the great plain properly ſo called, we forbear to mention.

OF the wilderneſſes, or deſarts of this country, we ſhall not have much to ſay; but by theſe we are not always to underſtand places quite uninhabited, and deſtitute of all uſeful production (D). The firſt of theſe is the wilder- Wilderneſſes and deſarts.

for all their beaſts (53). Is their Sharon then to be ſought for in the country, where they poſſeſſed not the cities, but took up with the ſuburbs? And ſince the country of Sharon was moſt noted and a famous for the nurture of cattle, and ſeeing the Gadites did, in a particular manner, employ their time as graziers and ſhepherds far beyond all the tribes on this ſide of the Jordan, why ſhould we croſs on the other ſide, in queſt of another Sharon? Thus is it that Reland (54) endeavours to deſtroy the notion of another place of this name on the other ſide of the river Jordan.

(B) So called from the Hebrew שפלה, extending itſelf weſtward and ſouthward of Eleutheropolis, tho' the name is equally applicable to the one plain and the other (55).

(C) Joſephus (56) writes, that Jericho ſtood in a plain, which others (57) call a vale; but, whether vale or plain, it muſt, by its ſituation, have been a part of the great plain divided by the Jordan; and may have been called the vale or plain of Jericho, by a rule we have obſerved five notes above, in ſpeaking of the great plain of Jezreel.

(D) Reland (58) obſerves, that the Hebrew word, which the Greeks render ἔρημος, and the Latins Solitudines, does, in its ſtricteſt import, mean no more than barely an uncultivated place; and thereupon remarks, that tho' St. John is ſaid to have proclaimed the goſpel in the wilderneſs of Judea, it is plain, it was not ſuch a deſart as was quite wild and inhoſpitable, for that it had cities, whoſe inhabitants were the firſt auditors to whom the Baptiſt foretold the immediate advent of the Meſſiah. He then quotes Jewiſh doctors (59), who acquaint us, that the ſmaller cattle, as ſheep, goats, and the like, were not fed in the land of Iſrael, but in Syria, and the wilderneſſes, as we render the original word, of the land of Iſrael. Upon the whole he ſuppoſes, that all ſuch places were by the Jews conſidered in oppoſition to thoſe which afforded corn, wine, and oil.

(53) Numb. xxxv. 3. Joſh. xiv.. 4 (54) Ub. ſup.
(55) Vide Reland. ubi ſup. (56) De Bell. Judaic. lib. v. c. 4.
(57) Vide Reland. ubi ſup. (58) Ib i e. 56.
(59) In Cod. Bava. Roman.

neſs of Judah [p] (E); and in the wilderneſs, as it is called, were the cities of Beth-arabah, Middin, and Secacah, and Nibſhan and the city of Salt, and En-gedi; ſix cities with their villages [q]. The wilderneſs of Gibeon [r]; Joſephus [s] repreſents all the mountainous tract, from Jericho to Scythopolis, as quite barren and uninhabited, and under the ſame character includes all the ſpace waſhed by the Jordan, from the ſea of Tiberias to the Aſphaltite-lake (F). To theſe we may add the foreſts or woods of this land; as the foreſt of Hareth (G), whither David retired. The wood of Ephraim [t], where Abſalom periſhed on an oak; and the foreſt of Lebanon [u], where Solomon built him a houſe. Others we paſs over.

s. Having thus taken a tranſient view of the mountains, plains, dales, and ſolitudes of the country before us, order requires us next to conſider the waters which are properly ſaid to have belonged to it; and firſt of the ſeas. Of theſe are, commonly and more accurately, reckoned but four, the Mediterranean, the Dead-ſea, the ſea of Tiberias, and the Samachonite-ſea. The Mediterreanean was by the Jews called the Great-ſea, the ſea of the Philiſtines, the Salt-ſea (H).

The

[p] Judg. i. 16. ii. 24. xvii. 6——9. [q] Joſh. xx. 61, 62. [s] De Bell. Judaic. lib. iii. c. 8. [u] 1 Kings vii. 2. [r] 2 Sam. [t] 2 Sam.

(E) Many, ſays Reland (60), are of opinion, that the wilderneſs of Judah was on the other ſide of Jordan, and there placed the wilderneſs of St. John the Baptiſt: but, by the authority of the Jews themſelves, he ſufficiently evinces this to be a miſtake.

(F) Hence Reland (61) takes occaſion to condemn the geographers, who raſhly and preſumptuouſly croud both ſides of the Jordan thick with cities and villages; but, at the ſame time, makes allowances for their zeal and warmth of imagination, unguided by documents, or the leaſt degree of certainty.

(G) This foreſt was evidently within the tribe of Judah, by the words of the prophet Gad, who ſaid unto David, *abide not in the hold, depart, and get thee into the land of Judah* (63).

(H) Bochart (64) is angry with Maimonides for ſaying, the purple fiſh was found in the ſalt-ſea, imagining he thereby meant the

(60) Ub. ſup. (61) Ibid. (63) 1 Sam. xxii. 5
(64) In Hierozoico, pt. 2. lib. 5. c. 9.

THE Dead-ſea (†), or the Aſphaltite-lake (I), called alſo the Salt-ſea (K). Much has been ſaid and ſuppoſed of

the Aſphaltite-lake ; but that he meant the Mediterranean, and expreſſed himſelf not improperly, has been ſufficiently ſhewn (65).

(†) It is ſo called for that it breeds no fiſh, nor ſuſtains any thing that has life, becauſe of its exceſſive ſaltneſs (66). A late traveller (67), however, ſays, he has ſome reaſon to ſuſpect this, obſerving among the pebbles on the ſhore, two or three ſhells of fiſh reſembling oyſter-ſhells ; and " that they were thrown " up by the waves, at two hours diſtance from the mouth of " Jordan ; " which he mentions, leſt it ſhould be ſuſpected they might have been brought into the ſea that way. As for the common tradition, the birds, attempting to fly over this ſea, drop down dead into it, the ſame traveller (68) ſaw it actually confuted by ſeveral birds, who flew over and about it, without the leaſt viſible harm.

(I) So called from the quantity of bitumen in and about it. It was antiently ſuppoſed, that great quantities of this combuſtible ſubſtance were thrown up by this ſea (69). And travellers (70) repreſent it as in great plenty on the ſhores of it. Whatever there might have been formerly, it ſeems, it is not now to be found every where upon the ſhore, tho' it is gathered in great quantities near the mountains on both ſides. It exactly reſembles pitch, and cannot readily be diſtinguiſhed from it, but by the ſulphureouſneſs of its ſmell and taſte (71). This bitumen ſeems not to have been ſufficiently, or at all, diſtinguiſhed from a ſort of combuſtible ſtones found on the ſhore ; being a black ſort of pebbles, which being held in the flame of a candle ſoon burn, and yield a ſmoke of an intolerable ſtench (72) ; but have this extraordinary property, that by burning they loſe only of their weight, and not at all of their bulk.

(K) It is to the higheſt degree impregnated with ſalt ; inſomuch, that Galen (73) ſuppoſes it in ſpecific gravity to be as much beyond other ſea-water, as ſea-water is beyond the rivers, and that it was impoſſible to immerge in it ; and elſewhere adds, that,

(65) Vide Reland. Pal. illuſtr. lib. i. c. 37. (66) Vide Hieron. Comment. ad Ezek. xlvii. (67) Maundr. Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſalem, p. 84. (68) Ibid. (69) Vide Reland. ubi ſup. Brocard. Deſcrip. Terr. Sanct. c. 7. (70) Radziv. Jeroſolm. pereg. p. 95. Brocard. ubi ſup. &c. (71) Maundr. ubi ſup. (72) Idem ibid. vide etiam Radziv. ubi ſup. (73) Apud Reland. ubi ſup.

of this famous, or as moſt will have it infamous, lake; as that nothing will ſink in it, and that it roſe up from the ſubmerſion of the vale of Siddim [x], where once, as is moſt generally concluded, ſtood the five cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, and the other three. On this account has it been abhorred and deteſted, and repreſented as a prodigious and everlaſting monument of the juſt judgment of God, to deter mankind from the ſins committed by thoſe, who thus drew down on them the fierce wrath and vengeance of the almighty. Now, tho' it were a ſeeming raſhneſs to contradict what has been ſo very univerſally advanced and received among chriſtians, with relation to the origin of this lake, it has all been very ſolidly contradicted, and, if it were lawful ſo to ſay, refuted even by the authority of ſcripture itſelf [y] (L). But, miſled by the common tradition, and blinded by an irregular zeal, travellers have for the

[x] See vol. ii. p. 323. [y] Vide Reland. ubi ſup. c. 38.

that, by the addition of ſalt, it would be poſſible to make any water as bouyant as this. The ſame phyſician elſewhere has it, that the ſaltneſs of this ſea is attended with bitterneſs and unpleaſantneſs. All this agrees well enough with what we are told of it at preſent, except that bodies will immerge in it, tho' not ſo eaſily as in other water (74).

(L) It is Reland (75) who profeſſedly undertakes this taſk: To enter into a detail of his arguments would exceed our bounds, we ſhall therefore only touch on ſome principal heads, 1. He obſerves that the five kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, and the reſt, are ſaid to have met in the vale of Siddim, as if it was not the place of their immediate abode. 2. The ſacred penman no where ſays the five cities were in the vale of Siddim. 3. In the whole ſeries of ſcripture there is no mention made of the ſubmerſion of the ſame five cities. 4. He proves, that this ſuppoſed ſubmerſion is contradictory to many paſſages he cites of holy writ. He contends, that ſome, if not all, of the five cities, were not on the ſpot where now ſtands the Dead-ſea. The ſcripture itſelf is what he chiefly builds on throughout this whole argument; tho' he finds no mean authorities elſewhere to ſupport him in his opinion, which we leave to be diſcuſſed by ſuch as think it of importance ſufficient to require it.

(74) Maund. ubi ſup. (75) Ubi ſup.

the moſt part (M) repreſented it as a place diſmal to behold, all ſulphureous, bituminous, and combuſtible. Nor has it not been ſeriouſly averred, that ruins of the five cities have been actually ſeen (N) in theſe latter times. This ſea in its preſent ſtate is incloſed on the eaſt and weſt with exceeding high mountains, on the north it has the plain of Jericho, or, if we take in both ſides of the Jordan, the great plain properly ſo called; on the ſouth it is open, and extends beyond

(M) Geographers, ſays Maundrell (76), in their writings and maps, generally deſcribe a ſmoke aſcending from the ſurface of this lake, but for his part he could ſee nothing of the kind. It is alſo obſerved, as a moſt wonderful circumſtance, that this lake, as Joſephus (77) obſerves, ſhould change colour three times a day, which prince Radziville (78) confirms as an eye-witneſs: in the morning, ſays he, it was blackiſh, at noon blewiſh, in the evening yellowiſh, and as it were mixed with ooze (79). A variety which plainly proceeds from natural cauſes, and is eaſily accounted for, by the nature of its ſituation and the land about it, with the help of a little optic. The infernal apples alſo mentioned by Joſephus (80) and Tacitus (81) to be on the borders of this lake, all fair and beautiful without, and all ſoot and aſhes within, which have againſt all experience exiſted in the ſickly imagination of the ſuperſtitious votaries who have fondly reſorted thither, are now concluded never to have been in nature (82); for nothing, not the leaſt trace, of the kind is now to be found.

(N) Concerning this, we ſhall give you Maundrell's own words (38), "I diligently ſurveyed the waters, as far as my eye could "reach; but neither could I diſcern any heaps of ruins, nor——— "But yet I muſt not omit what was confidently atteſted to me by "the father Guardian and procurator of Jeruſalem, both men in "years, and ſeemingly not deſtitute either of ſenſe and probity, "viz. that they had once actually ſeen one of thoſe ruins; that it "was ſo near the ſhore, and the waters ſo ſhallow at that time, that "they, together with ſome French men, went to it, and found "there ſeveral pillars and other fragments of buildings." Maundrell has, at leaſt, as much weight with Reland (84) as any modern traveller whatſoever, and perhaps more, but yet is unwilling to think, there ſhould be ſuch viſible remains of the original five cities.

(76) Ubi ſup.
(77) De Bell. Judaic. l. v. c. 5.
(78) Ubi ſupra.
(79) Ibid.
(80) Ubi ſupra.
(81) Hiſt. l. v.
82) Vide Maundr. ubi ſupra; vide etiam Radz. ubi ſup.
(83) Ubi ſup.
(84) Ubi ſup.

beyond the reach of the eye. In length it is said to be twenty four leagues, and in breadth six or seven. Its water is limpid and clear. On the west side of it is a promontory, where they pretend to shew remains of Lot's metamorphosed wife [z] (O).

Sea of Tiberias.

The sea of Tiberias, called also the sea of Kinnereth, Kinneroth, Chinnereth [a], Cinneroth [b] (P), the water of Genesar [c], lake of Genesarit and Genesareth (Q), was also called the sea of Galilee. According to Josephus * it was one hundred furlongs in length and about forty in breadth. The same historian [d] commends it for the temper of its water, which exposed in the night to air, as the inhabitants near were wont to do in summer-time, became as cold almost as snow itself. It is every way by the same author set in opposition to the Dead-sea; especially as this afforded no sort of fish, and the other abounded with it. The one is represented as a water every way pleasant and agreeable, the other as every way forbidding and horrid.

The

[z] Maundr. Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. p. 84, 85.
[a] Num. xxxiv. 11. [b] Josh. xii. 3. [c] 1 Macc. xi. 67. * De Bell. Judaic. l, iii. c. 18. [d] Ibid.

(O) It seems the natives here have different stories at different times. They told prince Radziville (85), there was no such thing as Lot's wife's pillar of salt to be found, and about a century afterwards they tell Maundrell (86), that there is a stump of it still left, and point out to him the very place where it is. In short, it is almost wonderful, they cannot always find a lump of salt in such a place as this, to personate what has been so eagerly inquired for and sought after.

(P) These names are supposed to be derived from a musical instrument which is supposed to have been nearly of the form of this sea: but Reland (87) chuses to borrow the same from the city of the name, in the tribe of Napthali on the borders thereof.

(Q) These names are supposed to have been formed from the foregoing; but Reland (88) is rather inclined to have them from the country of Gennesar, on the borders of this same lake; celebrated by Josephus (89), for fertility of soil and felicity of climate.

(85) Ubi sup. (86) Ubi sup. (87) Ubi sup. c. 39. (88) Ibid. (89) De Bell. Judaic. l. iii. c. 8. (90) Vide Reland. Palæst. Illust. l. i. c. 40. p. 262.

THE Samachonite-lake is next in order. Whence it derives its name is uncertain (R). It is chiefly remarkable for the thickneſs of its waters [e]. Its length was ſixty furlongs or about ſeven miles and half; its breadth thirty furlongs, or about three miles and three quarters [f]. It is ſuppoſed, that this may be the lake mentioned by Pliny † on account of its odoriferous reeds; but this is mere conjecture. Samachonite-lake.

NOT far from this is the lake of Phiala, the true ſource or fountain-head of the river Jordan, tho' whether it was ſo or no was long diſputed [g] (S). This name, which ſignifies a vial, was common to other waters of the ſame kind. It is ſituated in the midſt of a moſt delightful country, which is alſo ſo very opportune for buſineſs, that marts, or fairs, are here held all the ſummer long, by the neighbouring people [h]. Lake Phiala.

To paſs over other lakes and waters of inferior note and degree, we will proceed to the river Jordan, which, riſing from the lake of Phiala, enters the Samachonite-lake, whence proceeding it divides the ſea of Tiberias, and thence diſcharges itſelf into the Dead-ſea. The origin of its name, or names, is ſomewhat obſcure (T); therefore not The Jordan.

[e] Ibid. [f] Idem ibid. l. iv. c. 1. † Lib. xii. c. 22.
[g] Reland. Palæſt. illuſtr. l. i. c. 41. p. 264. [h] Sanch. Secret. Fidel. Cruciſ. apud eund. ibid.

(R) In the Greek of Joſephus, it is written, Σαμοχωνῖτις λίμνη, and Σεμεχωνῖτις, which ſome derive from Samach, a fiſh, or from the plural Samachon (90).

(S) This doubt was ſettled by Philip the Tetrarch, who caſting ſtraws or chaff thereinto, they came out at Panion.

(T) It has been a commonly received opinion, that this river is called ירדן, Jarden, as if it was אר דן, the River of Dan, becauſe it took its riſe near the city of Dan, or becauſe it was derived from two ſprings, the one Jeor, the other Dan. That the firſt of theſe derivations is unlikely we ſhall now attempt to ſhew, and that the ſecond is falſe has been partly demonſtrated in the note above. To ſuppoſe it to have received any part of its denomination from the city of Dan is ſeemingly wrong, in as much as it was called Jorden long before the city of Dan was built. But you may ſay, it may have been ſo called by way of prolepſis. But why Den ſhould be changed into Dan may be difficult to account for; ſo that after all, it is moſt natural to borrow this name from ירד, deſcendit, labitur. The

20 Vide Reland. Palæſt. illuſt. l. c. 40. p. 262.

not to insist thereon, this being by far the principal stream of these parts, it is by way of eminence called the River [i]; the rest of this country being mere brooks in comparison of it. Josephus [k] makes mention of a lesser Jordan, fountain-head he places about Panion, while he derives the other, or greater Jordan, from mount Libanus [l]; but he is not to be understood here as meaning two distinct rivers; but as dividing the same river into two parts, which are greater or less, as nearer to, or farther from, the original spring (U). To recapitulate the course of this river, we learn [m], that taking its rise from Phiala, it runs under ground for the space of one hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifteen miles, and breaking forth at Paneum, goes through the Samachonite-lake; whence proceeding again to the distance above-mentioned of fifteen miles, it streams through the sea of Tiberias, and thence holds its course through a vast and horrid desart, till it loses itself in the Asphaltite-lake. Here it is to be noted [n], that Josephus speaks but of one original spring belonging to this river, a demonstrative proof, that this lesser Jordan is no river distinct from his greater, and that no more than different parts of the same main stream are to be understood thereby. It is remarkable of the Jordan, that in the time of harvest it is most full, and apt to overtop its banks [o], contrary to the general nature of rivers, which are most full in time of winter; whence it may possibly have been, that some have imagined a subterraneous communication to have existed between

[i] Joseph. Antiq. l v. c. 1. [k] Ibid. c. 2. and l. viii. c. 3. [l] Antiq. l. v. c. 1. [m] Ibid. l. iii. c. 18. [n] Vide Reland. ubi sup. [o] Vide eund. ibid.

The Arabs call it Arden, and Ordonnon; the Persians, Herdum; and the Nubian geographer, or the Sharif Edrisi, Zacchar, which in Arabic signifies tumid, full or overflowing its banks, and therefore a name properly enough applied to the Jordan (91).

(U) Examples of this kind are exhibited to confirm this (92), as in the Vetus Vechta, and Vetus Rhenus, and the Anapus παλαιὸς and καινὸς, mentioned by Vibius Sequester; whereby it is not to be understood, that these rivers, so distinguished into old and new, were to be deduced from different springs, but to be parts of one and the same.

(91) Vid. eund. ibid, c. 43. p. 271, 272. (92) Apud eund. Ibid.

tween this river and the Nile of Egypt (X). But to wave ſo unlikely a matter, the banks of this ſtream are a harbour for lions and other wild beaſts, who take ſhelter amidſt the reeds and canes [P], which here remarkably abound; and not only abound, but alſo grow ſo thick and tall, as to obſtruct the ſight of the river (Y); together with the willows, tamariſks, and other native vegetables of theſe banks (Z). The ſtream of this river is ſo ſtrong and rapid,

[P] Maundrel's Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ.

(X) The more to confirm this, it has been reported, that the Coracinus, a fiſh reputed to be peculiar to the Nile, has been taken in the Jordan. But this concludes nothing poſitively; for the Coracinus, as much as it is a native of the Nile, is to be found elſewhere (93),

(Y) Prince Radziville (94) writes, that on this ſide of the river, in the place where Chriſt was baptized, there is a ſhady thicket, about half a mile, (a German one we ſuppoſe) in length, and a bow ſhot in breadth; and that here were trees which bore the likeneſs of willows, but upon a nice examination proved not exactly ſo in fact. He adds, that he could perceive nothing of the locuſts and wild honey, which afforded ſuſtenance to St. John, who, with others, he ſuppoſes to have ſojourned in this wilderneſs. Maundrell (95) alſo obſerves, that this part is ſo beſet with buſhes and trees, ſuch as tamariſks, willows, and others, that you can ſee no water till you have made your way through.—— He adds, that on the other ſide there ſeemed to be a much larger thicket, than on the ſide they were. To this effect do the travellers this way in general deliver themſelves.

(Z) Maundrell diſtinguiſhes the banks of this river as twofold: theſe are his own words (96); "On the farther ſide of the fore-"mentioned convent [dedicated to St. John] there runs along a "ſmall deſcent, which you may fitly call the firſt and outermoſt "bank of Jordan; as far as which it may be ſuppoſed the river "does, or at leaſt did antiently, flow at ſome ſeaſons of the year "viz. at the time of harveſt, Joſh. iii. 15, or, as is expreſſed, "Chron. xii. 15, in the firſt month, that is in march. But at "preſent, [whether it be becauſe the river has, by its rapidity "of current, worn its channel deeper than it was formerly, or "whether becauſe its waters are diverted ſome other way] it "ſeems to have forgot its antient greatneſs: for we could diſcern "no ſign or probability of ſuch overflowings, when we were "there;

(93) Vide Athenæum. (94) In Peregrin. Jeroſolym. p. 98. (95) Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. p. 81. (96) Ibid.

rapid, that a man cannot ſtem it in ſwimming; but the dimenſions of it are by no means large, the breadth of it, where it ſhould be ſeemingly greateſt, not exceeding ſixty foot (A). It was formerly fordable in ſome places [q], and may be ſo ſtill, tho' we know of no one that particularly takes notice of it. It ſeems alſo to have been formerly croſſed in boats or ferries [r].

To deſcribe, or even to enumerate, the other rivers, either on this or that ſide of the Jordan, were too minute, and indeed needleſs, and contrary to our cuſtom hitherto; wherefore we ſhall only ſay, that the Arnon ſeems to deſerve the place next to Jordan; and proceed to obſerve, that the productions of this land were great, and excellent, and abundant. This country was anciently of great fame for fertility, and well correſponded with the figurative deſcription of it, that it flowed with milk and honey; nor at this day are there wanting ſigns and ſufficient indications thereof, tho' now it is, as it were, decayed and neglected. But the preſent barren ſtate of this country having prevailed on ſome to imagine, it never was what the ſcripture repreſents it to be, we ſhall, with the ſame deſign, and in the ſame order, obſerved by a learned man [s], who has made this favourite region his ſtudy, more than ever any body did before and to ſounder purpoſes, proceed to diſplay what it affords for the uſe of its inhabitants.

Fertility. And here it may be neceſſary to obſerve, that as fine a country as Egypt is on all hands allowed to be, it ſubmitted,

[q] Guliel. Tyrius, Hiſt. xxii. 23. apud Reland. ubi ſup.
[r] Vide Reland. ibid. [s] Reland.

"there; which was the thirtieth of march, being the proper "time for theſe inundations. Nay, ſo far was the river from "overflowing, that it ran at leaſt two yards below the brink of "its channel." The Jordan ſeems then to be very different from the river it was formerly.

(A) This is Maundrell's meaſurement (97), in which the moſt ſincere travellers are pretty nicely of a mind with him. As for depth, the ſame traveller ſays, it was deeper than his height. The water is turbid, the natural conſequence of its rapidity; to which Radziville (98) adds, it is very wholeſome, and incorruptible in its nature, as he ſufficiently found by the experiment of ſome of it he brought away with him.

(97) Ibid. (98) Ubi ſup.

mitted, and ſtill ſubmits, to this, in ſome very noble productions, and particularly wine and oil, two of the moſt uſeful liquids to man next to water; to go about to prove which, were to ſuppoſe the reader ignorant of what he cannot poſſibly but know, and be convinced, and aſſured of (B); as for water, it is plain, there could have been no exceſſive want of that, for how ſhould the men and cattle have ſubſiſted at all without it? That they had ſufficient, for their uſe at leaſt, muſt be readily granted, and has been ſufficiently proved to our hands [t]; but it were needleſs for us to go about to do the ſame. Then for meats, and wherewithal to reliſh them, and ſerve them up; the Aſphaltite-lake produced a ſalt, which, in the judgment of Galen, was for digeſtion and extenuation preferable to all other ſalts whatſoever. Then wheat, and barley, and other kinds of corn and grain, were ſo plentifully abundant, that it is in ſcripture (C) particularly denominated therefrom (D). That oxen, ſheep, goats, and the like, together with

[t] Vide eund. l. 1. c. 46.

(B) This land was among other things preferred to Egypt, in that it enjoyed the benefit of rain (99); but that it exceeded this laſt for wine and oil is certain; and though it is not to be denied, but Egypt had her olives (100), they were certainly inferior to thoſe of Paleſtine. Whence the queſtion is aſked (1), What did the ten tribes? They ſent oil into Egypt. Solomon, we know, ſent yearly to the king of Tyre twenty cors, or meaſures of pure oil (2). Then for vines, the Egyptians had none at all. Herodotus ſays (3), they drank a liquor made of Barley to ſupply their want of wine (4). Accordingly Judæa is by Rabſhakeh called a land——of vineyards, a land of oil-olives (5). In ſhort, who knows not, that the wine of Aſcalon, the wine of Gaza, and Sarepta, were famed among the moſt remote nations? ſays Reland.

(C) It is there called, a land of wheat and barley (6).

(D) And well it ſeems to have deſerved it, ſeeing Solomon could annually afford to ſend the king of Tyre a preſent of twenty thouſand cors, or meaſures of wheat (7).

(99) Vide Proc. Gaz. ad Deuteron. (100) Vide Theop. de Cauſ. Plant. lib. vi. c. 12. (1) In Ichar Rabbal. fol. 85. 3. (2) 1 Kings v. 11. (3) Lib. ii. c. 77. (4) See vol. I. p. 569. (5) 2 Kings xviii. 32. (6) Deut. xiii. 8. (7) 1 Kings ubi ſup.

with fowl, were in no degree wanting, appears by the frequent sacrifices, and by the pasture grounds occupied by the two tribes and half on the other side of Jordan, not to mention the pastures of Sarona, and the plains about Lydda, Jamnia, and elsewhere. For fish; the Jordan and sea of Tiberias yielded a sufficient supply, as may be gathered from the New Testament; nor are we told, that they are at this day deficient therein. Besides, the sea not only afforded quantities sufficient for the people on the coast, but helped to subsist even the citizens of Jerusalem, from whence you have the fish-gate of that metropolis, if any credit is to be given to St. Jerome [u], to omit the fish that was certainly taken in the other streams and waters of this land. Plenty of honey, besides what was collected by the bee, was here to be had in the woods, and flowing from trees (E). Of trees, the palm of this country, and of shrubs, the balsam, are eminent above all others. The fruit of the palm of this country was thought the only of the sort capable of being kept for a future store (F). The balsam of Jericho

[u] Apud Reland, Pal. Illust. lib. 1. c. 57. p. 382.

(E) This seems to be an extraordinary production; but is nevertheless supposed to have been the μέλι ἄγριον or wild honey, St. John found in the wilderness (8). Our author cannot agree with Bochart, that this wild honey was deposited by the industrious bee; but recurs to Diodorus Siculus, who, speaking of the Nabatæans who inhabited these parts, tell us what this wild honey, or μέλι ἄγριον, may have been, saying, in their trees they have a honey they call wild, which they drink mixed with water; as also Pliny, who, speaking of what he calls the Elaeomeli, or oil-honey, says that it flows from the olive; and that in the maritime parts of Syria it comes spontaneously, flowing from the trees, of a fat substance, thicker than honey, finer than rosin, and sweet of taste: and hence concludes, that Maundrell (9) was so sensible of a strong smell of honey in the maritime parts of Palestine. Pliny, however, does not tell us, it has the smell of honey, but that this is the μέλι ἄγριον, or wild honey of Scripture, we think there is all the reason in the world to believe.

(F) This is the opinion of Theophrastus (10); and doubtless he had good ground for what he says. In three sandy places only, says he, is the fruit of the palm fit to be laid up for store. These four places are Jericho, Phasaelis, Archelais, and Livias.

(8) Vide Reland. Pal Illust. lib. i. c. 57. p. 382. (9) Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. p. 66. (10) De Hist. Plant. lib. xi. c. 8.

Jericho (G) is famous beyond any thing of its kind, and applauded as the peculiar product of this happy country (H), and a moſt precious drug it was among the Greeks and Romans, as every ordinary ſcholar cannot but know. Wool muſt have been a natural commodity in a country which fed ſuch flocks of ſheep, and cotton is the common product of theſe parts, and of this country, particularly about Lydda and the plain of Eſdraelon. To go about to prove all this by authorities, antient and modern, were endleſs and mere affectation. Let it ſuffice, that we obſerve of this ſmall region, that to have ſuſtained ſuch numbers of inhabitants, who in a manner lived upon their own growth, without any conſiderable aſſiſtance by foreign commerce, it muſt have been by a far more noble and fertile place, than by ſome at preſent repreſented.

WE have been naturally induced to break into the order we have hitherto followed in our other geographical ſections, and now, with ſeeming irregularity, we come to ſpeak of the extent of this country, which from north to ſouth The Extent

(G) Theophraſtus (11) leaves us in ſome doubt as to the ſpot which propuced this precious balm, ſaying in general, that it grew in the valley of Syria; which is thus particularized by Juſtin (12): "There is a valley ſurrounded by mountains, as it were with a "wall—and the extent of the place may be about two hundred "acres. Its name is Hiericho [Jericho]. In this valley there is "a wood moſt famous for the fertility and amenity of its trees, "but above all for the balm and opobalſam." The ſame is atteſted by Strabo, Joſephus, and others.

(H) So writes Joſephus, Pliny, and Dioſcorides. "But [ſays "Reland] (13), Proſper Alpinus and Peter Bellonius will have it, "that theſe are miſtaken, becauſe it now grows in Judæa no "where but in gardens; and requires there to be tended very "carefully; whereas balſam of every ſort comes from Arabia, as "from its native ſoil, and is thence conveyed into other regions. "But I, for my part, [continues he] am of opinion, that Joſephus "and Dioſcorides wrote nothing but the truth, for there is no "reaſon why plants, which ſeventeen hundred years ago flouriſhed "in one country, may not in length of time, be produced in "countries far diſtant therefrom. But ſuppoſing even the nature "of the ſoil to have changed; it would be no ſuch great wonder. "Viciſſitudes of this kind certainly happen, as well as of "others.

(11) Ubi ſup. lib. ix. c. 6. (12) Lib. xxxvii.
(13) Ubi ſup.

ſouth did not exceed ſeventy leagues, and from eaſt to weſt not above thirty.

The Soil. BEING partly in the fourth and fifth north climate its ſoil was of the beſt, tho' greatly diverſified, as the country happened to be mountainous or plain, cloſe or open, bordering on ſalt waters or freſh, which ſeveral circumſtances of ſituation muſt naturally have propagated an almoſt endleſs variety of things pleaſant and uſeful, neceſſary for life, and incentive to luxury. In ſhort, ſuch a country it muſt have been, as Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus (I) would have preferred in his choice. But to recur to authorities for all this, even from the moſt approved writers of antiquity, Greek and Roman, would be, as we apprehend, to no purpoſe, and draw us into a length we would avoid as much as poſſible; we ſhall therefore content ourſelves with this general ſummary, which will raiſe a ſufficient idea of this choſen ſeat, that, when carefully huſbanded, it was inferior to no place elſe in the world. We would only add, that the ſoil is ſo very light, that it is ploughed with the leaſt labour, tho' returning an exuberant increaſe (K), and that the nature of it is ſuch, that to plough it deep were to to deſtroy almoſt the hopes of any tolerable crop (L).

Why ſo much altered for the worſe. How it has happened, that this country has changed face from ſuch beauty to ſuch deformity, may be with no great difficulty underſtood; for overwhelmed by calamities of the moſt bitter and deſtructive ſort, and its natives driven

(I) He ſays (14) he ſhould not ſo much value a country for one production only, nor would chuſe to dwell where, at the ſame time the fields ſhould be fruitful, there ſhould be a total want of all the other neceſſaries of life, or at leaſt a ſcarcity of them; but that he would chuſe a country which ſhould be as much as poſſible ſufficient of itſelf, or ſtand the leaſt in need of foreign aſſiſtance. This he thinks to have been the happy lot of Italy.

(K) Brocard (15) ſays, he has often with his own eyes ſeen two oxen only at the plough, and that the land ſtands in need of manure of no ſort, being naturally very fat and rich.

(L) The ſoil being ſhallow, if the plough went deep, the clods would dry up by the heat that would be reverberated from the ſtony bottom. In Syria therefore they make uſe of ſmall ploughs, ſays Theophraſtus (16).

(14) In Antiq. Rom. lib. i. p. 28. (15) In Deſcript Terr. Sanct. c. 11. (16) Ubi ſupr. lib. iii. c. 25.

driven out to wander the wide world over, and the very ſoil itſelf groaning under the heavy preſſure of divine vengeance, it became quite another place: And more particularly after the mercileſs and mutual devaſtations during the holy war, between the chriſtians and Mohammedans. This great and blindly zealous ſtrife has ever ſince ſubjected this now unhappy ſpot to perpetual ravages and inſecurity, from the Arabs and other wandering tribes; ſo that, upon the ſurface of the whole earth, there is not a place more dangerous or comfortleſs to travel in, than is now this promiſed land, as by every traveller we are told. How then can we, with any juſtice, compare the preſent with the antient aſpect of this country? So that it is in vain to object the ſterility and naked rocks now beheld, and the rather as nothing we are told is plainer, than that theſe ſtony heights were once covered with ſoil [u] (M). But what muſt

[u] See Maund. p. 64.

(M) Maundrell's words upon this occaſion being very remarkable and particular, we cannot help tranſcribing what he ſays (17). — "All along this days travel —— the country diſcovered a quite "different face from what it had before, preſenting nothing to the "view, in moſt places, but naked rocks, mountains, and preci-"pices. At ſight of which pilgrims are apt to be much aſtoniſh-"ed, baulked in their expectations, finding that country in ſuch "an inhoſpitable condition concerning whoſe pleaſantneſs and "plenty they had before formed in their minds ſuch high ideas, "from the deſcription given of it in the word of God: inſomuch, "that it almoſt ſtartles their faith, when they reflect how it could "be poſſible for a land like this to ſupply food for ſo prodigious a "number of inhabitants, as are ſaid to have been poiled in the "twelve tribes at one time; the ſum given in by Joab (18) amount-"ing to no leſs than thirteen hundred thouſand fighting men, be-"ſides women and children. But it is certain, that any man, who "is not a little byaſſed to infidelity before, may ſee, as he paſſes "along, arguments enough to ſupport his faith againſt ſuch ſcruples "—For it is obvious for any one to obſerve, that theſe rocks and "hills muſt have been antiently covered with earth, and culti "vated, and made to contribute to the maintenance of the inha-"bitants, no leſs than if the country had been all plain: nay, per-"haps much more; foraſmuch as ſuch a mountainous and uneven "ſurface

(17) Journey from Alep. to Jeruſalem. (18) 1 Sam. xxiv.

must this country have been to have withstood the unparallelled and continued rage of the enemy it has so cruelly suffered? or what cannot an enemy do to destroy and utterly lay waste a country? Josephus [x] to our purpose writes, "The marching of his army [Simon's] was the same thing "to the people, that a flight of locusts are to a wood: "not a leaf, nor a spire of grass, was there left; not any "thing more than a desart, that they left behind them—— "Then the malicious rage of Simon and his keen animosi- "ty against the Idumæans was still a farther aggravation— "In fine, what with burning, demolishing, devouring the "fruits of the earth, or trampling them under foot, Si- "mon's troops did not leave so much, even in a fruitful "well-cultivated country, as the least sign or memorial "of what it had formerly been." This, and much more, is to be found in this and other authors; and if after this any one should think fit to object to us, what is said by Strabo relating to Jerusalem (N), as if it included the whole country;

[x] De Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 7.

"surface affords a larger space of ground for cultivation, than this "country would amount to if it were all reduced to a perfect level "—— For the husbanding of these mountains, their manner was, "to gather up the stones, and place them in several lines along "the sides of the hills, in form of a wall. By such borders they "supported the mould from tumbling, or being washed down; "and formed many beds of excellent soil, rising gradually one "above another, from the bottom to the top of the mountains "—Of this form of culture you see evident footsteps, where-ever "you go in all the mountains of Palestine. Thus the very rocks "were made fruitful: and perhaps there is no spot of ground in "this whole land, that was not improved to the production of "something or other, ministering to the assistance of human life; "for, than the plain country nothing can be more fruitful, whe- "ther for the production of corn or cattle, and consequently of "milk."——He then proceeds to shew, how this whole country, so wild at present, may have been, as it doutless was, a paradise both for pleasure and production.

(N) He mistakenly says (19), that Moses led them to the place where Jerusalem stood, which he easily obtained, as it was a place not worth the contending for; for that it was rocky, though it abounded with water; and the country about for the space of sixty stades or.

(19) Lib. xvi.

country; we ſhall anſwer, that they deal expreſly againſt the plain ſenſe of Strabo, who confines himſelf to a ſpace only of ſixty furlongs, which the more rocky and inacceſſible it had been, ſo much the more apt and convenient to be the ſeat of the metropolis and great arſenal of the nation, as experience evinced.

THE cities of this land we ſhall forbear to deſcribe, though few cities have been of greater ſplendor, or on all accounts more worthy of notice; but as, in our larger geographical ſections, we have avoided the taſk, as too tedious and exceeding the bounds we preſcribe to ourſelves, as well as to avoid repetition, and anticipating what may be more properly mentioned in the body of our hiſtory, we ſhall do by theſe now, as we formerly y did by thoſe of Egypt, refer them, till they come to be occaſionally mentioned or deſcribed, and proceed to what is more immediately to our preſent purpoſe. The Cities.

MEANING the more remarkable things and rarities of this country, which, as nicely as we can diſtinguiſh and ſeparate them, we will divide into the natural and artificial; though we might alſo, with great reaſon, divide them in general into the falſe, doubtful, and certain; but we ſhall leave that to the reader's own diſcretion or diſcernment. Upon mount Carmel they find melons, olives, and ſuch like fruits in ſtone, moſt exactly imitating thoſe vegetable productions, both within and without, and the melons even when opened emitting an agreeable ſmell; our author [z] adds, that here alſo are found a kind of oyſters of the ſame nature, and even, as reported, bunches of grapes of the ſame ſtony conſiſtence; but whether owing to petrifaction, or the wanton imitation of nature, is left undecided —— Near Rachel's tomb, not far from Bethlehem, is a ſmall ſpot of ground, whereon are picked up a little ſort of ſmall round ſtones, exactly reſembling peas; owing, as they pretend, to a miracle wrought by the bleſſed virgin, who, to puniſh a ſurly ruſtic who refuſed her a handful of that pulſe, converted Natural rarities.

y See vol. i. p. 489. &c. vol. iv. pag. 308, 4to.

z Le Bruyn, Voyage au Levant,

or furlongs dry, barren, and rocky. But what is this to the purpoſe? this was but a ſmall part of the country, and concludes nothing in prejudice to the reſt; for what country is there that wants its deſarts, wilds, and rocks?

converted them into ſtones [a] (O). The ſand of the river Belus, as ſuppoſed, not far from Acra or Ptolemais, is famous for being an excellent material for the making of glaſs, and not only ſo, but for having miniſtered the firſt occaſion and hint of that fine invention [b] ——— In the way from Jeruſalem to the Jordan deſcending a ſteep hill they ſhew what they call the fountain of the apoſtles; ſo called from a tradition current, that here the apoſtles were wont to refreſh themſelves in their frequent journeyings between Jeruſalem and Jericho [c]——— Soon after, on the ſame road, they ſhew the mountainous deſart where our Saviour was led by the ſpirit to be tempted of the Devil; a moſt miſerable and barren place, ſo ſeemingly torn and diſordered, that the beholder is ready to believe, the earth had ſuffered ſome extraordinary convulſion, in which its very bowels have been turned outwards [d].——Next to this, which is ſeemingly a part of it, is a mountain called Quadrantana, or Quarantania, of ſteep and moſt dangerous aſcent, where, as they ſay, the devil took our bleſſed Saviour to tempt him with the deluſive ſight of the earth and its glories [e]. And here they ſhew alſo a number of ſtones, which they will have to have been the very ſame the devil would have had converted into loaves [f] (P). On the top of this mount is a ſmall chapel, and on the prominence of it another, about which are many caves

[a] Maundr. Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag. 87. Sandys, &c. [b] Maundr. ubi ſup. pag. 56. [c] Idem ibid. pag. 79. [d] Idem ibid. p. 79. [e] Idem ibid. p. 80. [f] Radziv. Peregrin Jeroſolym, p. 99.

(O) This ſtory is told another way. They ſay, the bleſſed virgin going one day from Bethlehem to Jeruſalem, ſaw a countryman ſowing of ſomething, and aſking him what it was he was ſowing, he anſwered, ſtones; that this rude anſwer of his coſt him dear; for that, by the will and power of God, this ſeed produced nothing but ſtones in likeneſs of peas; and from that time, ſay they, this ſame field hath afforded nothing elſe (20).

(P) The ſame author obſerves in the ſame place, and thoſe who would have this deſart to have been what we commonly call a wilderneſs, or wood, are moſt egregiouſly miſtaken; for that nothing like a tree is here to bee ſeen, but rocks only, and moſt rugged cliffs.

(20) Le Bruyn, Voy. au Lev. vol. iv. p. 231. in 4to.

caves and holes, where, as hideous as the place was, hermits and anchorites took up their ſolitary abode [g]——— At the diſtance of ſome leagues from the Dead-ſea there are ſuch ſaline efflorescencies, as are obſerved in the valley of Salt near Aleppo [h], after the winter's inundation; a demonſtrative ſign, that the whole plain about muſt be, in an extraordinary manner, impregnated with that mineral [i].——At about an hour's diſtance from the Dead-ſea the ground is uneven, and varied into hillocks, and much reſembling the places in England where there have been antiently lime kilns; which are ſuggeſted to have been the pits where the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah were overthrown by the four kings [k].——In the plain of Jericho is a very remarkable fruit, called by the Arabs Za-cho-ne, it grows on a thorny buſh, with ſmall leaves; and both in ſhape and colour reſembles a ſmall unripe walnut. The kernels of this fruit the Arabs bray in a mortar; and putting the pulp into ſcalding water, ſkim off an oil which riſes to the top; which oil taken inwardly for bruiſes, or applied outwardly for green wounds, is preferred to balm of Gilead [l].——In the ſame plain alſo are found what they call roſes of Jericho, of a very miraculous nature. They are ſaid to give eaſe to women at the time of delivery [m]; and to blow only on Chriſtmas-eve, according to ſome [n], or on all the feſtival days of our lady according to others • (Q); notions now on all hands exploded

[g] Vide eoſdem in loc. ſup. cit. [h] See vol. ii. p. 266. [i] Maundr. ubi ſup. pag. 81. [k] Idem ibid. pag. 83. [l] Idem ibid. pag. 87. [m] Radziv. ubi ſup. p. 98. [n] Theven. Voy. au Levant, p. 1. lib. i. c. 41. Le Bruyn, Voy. au Levant, vol. 4. pag. 277. in 4to. [o] Theven. ubi ſup.

(Q) This property of theſe roſes, as they are called, ſeems to bear ſo conſiderable an affinity with Sir John Maundeville's (21) origin of roſes, that we cannot help inſerting his moſt extraordinary tradition at length, as it ſtands in his own words. "And between "the Cytee [Bethlehem] and the church is the feld floridus; that "is to ſeyne, the feld flouriſched: for als moche as a fayre "mayden was blamed with wrong, and ſlaundred, that ſche had "done fornycacioun, for whiche cauſe ſche was demed to the "dethe, and to be brent in that place, to the whiche ſche was "ladd.

(21) Pag. 84. in the laſt edition 8vo.

ploded (R). To theſe we may add the wood olive of the ſame place. The outward coat of it is green, and like that of the common olive we eat; but being taken off, you find a nut of woody conſiſtence. This has ribs length-ways, and is of the thickneſs of an almond-ſhell, and the kernel within is like a piſtachio, within ſide of a cheſtnut brown, and inſipid to all likelihood [p].——Between Jeruſalem and Bethlehem

[p] Le Bruyn, ubi ſup. pag. 278.

" ladd. And as the fyre began to brenne about hire, ſche made " hire preyeres to oure lord, that als wiſſely as ſche was not " gylty of that ſynne, that he would helpe hire, and make it to " be known to alle men, of his mercyfulle grace. And when " ſche hadde thus ſayd, ſche entered into the fuyer; and anon " was the fuyr quenced and oute: and the brondes, that weren " brennyne, becomen rede roſeres, and the brondes, that weren " not kyndled, becamen white roſers, fulle of roſes. And theiſe " weren the firſt roſeres and roſes, bothe white and rede, that " every onn may ſaughe." &c. and ſo on. So groſs were the ſuperſtitions of the times, and ſo thickly benighted the underſtandings of the generation, that nothing was too hard to be believed by the univerſally credulous multitude. Which being perceived, and the ſweet gains of pious fraud once taſted, by the deſigning and avaritious prieſt, ſhrines, and ſanctuaries, and ſtrange ſtories, to derive reſpect on particular places, became innumerable. In ſhort, if ſo ſincere, ſo worthy, and ſo ſenſible and knowing a man, as Sir John moſt plainly appears to have been, by that part of his travels which is properly his own, and which is not half ſo much valued as it ought to be, could be ſo monſtrouſly gulled of his ſenſes, in this and other reſpects, what muſt we conceive, think ye, of the common rate of his contemporaries? The impudence of the clergy was immenſe, their avarice without bounds, and their ambition infinite.

(R) It ſeems they will not blow except they are put into water; but in that caſe, they will blow in any ſeaſon, and at any hour (22). Beſides they are not peculiar to the plain of Jericho; they are to be found elſewhere, and particularly in the deſarts about the mount Sinai (23); and yet people are ſtill ſo fond of this idle notion, that they are reſolved never to part with it; ſome of theſe we know, but their names muſt be a ſecret in this caſe, tho' well known in others.

(22) Theven. Voy. au Lev. part 1. lib. ii. c. 41. Le Bruyn, Voy. au Lev. vol. 4. pag. 278. in 4to. (23) Theven. ubi ſup.

Bethlehem was the valley of Rephaim, ſo famous for the overthrow of the Philiſtines by David [q].——Between the ſame places is the turpentine-tree, in the ſhade of which the bleſſed virgin is ſaid to have repoſed (S), when ſhe was carrying Chriſt in her arms to preſent him to the Lord at Jeruſalem [r].——Between Bethlehem and the convent of St. John the Baptiſt is that famous valley, where the angel made ſuch prodigious havock of the great Sennacherib's mighty army in the ſpace of one night [s].——Either in, or cloſe upon, the ſkirts of the ſame valley is a village, called Booteſhellah, which is reported to have this ſtrange property, that no Turk or Mohammedan can live in it above two years [t] (T).—— In leſs than an hour from this ſame place is the fountain, where,

[q] Maundr. ubi ſup. pag. 87. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid. pag. 91. [t] Mauudr. ubi ſup. pag. 92.

(S) The tradition of the country goes, that this tree bent itſelf, to afford the virgin a more perfect ſhade than it could otherwiſe have done (24).

(T) Where ſtrength can be of no avail, art, they ſay, may be uſed. In this inſtance, the Chriſtians have, it ſeems, outwitted the Turks, who, weak enough to believe there may be truth in the ſtory, leave the village to them, without moleſtation (25). Sandys (26) takes this ſame place to be called Bezec, and alſo tells us, that the Chriſtians have the good luck to keep it to themſelves; the place having, as the report went, actually proved mortal to ſuch Mohammedans as had attempted to make it the place of their abode: ſo that, if actual experience has given birth to this notion, it may be doubtful, whether the Turks took the fright of themſelves, or whether it was artfully injected by the Chriſtians. Thevenot (27) calls it, Boticella, and tells us, a report goes, that no Turk can live there above eight days. We had almoſt forgot, that prince Radziville calls this ſame place, Bethagil; that this is the ſame place meant by the three former travellers is evident, by the ſituation he gives it, agreeing therein with them, tho' at the ſame time he magnifies the miracle ſtill more than Thevenot (28). He ſays, no one circumciſed can ſurvive

(24) Le Bruyn ubi ſup. 234. (25) Maundr. Jour. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag. 91. (26) In his Travels, pag. 142. (27) Voy. au Lev. part 1. lib. ii. c. 47. (28) In Peregrin. Jeroſolym. p. 88.

where, they falſly (V) ſay, Philip baptized the Ethiopian eunuch.

vive the third day here; but on the third night they would ſurely die; which, he ſays, was moſt ſolemnly affirmed to him, even by two Arabians, who had almoſt experienced the whole of the thing. The ſame Arabs told him, that the firſt night they were taken with a violent pain in the head; that on the ſecond their whole body ſo ſwelled up, that for fear of immediate death, they were obliged to be removed; and that the one of them was four, the other ſix, months before they were reſtored to their former health. In fine, that when he arrived near the place, no Mohammedan that was with him would venture in, but, to avoid the danger, choſe rather to go round about. As it were to confirm this miraculous relation, he inſtances another place indued with the ſame deſtructive property to all the circumciſed, which is a nunnery about three miles from Damaſcus, where none under the circumſtances of circumciſion can outlive the third day. This, he ſays, is ordered, as many affirm, by the ſpecial grace and favour of God, in order to protect the chaſtity of the virgins from the unſparing luſt of the Pagans or Infidels. Stories moſt religiouſly cultivated, and by the weak as greedily ſwallowed.

(V) Falſe it ſeemed to our traveller, and a thing impoſſible. His objection is the inacceſſibleneſs of the place for an horſeman, and much more for a chariot, ſuch as the eunuch rode in. However, he grants, that the road to it may have been ſmoother formerly than now, and thinks there are ſome indications which ſeemingly declare it to have been ſo (29). Prince Radziville, (30) not ſo free with his objections to the moſt palpable falſhoods impoſed on him in theſe parts, his ſuperſtition devouring his great good ſenſe, takes occaſion from the nature of this fountain to combat the doctrine of the Anabaptiſts. They, ſays he, cite this baptiſm of the eunuch as an example to juſtify their practice; but continues, that had they ſeen the place they would be of another mind; that the ſpring is ſo inconſiderable, as ſcarce to afford water enough to to wet both feet together; and thence concludes, that Philip only took up the water, and poured it on the eunuch's head, and in that manner baptized him. Le Bruyn (31) ſeems to deſtroy this piece of criticiſm by ſaying, that the water of this ſame ſpring falls into a baſon made of very large ſtones, by which deſcription we might imagine it to be a very handſome and convenient dipping place. It is ſtrange, that when travallers take upon them to deſcribe a place they cannot do it to purpoſe.

(29) Maundr Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag. 92. (30) Ubi ſup. (31) Voy. au. Lev. vol. iv. pag 207. in 4to.

eunuch.———Somewhat beyond this is the wilderneſs of St. John; a wilderneſs called becauſe very rocky and mountainous, though well cultivated and producing plenty of corn, wine, and oil [u] (X). ———An hour within this wilderneſs is the cave and fountain, where, as they ſay, Sir John exerciſed thoſe ſevere auſterities related of him by the evangeliſt Matthew [x].———Not far from this ſame cave are ſome old locuſt-trees, which our author [y] calls the monuments of the ignorance of the middle times (Y).———A little way from hence is the valley of Elah, where David ſlew the giant; as alſo Modon, on a high hill, the burrying-place of the Maccabees [y].———Between the convent of St. John and Jeruſalem in the convent of the holy croſs, as by the Greeks it is called, they ſhew you the earth which nouriſhed the root that bare the tree, which yielded the timber that made the croſs. The hole in the earth where ſtood this tree is ſhewn under the high altar; and marvellouſly revered by the pilgrims, who are ſuch very ſtocks as to fall down and worſhip it [z].———About a furlong from the church of the holy ſepulchre they ſhew the place where ſtood the houſe of Zebedee. The Greeks, who have poſſeſſion here, pretend, that Zebedee being a fiſherman was wont to bring fiſh from Joppa hither, and vend it at this place.——A little farther on

[u] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid.
[z] Idem ibid. Radziv. pereg. Teroſol. p. 90. Le Bruyn, &c.

(X) We know of no traveller, but our author, that takes notice of this; the reſt ſpeak of it as completely a deſart or wilderneſs. Radziville (32) takes notice of nothing here in the vegetable way, except a few ſmall tufts of poor buſhes.

(Y) Theſe trees the fryars aver to be the very ſame that yielded ſuſtenance to the Baptiſt; and the popiſh pilgrims, who dare not be wiſer than their blind guides, gather the fruit of them, and carry it off with great devotion (33). The thing being ſo, it is impoſſible we ſhould doubt our author of ſaying more than he ſaw or heard, we wonder there ſhould be ſuch a ſilence as there is with other pilgrims of note, concerning theſe extraordinary trees. Prince Radziville (34) is at a loſs to know how he ſubſiſted here, ſo far was he, ſeemingly, from hearing of, or ſeeing, theſe locuſt-trees. Poſſibly it may be a new device.

(32) Peregr. Jeroſol. pag. 89.
(33) Maund. ubi ſup.
(34) Ubi ſup.

on is the place where antiently, as they say, stood the iron gate which opened to Peter of its own accord [a].——In Jerusalem also they point out the very place where, as they say, our Lord appeared to the three Maries, as the friars there will have it, though the evangelist Matthew records but one [b].——In the Armenian church, in this same city, built upon that part of mount Sion within the walls, they shew the place where saint James, the brother of saint John, was beheaded; and in a small chapel on the north side of it the very spot of his decollation [c].——In the same church they shew three large rough stones, held in great veneration, for that one of them was the very stone on which Moses cast the two tables, when violently moved with indignation at the idolatry of the Israelites; and the other two, for that they were brought, the one from the place of Christ's baptism, the other from the place of his transfiguration [d].——A little farther they shew the place where stood the house of Annas the high-priest [e].——A little without Sion-gate, under the altar of a small chapel belonging to the Armenians, they boast of the very stone that was laid to secure the door of our saviour's sepulchre (Z) [f]. In the court of the chapel, built where Annas's house is said to have stood, they have an olive tree, of which they have a tradition (A), that Christ was

[a] Maund. ubi. sup. pag. 98. [b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem ibid Radziv. &c. [d] Maund. ubi. sup. pag. 99. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Idem ibid.

(Z) "It was a long time kept in the church of the Sepulchre; "but the Armenians, not many years since, stole it from thence "by stratagem, and conveyed it to this place.—— It is two yards "and a quarter long, high one yard, and broad as much,— "plaistered all over except in five or six little places, where it is "left bare to receive the immediate kisses and other devotions of "pilgrims (35)."

(A) A tradition it seems, which varies a little. This tree, which, by our traveller, stands in the court before what was the house of Annas, is, by prince Radziville (36), removed to the house of Cajaphas; and this he not only does, but also forgets the story

(35) Mandd. ubi sup. pag. 100. (36) Pereg. Jerosol pag. 59.

was for ſome time chained to it, by the order of Annas, to prevent his eſcaping [g].——Near a little cell belonging to a chapel, built where ſtood the houſe of Cajaphas, which they will have to have been the priſon where Chriſt was kept till the next morning, they point out the place where Peter irreſolutely denied his maſter [h] (B).——Not much farther, without the city-gate, near the church of the Cœnaculum, is a well, which is ſaid to mark out the place where the apoſtles divided from each other, in order to go every man to his charge [i].——On the weſt of the valley of Hinnon, is the place called antiently the Potters-field, but ſince the field of blood, and, for the particular veneration it has obtained among Chriſtians, the Campo Sancto: a ſmall ſpot of ground, not above thirty yards long and half as much in breadth [k], with earth of ſo extraordinary a nature, that if a dead body be but laid upon it only, and not at all covered, it will conſume it away to the bare bones, within leſs than twenty four hours, ſay

[g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem ibid. pag. 100. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid. pag. 101.

ſtory of Chriſt's having been chained to it. But Thevenot and Le Bruyn continue the tree in its firſt place, the former (37) ſaying, that he was bound to it, till he received ſentence; the other (38), that here he was made faſt, when Malchus gave him the buffet; for Malchus they will certainly have this anonymus perſon to have been.

(B) Travellers all agree, that this happened at what they ſhew for the ſpot where Cajaphas's houſe once ſtood; but they differ a little in the deſcription of the ſpot. Prince Radziville (39) tells us, there is an olive-tree on the ſuppoſed ſpot; Thevenot changes it for an orange-tree (40): Le Bruyn (41) mentions no tree at all. There is alſo ſome variation as to where the cock was perched when he crowed; prince Radziville (42) talks of both an olive and an orange-tree in the ſame court, and ſays, the cock crowed upon the latter: Thevenot (43) writes, that ſome ſeven or eight ſteps from the orange-tree, he mentions, is the place of the pillar where the cock crew: Le Bruyn (44) tells us, they ſhew a piece of the pedeſtal of the pillar, whereon the cock crew twice; and that in memory thereof the cock himſelf is repreſented in marble upon the wall.

(37) Voy. au Lev. par. 1. lib. ii. c. 49. (38) Voy. au Lev. vol. iv. pag. 177. in 4to. (39) Ubi ſup. (40) Ubi ſup. (41) Ubi ſup. (42) Ubi ſup. (43) Ubi ſup. (44) Ubi ſup.

ſay ſome [l], or within eight and forty according to others [m] (C); but the ſuddenneſs of this effect is diſputed (D).—— In the valley of Jehoſaphat is, 1. The well of Nehemiah, ſo called, becauſe it is reputed to be the ſame place whence that reſtorer of Iſrael ſo miraculouſly recovered the fire of the altar after the Babyloniſh captivity, as mentioned in the firſt chapter of the ſecond book of the Maccabees [n]. 2. A little higher, on the left hand, in the ſame valley, is a tree, ſuppoſed to mark out the place where the prophet Iſaiah was ſawn aſunder [o]. 3. About a hundred paces higher on the ſame ſide is the pool of Siloam [p] (E). 4. About a furlong farther on the ſame ſide is a fountain called after the bleſſed virgin;

[l] Radziv. Pereg. Jeroſ. pag. 64. [m] Sandys, pag. 145.
[n] Maund. Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag. 102. [o] Idem ibid.
[p] Idem ibid.

(C) Prince Radziville (45) profeſſes to have been an eye-witneſs, that this earth performs the effect within twenty four hours; and Sandys (46) verily believes, it will perform what is ſaid of it in eight and forty hours. A greedy grave he (47) calls it, and great enough to devour the dead of a whole nation. It is now the great ſepulchre of the Armenians, who, for a ſmall gratuity, admit the dead bodies of other nations; ſo that it may be ſtill called a place of burial for ſtrangers. It is walled in, that the bones of the Chriſtians may not be abuſed by the Turks (48); and the one half of it is taken up by a building in the nature of a charnel-houſe, ſquare, and twelve yards high, with little open domes at top, convenient to let down the dead bodies. This charnel-houſe is the proper place of burial (49).

(D) Maundrell (50) tells us, the earth here is, as he expreſſes himſelf, of a chalky ſubſtance; and that, looking down through the holes formerly mentioned, he could ſee many bodies under ſeveral degrees of decay; and that thence he conjectured, and ſeemingly with reaſon good, that this grave does not make the very quick diſpatch commonly reported.

(E) From this pool all the gardens in the valley of Jehoſaphat are ſaid (51) to be abundantly watered. The Turks, it ſeems, hold this

(45) Pereg. Jeroſol. pag. 64. (46) Travels, pag. 145.
(47) Ibid. (48) Radziv: ubi ſup. (49) Maund. Journ. from Alep. to Jeroſ. pag. 101. Vide etiam Sandys, ubi ſup.
(50) Ubi ſup. (51) Radzivil. Pereg. Jeroſol. pag. 63, 64.

virgin; becauſe, as reported, ſhe was wont to reſort to this water; but at what time, and upon what occaſions, is not agreed [q] (F). 5. Over-againſt this fountain, on the other ſide of the valley, is the place called Siloe, where Solomon is ſaid to have kept his ſtrange wives; and above it a hill, which they will have to have been the mountain of Offence; becauſe Solomon there built his high-places [r]. 6. On the ſame ſide, and not far from Siloe, they ſhew another Aceldama, or field of blood; ſo called, becauſe here, as they pretend, Judas, by the juſt judgment of God, met with his compounded death [s].——In the ſide of the aſcent from the valley of Jehoſaphat to the city of Jeruſalem they ſhew a broad ſtone, on which they will have it the protomartyr St. Stephen was ſtoned to death; and not far from thence a grot, where, they tell you, the outragious

[q] Idem ibid. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid.

this water to be ſacred, and a number of them, almoſt every day, waſh themſelves therein. For though by the ablution of any water they fancy themſelves to be cleanſed from ſin, they particularly expect it here. It has a deſcent to it by ſteps (52); and contains not above half an acre of ground. How much ſoever its water may be valued, it ſeems to be ſometimes wanted; for we have a witneſs (54), who ſaw it dry in the bottom.

(F) As there is nothing too ridiculous to be expected in the traditionary ſtories here, it need not be wondered, that they are ſilly enough to ſay, that here the virgin was wont to waſh her clouts (55). Sandys (56) is aſhamed to account for the name this ſpring is honoured with; but Le Bruyn (57) has a cleanlier reaſon than is aſſigned above, and only ſays, that the ſame holy perſon was here wont to draw water, as ſhe returned from mount Sion. It was alſo called the fountain of the dragon (58); and the deſcent to it is pleaſant and commodious by ſeveral ſteps (59). It is repleniſhed with pleaſant waters (60), which are ſaid to be an immediate cure for fevers, if either bathed in or drank of (61).

(52) Vide idem ibid. pag. 64. (53) Sandys, pag. 146. (54) Idem ibid. (55) Radzivil. ubi ſup. pag. 63. Theven. par. 1. lib. ii. c. 49. (56) In his Trav. p. 147. (57) Voy. au Lev. vol. iv. pag. 184. in 4to. (58) Radziv. ubi ſup. (59) Le Bruyn, ubi ſup. (60) Sandys ubi ſup. (61) Theven. ubi. ſup.

ragious zealots threw his body, after they had ſated their cruel rage upon him [t] (G).——Between the foot of mount Olivet and the brook Cedron they ſhew you Gethſamene, an even plat of ground, not above fifty ſeven yards ſquare, of great fame for its olive-trees, which are ſaid to be the very ſame which ſtood here in the days of our Saviour [u] (H).——At the upper end of this garden is a flat naked ledge of rocks, reputed to be the place on which the apoſtles, Peter, James, and John, fell aſleep during the agony of our Lord; and a few paces thence a grotto, where, they ſay, Chriſt underwent that bitter part of his paſſion [x]——About eight paces from the place where the three apoſtles ſlept they ſhew a ſmall ſhred of ground, twelve yards long and one broad, ſuppoſed to be the very path on which the traitor Judas walked up to Chriſt, ſaying, hail maſter, and kiſſed him [y] (I).——

Not

[t] Maund. ubi ſup. [u] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid pag. 106. [y] Idem ibid.

(G) The ſtones here-abouts have a red ruſt upon them, which, they ſay, gives teſtimony of the bloodſhed of this holy perſon (62).

(H) In virtue of this tradition the olives, and olive-ſtones, and oil, here produced, became an excellent commodity in Spain (63). But that theſe trees cannot be ſo antient as pretended is evident, by the repeated teſtimony of Joſephus (64), that Titus, when he beſieged Jeruſalem, felled all the trees, within about an hundred furlongs of that city; and that, in conſequence of this, the ſoldiers were obliged to go to that diſtance for timber, to make their mounts when they aſſaulted the temple. But after all, they have ſeemingly more to ſay for themſelves, in ſupport of what they give out concerning theſe olive-trees, than of many other important matters they are very confident of; for the olives here being of an extraordinary ſize, they, according to the philoſophy of theſe parts, conclude the trees that produce them muſt be of an extraordinary age (65).

(I) Our author (66) obſerves, that this narrow path is ſeparated by a wall from the midſt of the garden, as a terra damnata; "a "work

(62) Vid. Sandys, ubi ſup. 145. (63) Maund. ubi ſup. pag. 105. (64) De Bell. Judaic. lib. vii. c. 15. (65) Vide Le Bruyn, Voy. au Lev. vol. iv. p. 191. in 4to. (66) Maund. ubi ſup. pag. 106.

Not far from the gate of St. Stephen they ſhew the palace of Pilate, or place rather where it ſtood [z] (K).——— From this ſpot you have a fair proſpect of the place where the temple ſtood, on the top of mount Moriah [a].——— Coming out from the houſe, pretended to have been Pilate's, is a deſcent, where was antiently the ſcala ſancta [b].

——From

[z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Idem ibid.

" work the more remarkable, ſays he, as being done by the " Turks, who, as well as Chriſtians, deteſt the very ground on " which was acted ſuch an infamous treachery.

(K) Prince Radziville (67) talks of the palace of Pilate itſelf as ſtill ſtanding, or at leaſt in his days, and particularly takes notice of a court belonging to it, paved with marble, which he ſuppoſes to be the very ſame St. John (68) calls the pavement; and adds, that it had on each hand a portico ſupported by porphyry columns, where that Roman governor was wont to ſit in judgment, and obſerves it was then the reſidence of the Turkiſh chief. Sandys (69) alſo makes mention of this ſame palace, which he will have to have been the ſame: but according to him the chief remains of it are, at the weſt corner, a pair of ſtairs, which led to Pilate's place of judgment; an antient arch that ſupports a ruined gallery; and in the eaſt ſide a two arched window; where, as they ſay, Pilate preſented Chriſt to the people. Thevenot (70) adds, that under this two-arched window, there, is inſcribed, Tolle, tolle, crucifige eum. Le Bruyn (71) delivers himſelf exactly to the ſame purpoſe, and they all agree the place in their time to have been the reſidence of the Turkiſh baſha, and the place of judgment for the city. But it is poſſible they may have been miſled, and confounded the palace of Herod with that of Pilate juſt by it; for Maundrell (72) takes notice of little more than an ordinary Turkiſh houſe on the ſpot, when he was there. He adds (73), that among other remarkables in this pretended houſe, they ſhew a room, where they ſay, our Saviour was ſcourged; but that, when he was there, it was no better than a weaver's ſhop. All our travellers agree, that from this houſe you have the fulleſt and moſt commodious proſpect of the ground whereon ſtood antiently the temple.

(67) Peregr. Jeroſol. p. 91. (68) C. xix. v. 13, (69) In his Trav. p. 150. (70) Voy. au Lev. par. 1. lib. ii. c. 37. (71) Voy. au Lev. vol. ii. p. 180. in 4to. (72) Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſal. pag. 106. (73) Ubi ſup. p. 107.

——From this same house they carry you along the Dolorous Way, as it is called; in which walk they first shew the place where Pilate brought forth our Lord to present him to the people, with that mystic saying, behold the man! Secondly, Where Christ fainted thrice under the weight of the cross. Thirdly, Where the blessed virgin swooned away at so tragical a spectacle. Fourthly, Where St. Veronica presented to him the handkerchief to wipe his bleeding brows. And, Fifthly, Where the soldiers compelled Simon the Cyrenean to bear his cross [c].——At Nazareth they shew the place of the Annunciation [d]; to be resumed hereafter. —— Not far from mount Hermon appears the mount of Beatitudes, where our Saviour delivered his sermon recorded in Matthew [e].——Lastly, In this same neighbourhood they shew the mount of Precipitation as they call it, or the brow of the hill, from whence the Nazarites would have thrown down Christ, incensed at the sermon he preached to them recorded by Luke [f]. These, with those we have occasionally mentioned before in the course of this section, are the more remarkable natural curiosities of this country; we now proceed to the artificial, as well as we can distinguish or separate them.

Artificial rarities.

Worthy of notice are the ruins of Ptolemais, or St. John d'Acre, or Acra, from the Hebrew name Accho. These ruins look as if the city had consisted of castles only, without the intermixture of private dwellings; it had two walls well fortified with bulwarks and towers, and each wall had a ditch lined with stone, and many secret posterns beneath; but now the huge walls and arches, turned topsy turvy, lie like rocks upon the foundation [g]. In the fields, without these once extraordinary works, are seen scattered up and down great balls of stone, of at least thirteen or fourteen inches diameter, part of the ammunition used in battering the city, the use of guns being then unknown [h]. Of the ruins within these broken walls, which, by some tokens of more than ordinary magnificence and strength, appear above the rest, are, 1. The cathedral dedicated to St. Andrew, not far from the sea-side, and high and conspicuous above the rest. 2. The church of St. John, the titular saint of this city. 3. The convent of the knights hospitallers,

[c] Idem ibid. p. 107. [d] Idem ibid. p. 112. [e] Idem ibid. p. 115. [f] Idem ibid. p. 116. [g] Sandys, lib. iii. p. 159. [h] Maund. Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. p. 54.

hoſpitallers, whoſe remaining walls bear ſufficient teſtimony of its former ſtrength. 4. The palace of the grand maſter of the order, ſtill exhibiting a large and noble ſtair-caſe, and part of a church, ſtill remaining in it. 5. Some remains of a large church formerly belonging to a nunnery [i]. Some pretend to farther and more diſcoveries of particular places (L): but all we ſhall farther obſerve is, that there are here ruins of a palace which had our king Richard for founder, as is not only acknowledged and reported, but confirmed alſo by the paſſant lion [k].——Sebaſta, or the antient Samaria, which, tho' now as it were wholly obliterated, and turned into garden-ground, yet retains ſome token of what it formerly has been; for on the north ſide of it is a large ſquare piazza, incompaſſed with pillars, and on the eaſt ſome poor remains of an old church, ſaid to have been built by the empreſs Helena, over the place where St. John the Baptiſt was both impriſoned and beheaded [l] (M).——Juſt without the city of Naploſa, in the narrow valley

[i] Idem ibid. [k] Sandys, ubi ſup. p. 260. [l] Maund. ubi ſup. p. 59.

(L) Thevenot (74) reckons, there are the remains of about thirty churches ſtill to be ſeen, and particularly of one above the reſt, where the knights had a treaſury, which they diſtinguiſhed with a piece of marble, and which, ſays he. not many years ago was brought away in a ſhip, which came for that end to Acra, tho' pretending only to buy goods. Sandys (75) relates, that this treaſure was in a vault of the ſame church, which, being known to the ſucceſſors of theſe knights, was, about forty years before his time, fetched away by the gallies of Malta, the inhabitants forſaking the town as ſoon as they landed. By Maundrell (76) it appears, that this ſame church was the cathedral itſelf of St. Andrew.

(M) "In the body of this church you go down a ſtair-caſe, "into the very dungeon where that holy blood was ſhed."; The Turks have this place, and over it have erected a ſmall moſch; into which they will admit a Chriſtian for a little piece of money (77)

(74) Voy. au. Lev. part 1. lib. ii. c. 53. (75) In his Trav. lib. iii. p. 160. (76) Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. p. 55. 77 Ibid. p. 59.

valley between mount Gerizim and Ebal, is a ſmall moſch, called by the name of Joſeph's ſepulchre, it being a tradition current in theſe parts, that the bones of that patriarch were here interred, after their tranſportation out of Egypt [m]. ——About the third part of an hour from the ſame town of Naploſa, they ſhew Jacob's well, not ſo famous for its author, as memorable for the conference our Saviour here had with the woman of Samaria (N). This well is at preſent covered with an old ſtone-vault, into which being let down through a very ſtrait hole, the mouth of the well itſelf is diſcovered. It is hollowed out of the firm rock, is about three yards in diameter, and thirty five in depth, five of which our traveller [n] found full of water, and thereby confutes a ſuperſtitious ſtory that has taken root among Chriſtians (O). ——The next thing more remarkably obſervable is the ſtately and much frequented church of the holy ſepulchre in Jeruſalem. But as it may be needleſs to deſcribe it in words, when we have ſo many exact plans and draughts of it, we ſhall haſten to what it contains. 1. Mount Calvary, with the very individual hole where the croſs of our Lord was planted, and the very cleft (P) ſaid to have been cauſed by the earthquake at his paſſion

[m] Idem ibid. p. 92. [n] Idem ibid. p. 63.

(N) This well ſeems at preſent to have been too far from Samaria for women to come thither to draw water; but it is pretty evident to the curious obſerver, that the city extended farther this way formerly, than it does now (78).

(O) It has been idly reported, and as ſimply believed, that this well is dry all the year round, except on the anniverſary of the day our Saviour ſat on it; but then bubbles up with abundance of water (79).

(P) "This cleft, as it now appears, is about a ſpan wide, at "its upper part, and two deep, after which it cloſes: but it opens "again below, (as you may ſee in another chapel contiguous to "the ſide of Calvary) and runs down to an unknown depth in "the earth. That this rent was made by the earthquake, that "happened at our Lord's paſſion, there is only tradition to "prove: but that it is a natural and genuine breach, and not "counterfeited by any art, the ſenſe of every one that ſees it "may convince him; for the ſides of it fit like two tallies to "each

(78) Ibid. p. 63. (79) Ibid.

paſſion °. 2. The ſtone of unction, or the very place where his body was anointed and prepared for burial P. 3. The ſepulchre where he was depoſited to the hour of his reſurrection q. —— A little without that gate of Jeruſalem, called the Damaſcus-gate, they carry you to a large grot, which they pretend to have been ſome time the abode of Jeremiah: On the left ſide of it they even point at the prophet's bed, which is no more than a ſhelve from the rock, about eight foot from the ground; and not far from hence is the place where they ſay he wrote his lamentations r (Q). ——Not far from hence are the famous grots, called the ſepulchres of the kings, but of what kings is uncertain (R); but that they were uſed as repoſitories of the dead, appears ſufficiently from ſome coffins at preſent there, and which we ſhall take notice of in the ſequel of this deſcription. The whole is a work of ſuch vaſt labour and expence, that it may fairly be pronounced a royal work, being all hewn out of the natural rock, and conſiſting of an entrance made through the rock, a court of about forty paces ſquare, hollowed out of the ſame, on the ſouth ſide of which is a portico, nine paces long and four broad, and

° Idem ibid.. pag. 73. P Idem ibid. pag. 73. q Idem ibid. r Idem ibid. pag. 76.

" each other; and yet it runs in ſuch intricate windings as " could not well be counterfeited by art, nor arrived at by any " inſtruments (80)."

(Q) " This place is at preſent a college of Derviſes, and " is held in great veneration by the Turks and Jews, as well as " the Chriſtians (81)."

(R) Prince Radziville roundly pronounces the kings of Judah to have been interred here; imagining, they were formerly within the wall of the city, tho' now without it (82). Other travellers (83) give into the ſame ſeeming miſtake; while Maundrell (84), conſidering more maturely of the thing, concludes it certain, that none of the kings of Judah, or Iſrael, were here intombed, unleſs, perhaps, Hezekiah, and is not certain, that theſe may not be the ſepulchres of the ſons of David, mentioned in ſcripture (85).

(80) Maund. pag. 73. (81) Ibid. pag. 76. (82) Peregr. Jeroſ. pag. 104. (83) Vide le Bruyn, Theven, &c. (84) Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag. 76. (85) 2 Chron. xxxii. 33.

and wrought alſo out of the ſame. This portico has a kind of architrave in front, once adorned with ſculpture of fruits and flowers, but now defaced; and on the left of this portico you deſcend towards the ſepulchres. Firſt you come into a large room about ſeven or eight yards ſquare, exactly and moſt exquiſitely formed, ſo that it may be called a fine chamber, hollowed out of one ſolid piece of marble. From this you may paſs into ſix rooms more, one within another, and all of the ſame fabrick with the firſt; but the two innermoſt are deeper than the reſt, having a ſecond deſcent of about ſix or ſeven ſteps into them. In every one of theſe rooms, the firſt excepted, are ſtone coffins placed in niches in the ſides of the chambers; once covered with handſome lids and carved with garlands; but now moſt of them (S) are broken to pieces. But what moſt of all ſurprizes the obſerver is the artifice of the doors of theſe chambers, all cut out of the ſame rock, and turning upon hinges of the ſame ſtone with the reſt [a]; this, which, at firſt, appears ſo puzzling to underſtand (T), has been ſeemingly

[a] Vid Radziv. le Bruyn, Maund. &c.

(S) Maundrell (86), by this, ſeems to inſinuate, that ſeveral of theſe coffins were ſtill entire, and Radziville (87) obſerves, that he alſo ſaw bones remaining in ſeveral of them; ſo that, whether broken or entire, one would naturally imagine there was a number; while Le Bruyn (88), takes notice of no more than three, the one broken, and the other two entire. Radziville (89) computes, that about forty odd might have been here depoſited in the cells or niches in the ſides of theſe chambers, each containing two coffins. Le Bruyn (90) computes that about fifty might have been here received in the ſame manner; but as, in ſuch obſcure and damp places, people are a little uneaſy, and, however great their curioſity may be, ſomewhat in a hurry to get out, we are not to expect but travellers will, in ſuch caſes, vary a little, if not a great deal, from each other.

(T) Travellers are quite loſt with admiration at it, and particularly Le Bruyn (90), who may have had ſome judgment in things of this nature, is aſtoniſhed, that they ſhould be done out of one and the ſame piece of hard rock, and eſpecially by lamp-light, for no other was here to be had.

(86) Ubi ſup. pag. 77. (87) Ubi ſup. (88) Voy. au Lev. vol. ii. pag 195. in 4to. (89) Ubi ſup. (90) Ubi ſup.

ingly well explained of late (U), and the thing appears no longer a myſtery, tho' otherwiſe very extraordinary in itſelf [t].—— Returning from hence to the city of Jeruſalem, not far from Herod's gate, is ſhewn a grotto full of filthy mire and water, which paſſes for the dungeon in which Jeremiah was kept by Zedekiah [u]. —— Going out of St. Stephen's gate to Bethany, they, at the entrance into that village, point at an old ruin, which they call Lazarus's caſtle, and ſuppoſe to have been the habitation of that favourite of Chriſt; and at the bottom of a ſmall deſcent, not far from the caſtle, is ſhewn the ſepulchre where he was raiſed from the dead [x] (X).—— About a bow-ſhot from hence they point at Mary Magdalen's habitation [y] —— Within about a furlong of the river Jordan, is an old ruined church and convent, dedicated to St. John, who is ſuppoſed here, or here-abouts, to have baptized our Lord [z].—— On the road between Bethlehem and Jeruſalem, they ſtill ſhew, 1. The houſe of Simeon. 2. The impreſs of Elias's body. 3. The well where the ſtar appeared to the eaſtern magi. 4. Rachel's tomb [a].—— At Bethelem they ſhew the very place of our Saviour's nativity (Y); the very manger in which he was laid

[t] Maund. pag. 76. [u] Idem ibid. pag. 78. [x] Maundr. journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. pag. 79. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem ibid. pag. 81. [a] Idem ibid. pag. 87.

(U) Maundrell (91) took notice, that the only door left hanging did not touch its lintel by at leaſt two inches, and believes it might have been eaſily lifted up and unhinged; and that the doors which had been thrown down had their hinges at the upper end twice as long as thoſe at the bottom, by which the whole artifice very plainly diſcovers itſelf.

(X) In this ſepulchre you deſcend by twenty-five ſteep ſtairs, which letting you down into a ſmall ſquare room, you thence creep down into a leſſer room, about a yard and a half deeper, in which the body is ſaid to have been laid. This place is in great veneration with the Turks, who uſe it as an oratory, and demand a ſmall caphar of ſuch chriſtians as deſire to ſee it (92).

(Y) The church of the nativity, or manger, at Bethlehem is a moſt ſumptuous and elegant ſtructure, tho' unfortunately ſubject to the inſults of the infidels of thoſe parts (93). The ſpot

(91) Ubi ſup. pag. 78 to Jeruſ. pag. 97.

(92) Maundr. journ. from Alep.

(93) Vide Radziv. le Bruyn, Theven, &c.

laid (Z); the chapel of Joſeph his ſuppoſed father; the ſchool of St. Jerome, and other ſuch places [b].—— In the neighbourhood of this place are pools and gardens, ſaid to have been the delight of king Solomon (A); the pools are three, in a row one above another, ſo diſpoſed, that the water may from the uppermoſt deſcend into the ſecond, and from the ſecond into the third. They are quadrangular, and all of the ſame breath, being about ninety paces; but in length they differ, the firſt being about one hundred and ſixty paces long, the ſecond two hundred, and the third two hundred and twenty; all lined with wall, and plaſtered, and containing a great depth of water. At the diſtance of about one hundred and ſixty paces is the ſpring whence they derive their waters, which the friars here will have to have been the Sealed Fountain † (B). The gardens may be ſaid to be now no more, and the ſpot at preſent ſeems

[b] Idem ibid. † Cant. iv. 12.

ſpot where Chriſt is ſuppoſed to have been born, is marked out by a marble-ſlab; and over it, upon the altar, is another with this inſcription, HIC DE VIRGINE MARIA JESUS CHRISTUS NASCI DIGNATUS EST (94). But to enter into the particulars and coſtly decorations of this ſanctuary, and the church, and other parts it belongs to, would by far exceed our length.

(Z) It is cut out of the rock (95, about two foot from the floor; but now flagged with white marble, as well as the rock that roofs it (96).

(A) He is ſuppoſed to allude to thoſe works, where (97), among the other inſtances of his magnificence he reckons up his gardens, vineyards, and pools (98).

(B) "In confirmation of this opinion, they pretend a tra-"dition, that king Solomon ſhut up theſe ſprings, and kept "the door of them ſealed with his ſignet; to the end that he "might preſerve the water for his own drinking, in their na-"tural freſhneſs and purity." Our author (99) adds, it was not difficult thus to ſecure them, they riſing under ground, and having no avenue to them, but by a little hole like the mouth of a narrow well. The whole as deſcribed by travellers, muſt have been a ſtupendous work.

(94) Vide Radziv. (95) Idem pag. 84. 96 Sandys trav: pag. 141. (97) Eccl. ii. 5, 6. (98) Maundr. ubi. ſup. 88. (99) Idem ibid. pag. 89.

ſeems to be but little adapted to ſuch a uſe [c] (C).—— On the weſt, as the former on the ſouth-ſide of Bethlehem, they ſhew you the well David ſo paſſionately thirſted after * ; but it is rather a mere ciſtern ſupplied with rain, and, otherwiſe, of no particular eſtimation. But, about two furlongs from thence, you behold the remains of an old aqueduct, which antiently conveyed water from Solomon's pools to Jeruſalem, and which, very much to the honour of Solomon, is reckoned to be a work of his. It goes along the ſurface of the ground, and conſiſts of large ſtones (D) perforated and let into each other, after the manner of pipes ; and, for the greater ſecurity, covered with a courſe of ſmaller ſtones, firmly cemented together with a very ſtrong mortar ; a work which formerly extended five or ſix leagues, and, ſeemingly, deſigned for eternity ; tho' now ſo deſtroyed by violent hands (E), that there is only a fragment of it here and there remaining [d]. ——— In Bethlehem they ſhew a grot, cut out of a chalky rock, where they pretend the bleſſed virgin concealed herſelf and her child, to avoid the murderous fury of Herod, ſome time before ſhe fled into Egypt ; but the whiteneſs of this place they will have to have

[c] Idem ibid. p. 88. * 2 Sam. xxiii. 15. [d] Maund. ibid. pag. 90.

(C) The ſoil is rocky, and ſo bad, that our author (100) thinks Solomon diſplayed his wealth more than his wiſdom, if he made choice of it for the purpoſe ſuppoſed ; tho' after all, if it is ſo very plain, that here was his ſealed fountain (1), it is not unlikely, that here alſo was his encloſed garden. (2). The ſituation ſeems to correſpond with this deſcription, the ſpot being a rocky valley, deſcending from the pools, and incloſed on each hand by high mountains (3).

(D) Our author (4) leaves blanks for the dimenſions of theſe ſtones, and we know of none that has been curious enough to ſupply the defect ; but that they are very conſiderable appears by his manner of expreſſing himſelf.

(E) The blame is, in this caſe, thrown upon the Arabs, who, for the ſake of an immediate and ready ſupply of water (5), make no ſcruple to tear up all before them, and, by degrees, entirely to demoliſh this ſolid and magnificent work.

(100) Idem ibid. (1) Cantic. ubi ſup. (2) Ibidem. (3) Maund: ubi ſupr. (4) Idem ibid. pag. 20. (5) Le Bruyn, ubi ſup. pag. 216.

have been not natural, but miraculous [e] (F). —— Between Bethlehem and Jeruſalem, in what is ſometimes called the Deſart of St. John, is a convent called after the name of that ſaint, ſuppoſed to ſtand on the ſpot where he was born. This convent has, of very late years, been rebuilt from the ground; and is, at preſent, a large ſquare building, uniform and neat all over, but chiefly remarkable for its church; conſiſting of three iſles, and, in the midſt, an handſome cupola, and under that a moſaic pavement, equal to, if not ſurpaſſing, the fineſt works of the antients, in that kind. At the upper end of the north iſle, by a deſcent of ſeven ſteps, you deſcend to a very ſplendid altar, erected, as they ſay, over the very place where the Baptiſt was born [f]. —— About three furlongs diſtant from this convent, they point at what they call the houſe of Elizabeth, the Baptiſt's mother (G); formerly a convent, though now an heap of ruins, and only remarkable for a grotto, in which, they tell you, the bleſſed virgin ſalsted Elizabeth,

[e] Idem ibid. pag. 91. [f] Idem ibid. pag. 92.

(F) They ſay, the ſtone of this grot is ſo white and chalky, becauſe of ſome milk which fell from the virgin, while ſhe was giving ſuck to the holy infant, which converted the colour of the native rock. And ſo poſſeſſed are they here with this chimerical notion, as to imagine, the chalk of this place has a miraculous virtue of increaſing the milk of women. And for this ſupernatural property is the ſame highly valued, as well by Arabs and Turks, as by Chriſtians (6). This notion having taken ſuch root with all ranks, and ſects, lumps of this chalk are carried to Jeruſalem, and there impreſſed with the ſeal of the city, to be thence ſent into Europe (7). Our author adds, that he met with a phyſician at Venice ſimple enough to aſk him for ſome of it for a lady, a patient of his, who was defective in her milk.

(G) "If you chance to aſk how it came to paſs "that Elizabeth lived in one houſe, when ſhe was big with the Bap"tiſt, and in another, when ſhe brought him forth? the an"ſwer you are like to receive is, that the former was her "country, the latter her city, habitation; and that is no wonder "for the wife of one of the prieſts of better rank [ſuch as ſhe "was, Luke i. 6.] to be provided with ſuch variety (8).

(6) Maund. ubi ſup. pag. 91. (7) Le Bruyn, ubi ſup. pag. 221. (8) Maund. ubi ſup. pag. 93.

Elizabeth, and pronounced her magnificat [g]. —— At the diſtance of about three quarters of an hour from the convent of St. John, in the way to Jeruſalem, is a convent belonging to the Greeks, and called the convent of the Holy Croſs, a neat ſtructure, and pleaſantly ſituated, but chiefly to be taken notice of, as they pretend it to ſtand over the very ſpot where grew the tree that ſupplied the timber that made the croſs [h]. —— In Jeruſalem cloſe by the church of the holy ſepulchre, is what they ſhew for the priſon of St. Peter. It is a priſon ſtill [i]. —— About a furlong from hence, is a ſmall church, as they ſay, built over the houſe of St. Mark. It is in the poſſeſſion of the Syrians, who venture to ſhew you the very windows at which Rhoda looked out, while Peter knocked at the door; and in the ſame church they let you ſee a folio manuſcript of the New Teſtament in Syriac, which, if they are to be believed, is now about nine hundred years old; and a ſtill greater curioſity, meaning a little ſtone font, uſed by the apoſtles themſelves in baptizing [k]. —— Upon that part of mount Sion, which is within the walls of the city, ſtands a convent of Armenians, whoſe church is built over the very place where St. James, the brother of John, was beheaded. In this church are two altars of extraordinary ſplendor, decked with rich mitres, embroidered copes, croſſes both of ſilver and gold, crowns, chalices, and other church utenſils without number. In the midſt of this ſame church is a pulpit made of tortoiſe-ſhell and mother of pearl, with a beautiful canopy or cupola over it of the ſame fabric; the tortoiſe-ſhell and the mother of pearl being ſo very exquiſitely blended together, that the workmanſhip far exceeds the materials [l]. —— A little without Sion gate is the church of Cœnaculum, where, they ſay, Chriſt inſtituted his laſt ſupper [m] (H). —— At a little diſtance from hence are the ruins of an houſe, where the bleſſed virgin is ſaid to have breathed her laſt: and, a little

[g] Idem ibid. pag. 93. [h] Idem ibid. pag. 94. [i] Idem ibid. pag. 98. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Maund. ibid. pag. 99. [m] Idem ibid. pag. 100.

(H) "It is now a moſch, and not to be ſeen by Chriſtians (9)."

(9) Idem ibid. pag. 100.

a little farther down the hill, is a grot, where, they ſay, St. Peter ſo bitterly lamented his inconſtancy to his maſter [n]. ——— From a garden on the ſouth ſide of mount Moriah, they conduct you to ſeveral vaults, annexed to the mountain on that ſide, and running, at leaſt, fifty yards under ground. They were built in two iſles, arched at top with huge firm ſtone, and ſuſtained by tall pillars, each of one ſingle ſtone, and two yards in diameter; conjectured to have been ſome ſubterraneous work made to enlarge the area of the temple [o] (I). ——— To theſe may be added the beautiful gate of the temple (K), which, ſays our author, can be only obſerved by a tranſient ſurvey, becauſe of the ſuperſtition of the Turks [p] (L). ——— At the

[n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Idem ibid. pag. 101.

(I) Our author (10) thinks, Joſephus (11) ſeems to deſcribe ſome ſuch work as this, erected over the valley, on this ſide of the temple.

(K) Travellers are ſomewhat ſhort in their deſcriptions of this gate. Prince Radziville (12) repreſents it as lofty, great, and aſcended by ſteps, which he went up, but dared not go over the threſhold, for fear of polluting the area of the temple of Solomon.

(L) What ever may have been the milder temper of theſe people, when they permitted prince Radziville to aſcend the ſteps leading to it, as in the note above, they are ſince, it ſeems, grown to that height of jealouſy, that they will ſcarce admit of a ſtranger's turning his eyes towards it, as he paſſes by. The reaſon is, the Turks have a ſtrange notion of the more than ordinary ſanctity of the area or place within it, where ſtands a beautiful moſch, which they have erected, as they pretend, on the very ſpot where ſtood the temple of Solomon. They have a notion, that if a Chriſtian, or any other, does but ſet foot in the area it ſtands upon, his prayers will have ſuch irreſiſtible prevalence with God, that nothing he could aſk of heaven could be refuſed him; and fondly imagine, that, as Chriſtians would not fail to pray, that the Turks might be driven out, and the Chriſtians enter again into poſſeſſion of the city, the prayer would be infallibly heard, and inevitably granted (13); ſo that they cannot bear to ſee a Chriſtian ſo much as offer to look that way.

(10) Idem ibid. (11) Antiq. lib. xv. c. ult. (12) Peregr. Hieroſol. p. 117 (13) Ibid. pag. 118.

A MAP *of the* Journey in the Wilderness, *and of the Conquest and Partition of the Land of* CANAAN, *by the* Children *of* Israel *according to this History.*

THE GREAT

OR

MEDITERRANEAN

SEA

PART OF THE DELTA

PART OF EGYPT

L. Sirbon

AMALEK

Desart of Sin

Rameses

Succoth

Baalzephon

Pihahiroth

Etham

R. of Egypt

HEROOPOLITAN GULF of the RED SEA

Rephidim

M. Sinai

Mt. Sinai

Hazeroth

Haradath

Rithma

Rimon Pares

Libnah

Kehelathath

Mara

Elim

Jani Suph

Aluth

Dophkath

ARABIA PETRAEA

Bamoth

Mitka

Tahath

Tarah

Hattavah

Makheloth

Tabath

M. Sapher

Dedan

Madyan

ELANITIC GULF of the RED SEA

Ashdod

Ascalon

Gaza

Gath

Gezer

Ekron

Jarim

Bethoron

Jericho

Jerusalem

Hebron

Beersheba

JUDAH and SIMEON

DAN

EPHRAIM

Half of MANASSEH

Bethel

Shechem

Lod

BENJAMIN

ISSACHAR

ZEBULUN

ASHER

NEPHTHALI

Half of MANASSEH

BASAN

R. Jordan

R. Jabboc

R. Kidron

Dead Sea

REUBEN & GAD

Shittim

M. Abarim

R. Arnon

Dibon Gad

Almon Diblathaim

Ije-yabarim

OBoth

Phunon

Zalmonah

M. Hor

Teman

Kadesh

Bozrah

MOAB

AMMON

the DESART

PART of ARABIA

Moserah

Bene jaakan

Horhadgedgad

Gudgodath

Jodbatath

Ebronah

Ezion geber

R. Zered

S. W. Sculp.

the bottom of mount Sion is what they call Bathſheba's pool, ſuppoſed to be the ſame ſhe was in when David was ſo ſmitten with her beauty; but others ſuppoſe it to have been a ſmaller one in a garden juſt within Bethlehem gate, and both, perhaps, equally right [q]. ——— At a ſmall diſtance from the firſt of theſe pools, a little below the Campo Sancto, or Field of blood, as it was antiently called, is an intricate cave or ſepulchre, conſiſting of ſeveral rooms one within another, in which the apoſtles are reported to have hid themſelves, when they forſook their maſter and fled. Its entrance diſcovers ſigns of its having been antiently adorned with paintings [r]. ——— In the valley of Jehoſaphat are two noble antiquities, called the ſepulchre of Zachary (M), and the pillar of Abſalom (N), as alſo the ſepulchre of Jehoſaphat [s]. ——— Near the corner of the city wall, on the oppoſite ſide of this valley, is a ſhort end of a pillar, jetting out of the wall; whereon, the Turks fable, Mohammed ſhall ſit in judgment, at the laſt day, the whole world being gathered together in the valley below,

[q] Idem ibid. [r] Idem ibid. pag. 102. [s] Idem ibid. pag. 103.

(M) Suppoſed to be the ſame that was ſlain between the temple and the altar. "All of the natural rock eighteen foot "high, four ſquare, and beautified with doric columns of the "ſame unſeparated ſtone, ſuſtaining the corniſh, and topped like "a pointed diamond (14)."

(N) It is ſometimes called the tomb or ſepulchre of Abſalom (15); and it hath, indeed, rather the looks of ſuch, than of, what is otherwiſe commonly called, a pillar. He was not buried there, but it is imagined, he erected or rather had it wrought out of the ſtone in his life, "to retain the memory of "his name, in that his iſſue male failed———yet entire, of "a good fabric, riſing in a lofty ſquare; below adorned with "half columns, wrought out of the ſide and corners, of the "doric form; and than changing into a rouud, a good heigt higher "doth growto a point, infaſhion of a bell; all framed of the growing ſtone (16)." Travellers for the moſt part obſerve, that there is always a great and daily encreaſiug heap of ſtones lying near it, thrown thereat, both by Jews and Turks, in deteſtation of Abſalom's rebellion againſt his father David.

(14) Sandys, pag. 147. (15) Radziv. Peregrin. Jeroſolym, pag. 62. (16) Sandys, ubi ſup.

low, to receive sentence from his mouth [t] (O). ——— A little further northward is the gate of the temple; at present walled up; the Turks having a prophecy, that their destruction is to enter by that gate; the completion of which they endeavour to obviate by this means [u] (P).——— In the bottom of this same valley is what they will have to have been the sepulchre of the blessed virgin; with a magnificent descent of forty-seven stairs: on the right hand, as you go down, is the sepulchre of St. Anne, the mother, and on the left hand that of St. Joseph, the husband, of the blessed virgin [x].——In the pretended house of Pilate, they shew the room where Christ was mocked with the ensigns of royalty, and buffeted by the soldiers [y] ——They pretend likewise still to shew the pool of Bethesda, one hundred and twenty paces long, forty broad, and at least eight deep, but void of water. At its west end it discovers some old arches, now dammed up [z] (Q).———As also the pool

[t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid. pag. 107. [z] Idem ibid.

(O) To this the Mohammedans add, it seems, a most ridiculous tradition, but first, we are told (17), they also report, that Mohammed is to sit on the end of this pillar, to observe, whether our Lord judge the Christians well or not; that if he judge them righteously, Mohammed will give him his sister in marriage, together with a great dowry; that, this done, Mohammed shall turn himself into a sheep, and the Turks nestle into his wool, like so many fleas; that, thus incumbered, he shall fly into the air, and shake himself very hard; that those who stick fast to him shall be happy, and those that fall from him shall be damned (18); so very ridiculous a story, that had we not met with it in so grave an author, we should never have taken notice of it, and, after all, we are afraid, this is a story fathered upon them; but what can't men be brought to believe!

(P) All travellers this way take notice of this particular, and most add, that for the very same reason, and out of the same superstitious dread, they shut up all the other gates of the city, every Friday, 'till morning-service is over, adding, that on that day the destined work of their expulsion is to be effected.

(Q) "These some will have to be the five porches, in "which, sat that multitude of halt, lame, and blind, [John v.] "But the mischief is, instead of five, there are but three of "them (19).

(17) Theven. Voy. au Lev. lib. ii. par. 1. c. 50. (18) Idem ibid. (19) Maund. ubi sup. pag. 107.

pool of Gihon, about a quarter of a mile without Bethlehem gate, weſtward, a ſtately relique, one hundred and ſix paces long, ſixty-ſeven broad, lined with wall and plaiſter, and, when our author was there, well ſtored with water [a]. ——At Nazareth, beſides the church which ſtands in a cave, ſuppoſed to be the place where the virgin Mary received the angelical ſalutation (R), they ſhew the houſe of Joſeph, the very ſame, as they tell you, where the Son of God lived for near thirty years, in ſubjection to man [b]. Theſe and other particulars, which we have occaſionally mentioned before, both in the text and the notes, are the more noted remarkables of this promiſed and deſtined land; whereon we leave the reader to make his own obſervations.

SECT. IV.

The religion, government, laws, cuſtoms, learning, arts, and commerce of the Jews.

THE inſtitution of the Jewiſh religion and commonwealth is by Moſes attributed wholly to God; for which reaſon Joſephus makes no ſcruple to diſtinguiſh the latter from all the other governments in the world by the name

The Jewiſh government was a theocracy.

[a] Idem ibid. pag. 108. [b] Idem Ibid. p 113.

(R) "Juſt at the ſection of the croſs [of this church] are "erected two granate pillars, each two foot and one inch diameter, "and about three foot diſtance from each other, ——— ſuppoſed "to ſtand on the very places, the one where the angel, the other "where the bleſſed virgin ſtood at the time of the Annunciation. "Of theſe pillars, the innermoſt, being that of the bleſſed virgin, "has been broke away by the Turks, in expectation of finding "treaſure under it; ſo that eighteen inches length of it is "clean gone, between the pillar and its pedeſtal. Nevertheleſs "it remains erect; tho' by what art it is ſuſtained, I could not "diſcern. It touches the roof above, and is, probably, hanged "upon that: unleſs you had rather take the fryars account of it, "viz. that it is ſupported by a miracle (20).

(20) Maund. Journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. p. 112.

name of Theocracy [a], or a government under the immediate command and direction of God: and indeed, tho' this theocracy has often varied under Moses, Joshua, the judges, kings, and high-priests, and the divine authority differently interposed during those revolutions, yet God was still looked upon as the supreme monarch of the Israelites. We have seen, in a former section, that he was the sole director of every momentous transaction under Moses, and the dictator of the main body of his laws. Joshua, though not honoured so far as to receive the divine commands from the mouth of God, yet always consulted him by the Urim upon all emergencies. The judges were valiant and wise men, whom God made choice of to govern the people, and to deliver them, from time to time, from those thraldoms, which their frequent rebellions brought upon them. Accordingly, when Gideon had delivered them from the Midianites, and the people offered the government to him and his posterity, he modestly replied, that neither he nor his sons [b], but the Lord God, should rule over them. When in process of time, their desire for a king was grown to such a height, that all Samuel's expostulations could not divert them from it; tho' he told them, that by so doing they rejected the Lord from ruling over them; God was pleased to nominate Saul, and, after him, David, to the regal dignity, and to make it hereditary in the posterity of the latter, reserving to himself, nevertheless, the power of altering the succession from the eldest to a younger branch, whenever he saw fit, as he actually did in his immediate successor Solomon. Nay, we may say, that God himself, foreseeing that they would be for a kingly government, did reserve to himself the choice, and prescribed some wholesome laws for the conduct of those who should enjoy the regal power [c]; and if, at any time, either the kings or the people refused to be directed by him, or disobeyed the laws which he had given them, they never failed of some severe punishment, to remind them of their dependence, and to recall them to their duty. The kings of Israel indeed, after their revolt from those of Judah, did reign more arbitrarily, but their endeavours to shake off the yoke of God proved a source of endless evils to the rebellious tribes; till at length, when neither his prophets exhortations and threatenings, nor his severe

[a] Cont. Apion, lib. ii. Deut. xvii. 14. & seq.

[b] Judg. viii. 22, 23.

[c] Vid

ſevere judgments, could bring them to obedience, he entirely caſt them off, and condemned them to an endleſs captivity. Thus not only the kingdom of Judah, but even that of Iſrael, corrupt and idolatrous as it was, continued ſtill under a theocracy, until its diſſolution. This is what will more evidently appear by the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Their laws. As for their laws, the greateſt part of them were given to Moſes on mount Sinai, and the reſt at different times, and as occaſion required, as we have ſeen in a former ſection †. Whether, therefore, we look upon them as the firſt body of laws that ever was compiled, whilſt other nations had not ſo much as a name for it, as Joſephus [d] has endeavoured to prove againſt his learned antagoniſt, from the writing of Homer, the moſt antient writer, in which the word Nomos [law] is not ſo much as once mentioned; or whether we ſuppoſe, with others [e], that the Egyptians and other nations had already laws of their own, and that Moſes was permitted by God to model and improve his own by them, by altering or retaining what he liked or diſliked, concerning which we ſhall not repeat what has been already ſaid upon that head [f]; it is plain, that the greateſt part of them were dictated by God himſelf, and that the reſt received, if not the finiſhing hand, yet at leaſt their ſanction and approbation from him. And indeed, if we conſider, that they extended to all duties, caſes, and exigencies, whether moral, political, or ceremonial; that the moral were to be of eternal obligation; that the political were to endure as long as the Jewiſh polity; that great part of the ceremonial were typical of, and conſequently to laſt, at leaſt, till the coming of the Meſſiah; if we conſider further, that the prieſts and rulers were to be no more than the bare guardians of them, and that they were forbid, under pain of death and of the divine curſe, to add, diminiſh, or alter the leaſt part of them; it will be ſcarce credible, that Moſes would have given them ſuch a firm and durable ſanction, and backed it with the divine authority, had any but God been the author or confirmer of them.

However, our deſign is not to dwell here upon the diſplay of their excellency above thoſe of all other nations,

† Vide ſup. vol. ii. p. 615. & ſeq. [d] Cont. Apion, ibid. [e] Spencer, de Leg. Ritual. Jud. paſſ. Le Clerc, & al. [f] Vide vol. i. p. 537.

much leſs to confute all the empty cavils that have been raiſed againſt them from different quarters. That has been already done by Joſephus, Philo, Maimonides, Moſes Gerundenſis, and a great many more among the Jews, and by a greater number of learned divines, both of this and other churches, to whoſe province it belongs more particularly [g]. We might indeed, conveniently enough, have followed their diſtinction of them into moral, political, and ceremonial, and ſo have given the following body of them under thoſe three heads; eſpecially becauſe ſuch a diſtinction is generally thought to be hinted at by the three different terms which Moſes makes uſe of, laws or precepts, judgements, and ſtatues [h], but if we conſider, that Moſes makes uſe of ſome other terms likewiſe to expreſs them by, ſuch as ordinances, teſtimonies, and ſome others, in a very undeterminate ſenſe; that he calls the ſame laws ſometimes by one, and ſometimes by another, of theſe names; and laſtly, that this diſtinction will not hold with reſpect to very many of thoſe laws, which are partly moral, and partly ceremonial and political, and ſo vice verſâ, we ſhall have little ground to think, that the Jewiſh law-giver deſigned to intimate any ſuch diſtinction by thoſe terms. Thus the law concerning the ſeventh day, or day of reſt, is partly ceremonial and typical, and partly moral and political, as it was deſigned as well for the eaſe and reſt of the labourers, ſervants, and ſlaves, as for that of their maſters [i]. To this we may add here, that theſe laws did likewiſe differ with reſpect to their obſervance and obligation. Some of them, ſuch as the making of the tabernacle, altar, ſetting up of the bleſſings and curſes on mount Ebal and Gerizzim, were to be obſerved but once for all; others were to laſt no longer than the time of the Meſſiah, and others to the end of the world. When therefore they are commanded to obſerve all the laws and ordinances of Moſes, ſome of which were of no force out of the land of Paleſtine, the Jews, in thoſe caſes, underſtand the precept, not of an actual obſervance, but of a conſtant remembrance and readineſs to obey them, whenever they ſhall become in force again [k].

Besides

[g] Vide inter al. Grot. Selden, Puff. Cumberl. Gaſtrel, L'Abbad. Cun. Baſnag. [h] Baſnag. Republ. Hæb. lib. 1. cap. 18.
[i] Confer. Exod. xx. cum. Deut. v. 19. [k] Vide Munſt. præf. in lib. ſequent.

BESIDES, as we are writing the hiſtory of the Jews, it may perhaps be thought more proper, that we ſhould give the body of their laws in the ſame order and method in which they themſelves have collected and digeſted them out of the five books of Moſes, in which they lie ſcattered, and which they call, by way of excellency, Ha-thorah, the law (A); but the truth is, they have jumbled them ſo together, without order or method, and blended them ſo with thoſe which they pretend were delivered by God to Moſes, and conveyed by oral tradition (B), that our readers

(A) This תורה Thorah, or law, the divide as we do, into five books, which they call by the firſt words of each: thus, they call Geneſis בראשית Bereſhith, that is, in the beginning; Exodus they call אלה שמות. Elle-ſhemoth, theſe are the names; Leviticus ויקרא, Vajicra, and he called; Numbers וידבר. Vajdabber, and he ſpake; and Deuteronomy אלה הדברים, Elle-hadevarim, theſe are the words. Theſe five books, or pentateuch, are again ſub-divided into fifty four פרשות paraſhoth, or ſections, of unequal lengths, according to the ſubject; ſo that by joining two of the ſhorteſt together, they read the whole law once a year. The generality of the Jews attribute theſe diviſions, and the conſtitution of reading them on the ſabbath, to Moſes; but the Chriſtians, with more probability, to Eſdras (1), from whom it was continued, even to the times of the apoſtles, if not longer (2). The firſt paraſha reaches from Gen. i. 1. to Gen. vi. 9. and is called Bereſhith: the ſecond reaches to Gen. xii. 1. and is called נוח Noach, from Noah being the chief perſon mentioned in it; the third, which reaches to Gen. xviii. is called לך לך Lek Leka, go thy ways, from the command of God to Abraham to go out of his native land; and ſo of the reſt.

The Jews have always expreſt a greater veneration for theſe five books, than for any of thoſe which they received afterwards, tho' they look upon the latter as divinely inſpired: the reaſon they give for it is, that Moſes being in many reſpects vaſtly ſuperior to all the other prophets and inſpired writers, a great preference ought to be given to his writings, upon that account; and they have been ſo ſuperſtitious in this reſpect, that they look upon it as a crime to lay any of the ſacred books upon thoſe of Moſes; whereas they think the latter may be laid upon any of the others.

(B) To the written law the Jews do likewiſe add the oral one, which, they pretend, was alſo giving by God to Moſes, during his

(1) Vide Packhurſt Mazorah, ſect. de Paraſhah. (2) Vide Acts viiis 15, & 27. xv. 21.

ders would be rather confounded, than inſtructed by them. Thoſe

abode on mount Sinai. For firſt, they think it abſurd to ſuppoſe, that he ſpent all that long interval of twice forty days in the bare writing of the written law, for which leſs than one quarter of that time was more than ſufficient. They affirm therefore, that he was taken up all the reſt of that while in learning the oral law by heart, which he afterwards did carefully deliver by word of mouth to Aaron, Eleazar, and to his ſervant Joſhua, and theſe to the ſeventy elders, from whom it paſſed to all the prophets, the three laſt of whom Haggai, Zachariah, and Malachi, delivered it to the grand ſanhedrin; from whom the wiſe men of Jeruſalem and Babylon received it. Thus they affirm that this oral law, given to Moſes, was tranſmitted from one generation to another, entire and uncorrupted, under the name of קבלה Cabbalah, or tradition, which was afterwards committed to writing by ſeveral hands in that volume which they call the Talmud, conſiſting of two parts, Miſhnah and Gemarrah, to which they give, by far, the preference to the written books, whence comes that ſaying of theirs, the Mikdaſh, or Old Teſtament, is like water, the Miſhnah like wine, and the Gemarrah, being more plain and perfect, like Hypocras, or the richeſt of wines. For they add, ſecondly, that the obſcurity of the written law, its ſeeming inconſiſtency in ſeveral reſpects, and the ill uſe which God foreſaw would be made of it by the wicked rendered the oral one very neceſſary, ſince without it the other would have proved in many reſpects uſeleſs, if not dangerous. Theſe learned gentlemen, who love to call themſelves מרבצי התורה, Merabtze-hathora, fixers of, or givers of reſt to the law, do tell us, that the obſcurity of it is obvious to every reader: as for the inconſiſtencies, they are ſuch as theſe; that in one place it is ſaid, thou ſhalt eat unleavened bread ſeven, and in another ſix days: in one place it is ſaid, thou ſhalt offer the paſſover to the Lord thy God, ſheep, oxen, &c. and in another, only a male lamb without blemiſh: one text ſays, that the Lord came down upon mount Sinai to ſpeak to the people; and another ſays, that he ſpoke to them from heaven. Theſe are the mighty contradictions, which, they pretend, cannot be reconciled without the help of the oral law (3). Well might Chriſt ſay of them, that they *ſtrained at a gnat, and ſwallowed a camel (4)*; ſince theſe are but trifles compared to thoſe which we meet with among theſe learned compilers of the Talmud, and their commentators, tho' they all pretend to expound

(3) Vide Maimon. præfat. in Miſhn. Munſt. præfat. in Mitzvoth-hathora. Cun. Baſnag. & al.

(4) Matt. xxiii. 24.

Thoſe that are willing to be further ſatisfied about it may ſee the abridgment which Munſter has given us of them, and of the Jewiſh comments upon them, with his verſion of each, as he has collected them from their Talmud and other rabbinic works. All, therefore, that we ſhall ſay further of it is, that they divide theſe laws only into negative and affirmative (C), in imitation of the decalogue, which not only begins with three negative laws, but contains, in all, eight of that kind, and but two affirmative. Accordingly, they reckon up the negative laws to the number of three hundred ſixty-five, and the affirmatime to two hundred and forty-eight; in all, ſix hundred and thirteen: and as they have a wonderful ſkill in fetching ſome ſignificant myſteries out of every text and ſubject, they have not failed to apply the firſt number to the days of the year, and the ſecond to the number of parts in a human body; and to affirm, that God deſigned thereby to inculcate, that not a day of our life ought to paſs without meditating upon this law of God, nor any member of our bodies be enjoyed, which is not conſecrated and employed in his ſervice, according to that ſaying of Eccleſiaſtes, *fear God and keep his commandments, for that is the whole* [*duty*] *of man*. Theſe, and all ſuch like moraliſing reveries, is what they have drawn from their Cabbala, or oral tradition, of which we expound all theſe ſeeming difficulties, and pretended contradictions of the written, by the help of this oral law: for this reaſon we ſhall not ſpend any more time in confuting this vain pretence of theirs, nor the abſurd and fabulous comments with which it is ſtuffed, but ſhall content ourſelves with giving now and then a ſketch of them in a note, as we go on with the body of their laws, as well when they are judicious and right, as when they are ſuperſtitious or wrong, and deſerving of the cenſure which our Saviour paſt upon them, *that they had made the word of God of none effect by their tradition* (5).

(C) Theſe they call, according to the genius of the Hebrew tongue, מצות לא תעשה Mitzvoth lo taghaſſeh, and מצות עשה Mitzvoth ghaſſeh, that is, commandments thou ſhalt, or ſhalt not, do, or, as we render it, negative and affirmative; concerning which they make this difference, that if a man ſin againſt the latter, it will be forgiven him upon his repenting or doing ſome penance for it; but he that ſins againſt a negative precept

(5) Mark vii. 13, & alib.

we have given an account in a late note: however, it muſt be owned, that their Caraites, a wiſe and antient ſect among them, did always reject it, and applied themſelves wholly to the plain meaning of the text; but theſe are but few, in compariſon of the reſt, and are mortally hated by them; the reader may be convinced of it, by one inſtance among a thouſand. The Caraites are all very rich, and are ſo often at a loſs for a wife among themſelves, that they would gladly purchaſe one at any rate, from their other brethren the Talmudiſts, but, as well as theſe love money, they never could yet be perſuaded to give one of their daughters to any of them, though never ſo rich, and themſelves never ſo indigent.

But here it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that tho' this Jewiſh Cabbala, or oral tradition, is juſtly rejected by all the Chriſtians, as being ſtuffed with the moſt carnal and ridiculous notions; yet there is another Cabbala, which has been received by ſome of the antient fathers, and is to this day ſtrenuouſly defended by many learned moderns. This they call by way of diſtinction, Kabbla, or reception, and contains that myſtical ſenſe of the Old Teſtament, in which, it is pretended, the writers of the New underſtood and explained it, which ſenſe, they affirm, has been conveyed to them from Moſes by the prophets, not by a human tradition, but by divine inſpiration, as being very different, if not contrary, to the obvious and literal one. This, they think, is plain from the interpretation, which ſome of the evangeliſts, particularly St. Matthew as well as St. Paul, give of ſuch prophecies quoted by them, particularly thoſe which the reader will find in the margin †*†, in a ſenſe ſo foreign from the literal one, that it cannot, in their opinion, be juſtified, without having recourſe to this

†*† Matt. ii. 15, 17, 23. Rom. x. 6, & ſeq. comp. with Deut. xxx. 12. and Eph. v. 31. with Geneſ. ii. 24. Hebr. ii. 6. with Pſ. lxxxiv. & al.

precept cannot be cleared by any acts of repentance, but continues under the guilt of it until the day of expiation, at which time it will be forgiven. He that commits a ſin worthy of death cannot be ſufficiently cleared on the expiation-day, or by any thing, but by God's ſevere chaſtiſements; but as to thoſe that prophane or blaſphame the name of God, nothing can expiate their ſin, but their being put to death for it.

this chriſtian Kabbla, as they term it. We have no buſineſs to enter into the merits of this queſtion, which has been ſo lately and ſo learnedly debated by the writers for and againſt the accompliſhment of literal prophecy. All that we ſhall venture to ſay farther is, that if ſuch a myſtical and primary ſenſe be admitted, it muſt be confined to the writers of the New Teſtament, who, beſides their being inſpired, could prove their interpretations by miracles; for it is plain, that ſome of the primitive fathers have gone ſuch great lengths in that way, that Origen, learned as he was, has made himſelf ridiculous by them, and ſaint Jerom and Auſtin, though more moderate than he, have in many caſes over-ſhot the mark †‡†: but to return to the written law, we ſhall endeavour to give the main body of them under ſuch diſtinct heads and claſſes, as ſhall give our readers a clear idea of them, and, to avoid prolixity, we ſhall take the liberty to abridge ſome, and to omit thoſe that are either of ſmall conſequence, or whoſe deſign is not ſufficiently underſtood. For the ſame reaſon we ſhall ſubjoin to every law the ceremonies, cuſtoms, and uſages that relate to it, as well on the account of the immediate connexion they have to one another, as becauſe the latter are often explanatory of the former; that ſo the reader may at one view have a complete ſyſtem of the Jewiſh laws, religion, government, manners, and cuſtoms, as they all flowed from the ſame divine original. As for the laws, they generally run in the ſtile of the five or ſix following ones, which we give only as a ſpecimen of it, but which for that reaſon ſhall follow no further.

Laws

†‡† Vide int. al. Hieron. in Matt. xxvii. 51. Vide Baſnag. in Cunæ. Reinferd, Op. Philogog. & al. Vide Munſt. מצות התורת משה.

Laws againſt idolatry, and for the pure worſhip of the only true God.

Laws againſt idolatry.

THOU ſhalt have no other Gods, before, or beſides me [l].

Ye ſhall not profane or take in vain (D), but hallow, God's holy name [m].

Ye ſhall utterly deſtroy all the idols, altars, groves, and all other monuments of Canaanitiſh idolatry [n].

Ye ſhall not tempt the Lord your God (E), as ye did in the wilderneſs [o].

Ye ſhall make no image or repreſentation of God, from the likeneſs of any of the celeſtial, tereſtrial, or aquatic bodies [p].

Ye ſhall not bow down to, nor worſhip any kind of idol. (F) [q].

Whoso-

[l] Exod. xx. 3. [m] Exod. xx. 7. Levit. xxii. 32. & al. [n] Deut. xii. 2. & ſeq. [o] Deut. vi. 16. [p] Exod. xx. 4. Deut 4. paſſ. & v. 8. [q] Exod. xx. 5. Deut. v. 9. & alib.

(D) That is, as the Jews underſtand it, rightly enough, by giving it to idols, as Aaron did, when he called the molten calf the Gods that brought Iſrael out of Egypt. This is one of thoſe ſins which, they think, cannot be expiated but by the death of the ſinner; and for which Aaron muſt have undergone that fate, had not Moſes interceded for him.

(E) This precept they underſtand of thoſe who ſerve God only in hopes of ſome temporal advantage, which they look upon as a leſſer kind of idolatry.

(F) A man is not, according to them, to ſtoop down before an idol, though it were to take a thorn out of his foot, or to take up any thing that he has dropped, or even to take up a little water to drink, tho' never ſo thirſty, leſt it ſhould be looked upon by any by-ſtander as an act of reſpect to it; in all ſuch caſes therefore they muſt ſit down upon the ground, with their backs to it, and then no ſuch ſcandal can be taken (6). However, no idolatry was deemed capital, unleſs accompanied with one of theſe four things, rearing an altar, offering ſacrifice, burning incenſe, and adoration (7).

(6) Vide Tractat. Abodah Zarah ſeu de idolatria (7) Vide Munk. in præc. 17 neg.

WHOSOEVER enticeth another to commit idolatry ſhall be ſtoned as ſoon as he is convicted of it [r].

THE ſpoil of an idolatrous city ſhall not be ſaved upon any account, but be publicly burned. The inhabitants of it ſhall be put to the ſword, and the place ſhall be no more rebuilt, but continue an heap for ever [s].

THE ſilver, gold, and other precious ornaments belonging to idols ſhall not be turned to advantage, but be deſtroyed with the the utmoſt abhorrence [t].

WHOSOEVER ſacrificeth his ſeed to Moloch (G), whether he be an Iſraelite, or a ſojourner in the land, ſhall be ſtoned to death [u].

THERE

[r] Deut. xiii. 1. & ſeq. & alib. paſſ. [s] Ibid. ver. 15. & ſeq. [t] Ibid. vii, 25, 26. [u] Levit. xx. 2.

(G) We have already given an account of this Ammonitiſh deity and its worſhip, in the hiſtory of Ammon †. All that needs be added here, with reſpect to the different opinions of authors, both Jewiſh and Chriſtians, concerning the meaning of the phraſe of *making their ſons and daughters to paſs through the fire*, which we there took notice of, is, that here are ſeveral expreſs texts of ſcripture which, prove, that it was neither a bare leaping over a fire, nor a being carried between two fires ſet cloſe by one another; but a real burning of them to death (8). In the ſecond book of Kings it is ſaid, that the Sepharvaites burnt their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech their gods (9); which we have ſhewn elſewhere were, in all probability, the ſame with Moloch ‡. 'Tis plain from the prophet Amos (10) and St. Stephen (11), that the Iſraelites had been much addicted to the worſhip of this idol, whoſe tabernacle they are ſaid to have carried about with them in the wilderneſs, but that they ſhould continue it in Canaan after Moſes had made it capital, and God had expreſly told them, that he would ſet his face againſt ſuch offenders, and exterminate them from the midſt of his people (12), is ſomewhat ſurprizing, and yet the ſequel of this hiſtory will ſhew, that ſeveral even of the kings of Judah, were guilty of that abominable cruelty. How it came to be at the firſt introduced into the world, we have

† Vide vol. ii. pag. 118, 119. (8) Vide Pſ. cvi. 37, 38. Iſai. lvii. 5. Jerem. xix. 4, & ſeq. Ezek. xvi. 21. xxiii. 29, & alib. (9) 2 Kings xvii. 31. ‡ Ubi ſup. (10) Amos v. 26. (11) Acts vii. 43. (12) Levit. xx. 3, & ſeq.

There are several more to the same purpose interspersed, and often repeated in the four last books of Moses, which we need not dwell longer upon. Of the same nature are also those which forbid all commerce, intercourse, contracting of affinity with idolatrous nations, and all kind of imitation of their ways, lest they should insensibly draw them into their idolatries; of the same kind were those which condemned the use of familiar spirits, enchantments, observing of times and omens [x], divinations, resorting to wizards and necromancers, and such like, under pain of death [y], as also the rounding of the corners, or temples, of the head, and marring the corners of their beards, cutting their flesh for the sake of the dead, or makeing any marks upon it [z]; and lastly the promiscuous use of apparel in either sex, in imitation of the Canaanites [a].

Positive laws concerning the worship of the one true God.

Laws concerning the true worship of God

That the Lord, who delivered his law from mount Sinai, is the only God in heaven and earth (H) [b].

That

[x] Ibid. xix. 26, 31, & alib. [y] Deut. xviii. 9. & seq. [z] Levit. xix. 27. & seq. [a] Deut. xxii. 5, &c. [b] Exod. xx. 1. Deut. vi. 4.

have elsewhere endeavoured to account for *. As for what is commanded concerning the destroying of all the monuments of idolatry, the Jews understood it only of those places which became theirs by conquest, beyond which the command did not extend; and as to the idolatrous cities, they affirm, that they were first of all to forewarn them, and if they forsook their idolatry, they were to be spared, but if they persisted, they were then to be destroyed. They likewise understood the prohibition of turning any of the spoil to their advantage in so strict a sense, that they thought it even unlawful to sit under the shade of any of their trees. But it is plain, that this great aversion to idolatry and idolatrous things did not shew itself, till they had severely smarted for their too great propensity to it under the Babylonish captivity.

(H) This precept in one place † begins thus: שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד, *Hear O Israel, the Lord*

* Vide sup. p. 508. † Deut. vi. 4.

THAT he alone is to be loved with all ones heart, mind, and ſtrength [c]; that he only is to be feared above all things [d], and his name to be ſanctified.

• THAT

[c] Ibid. ver. 5. [d] Ibid. ver. 13.

Lord our God, the Lord [is] one———where it is obſerved, that the ע Ain in the firſt, and the ד Daleth in the laſt words, are majuſcula, or letters of a larger ſize than the reſt. Whether they were originally written in that manner, as containing ſome important myſtery, as the Jews pretend, or whether altered afterwards by accident, or with deſign, is not eaſy to determine: ſure it is, they not only urge it as an unanſwerable argument againſt the Chriſtian doctrine of the Trinity, but from too literal an interpretation of the verſes following, they wore theſe words written on parchment about them, as bracelets, and frontlets, and placed them at their beds, doors, &c. juſt as it is there preſcribed. Some antient fathers (13) were of opinion, that this had been conſtantly practiſed, from Moſes till after our Saviour's time, and that he wore them himſelf; tho' upon what foundation is hard to gueſs. Lightfoot, and others, believe, that they were univerſally uſed in our Saviour's time (14); and St. Jerom aſſures us, that they were ſo in his, and that thoſe who did not wear them upon their foreheads were eſteemed irreligious (15). However that be, it is not to be doubted, but their ſuperſtition in this reſpect has ſtill gained ground; this is plain from the many ſcrupulous niceties which they are bound to obſerve in the making, writing, and caſting of theſe phylacteries (16).

This verſe which they call the Shemah, from the firſt word of it, they are likewiſe obliged, by an expreſs command in the oral law, to repeat twice a day; that is, in the morning at ſun-riſing, and in the evening juſt as it is ſet. There is likewiſe a great deal of ſuperſtitious traſh preſcribed in the Talmud, about the repeating of the words; the eyes, lips, and fingers, muſt be ſtill, that the mind may be wholly intent upon the words; ſome letters are to be pronounced ſwiftly, and others ſlowly; no ordure or dead carcaſs ought to be nearer the place where the perſon repeats it, than four cubits at leaſt, and then he is to turn his back to it; but if the place will not permit ſuch a diſtance, the ordure is then to be covered up, and the eyes kept from

(13) Orig. Chryſoſt. Hieron: Euphym. in Matt. xxiii. (14) Lightfoot, Scaliger, Maldon, & al. (15) Hieron. in Matt. xxiii. vide & Theophylact. in loc. (16) Vide Leo de Moden. Ceremon. Jud. part i. c. 12,

[e] That they shall engrave his laws in their hearts, diligently

[e] Levit. xx. ii. 32.

from it, and a great deal more to the same purport (17), which it were needless to dwell longer upon. However, since they urge this text so strenuously against the Christians, we shall beg leave, before we dismiss this note, to examine, whether the antient Jews understood it in the same sense as the moderns do: some learned converts from Judaism to Christianity seem to have proved the contrary from their most antient writings (18); but as proselytes are always suspected of being over-zealous, there have not been wanting those eminent Christians, who, after a mature examination of their evidence, have confirmed it, as we think, beyond all possibility of replying. We shall single only one from among those many, not only as he was very well versed in this kind of learning, but because, as he was not a priest, but a statesman, he may be less suspected of partiality, we mean the great Philippe de Mornay (19), who, among other antient authors, quotes rabbi Simeon ben Johai, who in his Zohar, a book by the Jews acknowledged to have been written before the Talmud, if not before Christ (20), quotes the exposition of rabbi Ibba, of this text, to this purport, that the first יהוה, Jehovah, which is the incommunicable name of god, is the father; by אלהים Elohim is meant the son, who is the fountain of all knowledge; and by the second יהוה is meant the holy ghost. proceeding from them, and he is called אחד Achad, one, because God is one. Ibba adds, that this mystery was not to be revealed till the coming of the Messiah. the author of the Zohar goes on, and applieth the word holy, which is thrice repeated in the vision of Isaiah (21), to the three persons in the deity, whom he elsewhere calls three suns, or lights, three sovereigns —— without beginning and without end.

It must be owned, that the genuineness of this passage is disputed by the Jews, as well as the authority and antiquity of the book itself by some Christians *(22)*; but as to the first, it is known, that they make no scruple of denying all that makes against them, and that where they dare not do it, as in the case of the sacred writings, they will manifesty pervert the sense, and appeal to the oral law: and as for the Christians, 'tis to be feared, they are all but too apt to be partial to their favourite systems, and to over-shoot the mark on both sides. However, tho' it is out of our province to enter any further

(17) Vide Wotton's Vers. of the Mishnah. sub voc. Shemah. (18) Vide inter al. Raymond. Martin, Pugio Fidei pass. (19) Advertisement aux Juifs. c. 3. Vide si lubet Meyer Theolog. de Myster. SS. Trinit. Haveman, Jooden Vegh Wyzer, & al. (20) Vide Buxt. sen. Teberiad. in voc. זהר Zobar Bartoloc. & Woolf. Bibliot. Rabin. (21) Ch. vi. 3. (22) Vide Woolf. Bibliot. Rabin. No. 2175. p. 1134. & seq.

gently teach them to their children and grand-children; and wear

further into the controverſy, how far the doctrine of the trinity was, or might be, known to the antient Jews, from ſeveral places of the Old Teſtament, urged againſt them; yet we beg leave to make an obſervation or two out of their Talmud, which ſeem to make very much againſt them, becauſe they have not yet been taken notice of by any author that we know of. There is one ſection in it (23), written dialogue-wiſe, in which are ſeveral queſtions, as firſt, why the names of God, Elohim, Zabaoth, &c. are in the plural number? and ſecondly, why they are joined to verbs in the ſingular? [thus, for inſtance, the firſt verſe of Geneſis, ſays, Elohim bara, where God is in the plural, and created in the ſingular, which our divines have applied to the trinity in unity] and thirdly, why God ſpeaks in ſome places in the plural number? *let us make man, &c. in our image,* &c. (24)? Now it is plain, that to all theſe queſtions, or rather objections, the Talmud gives us no anſwers but what are plainly illuſory ‡, and ſuch as the compilers would be moſt probably have ſuppreſſed, as well as the queſtions, had they not deſigned thereby to make a kind of a tacit acknowledgment, that theſe irregular expreſſions contained ſome myſtery, which they did not think lawful to divulge. This was the reaſon why a learned rabbi (25), who was ſeverely charged with having betrayed the myſteries of his religion, becauſe the ſtraitneſs of his circumſtances had forced him to accept of the generous offer, from a Roman cardinal, of a large ſalary for teaching the Hebrew tongue, proteſts, among other things, which he urges in his own vindication, that he had never ſo much as explained the firſt verſe of Geneſis.

But what will convince our readers, that this was the caſe of the writers of the Talmud, is the anſwer that is given, in the chapter above quoted, to the queſtion, why the throne of God is in the plural number in Daniel's viſion (26). The words in the Chaldee are כרסון רמון, Carſevan remiú, which our verſion renders the thrones were caſt down, contrary to the expreſs meaning of the verb רמם which ſignifies to raiſe, to exalt, and ſet up, in which ſenſe all the Jews do rightly underſtand it. The queſtion therefore that is aſked is, why the throne, on which the antient of days was to ſit, is put in the plural? after ſeveral trifling anſwers, which are given as the ſolutions of ſeveral learned rabbies, the laſt but one pretends, that the plural implies the thrones of God and of David; the laſt and concluding one is to the following purpoſe, that it is blaſphemy to ſet the creature on the throne of the creator, bleſſed for ever, and cloſes the whole with

(23) Tract. Sanhedrin.
‡ Vide vol. i. p. 166. note (o). ejuſd. in Grammat. Hæbraic.
(24) Gen. i. 26. iii. 22, & alib.
(25) Elias Levit. vide præf.
(26) Dan. vii. 9.

wear them for a sign upon their head, as frontlets between their eyes, and write them upon the gates, posts, and other parts of their houses [f].

That they shall circumcise their hearts, as well as their flesh [g] (I); and be no more rebellious to him, but serve him sincerely, cleave unto him, and swear by his name alone [h].

That the whole law shall be read by the priests to all the people, men, women, and children, every seventh year, at the feast of the tabernacles [i], and the substance of it shall be learned by heart by every Israelite; and that every king of Israel shall be obliged to write a copy of it with his own hand, from that which was by Moses committed to the custody of the Levites, in order to be constantly read and observed by him [k] (K).

[f] Ibid. ver. 6, & seq. (g) Deut. x. 16. & alib. pass. [h] Ibid. ver. 20. [i] Ibid. xxxi. 9, & seq. ad 19. [k] Ibid. xvii. 18, & seq.

with these notable words, if any one can solve this difficulty, let him do it, if not, let him go his way and not attempt it. The meaning of it being too obvious to want explaining we shall wholly submit to the reader, and only add, that something very like this seems to be intimated in that distinction in their creed, about the unity of God, namely, that he is one by an oneness or unity peculiar to himself *.

(I) What is meant by the circumcision of the heart needs not be told, it being here and elsewhere put in opposition to stubbornness, rebellion, and stiff-neckedness. We have already spoken of that in the flesh in another section (27); the manner in which it was performed shall be shewn, when we come to speak of the Jewish ceremonies.

(K) What the abstract or substance of the law was, we have elsewhere shewn †, but the Jews conclude, from the words of Moses (28), *write ye therefore this song, &c.* that every private man was obliged to write likewise, a copy of it; but seems rather, that he only enjoined them to learn it by heart *. They add, that if the king had not writ a copy of it before he came to the crown, he was obliged to write two after it, the one to be deposited in his treasure-house, and the other to be kept about him for his daily meditation and instruction (29).

(L) This

* Art. 1. (27) Vid. vol. ii. p. 407. sub. note (R). † Vd. vol. iii. p. 40. sub note (F). (28) Deut. xxxi. 19. * Vide vol. iii. p. 43. and sub note (H). (29) Vide præcept, affirm. 24, 25.

THAT all bleſſings ſhall be thankfully acknowledged to come from God (L), and his puniſhment ſubmiſſively received, as fatherly chaſtiſements, or tryals of their obedience [l].

THE law ſhall be engraven upon ſtones, and ſet up upon an altar, and the bleſſings of obedience and curſes for diſobedience ſhall be publickly ſet up upon the mounts Gebal and Gerizim, for a perpetual remembrance [m].

No forgiveneſs, or deliverance from puniſhment for any diſobedience ſhall be expected, without a deep ſenſe and acknowledgment of the fault [n].

BURNT offerings, ſacrifices, tithes, vows, firſtlings of the flock, and free-will-offerings, ſhall be brought and ſacrificed at no other place, but that which the Lord ſhall appoint [o].

Laws

[l] Ibid. viii. paſſ. [m] Ibid. xxvii. 1. ad fin. 28. paſſ. [n] Ibid. xxx. paſſ. [o] Ibid. xii. 5, & ſeq.

(L) This commnad of praiſing the Lord for his bleſſings, they alſo extend to ſaying grace at leaſt before meat, in which their ſtrictneſs is ſuch, that if a man through inadvertency chance to neglect it, he is bound, if he is gone abroad, to return home, as ſoon as he recollects his omiſſion, and perform that duty. They likewiſe enforce from it the neceſſity of waſhing of hands before eating, and affirm, that he that eats with unclean hands is equally guilty with him that eateth unclean meat. They add many more of the like ſuperſtitious niceties, for which, however, they own, they have no poſitive command, either in the written or oral law; except that one which enjoyns them to ſubmit to the ordinances of their wiſe men (30). Well therefore might our Saviour ſo often reprove them, for being ſtricter obſervers of theſe human injunctions, than they were of the more weighty points of the law of God, juſtice, mercy, &c. (31).

(30) Vide præc. Affirm. 27. (31) Matt. xv. 3. & ſeq.

Laws, poſitive and negative, concerning the ſabbath, paſſover, and other feſtivals, holy days, and faſts.

Laws concerning the ſabbath.

THE ſabbath, or ſeventh day, ſhall be kept holy [p] (M). No ſervile work ſhall be done in it, by maſter,

[p] Exod. xxiii. 14. xxxiv. 23. Deut. xvi. 16, & alib.

(M) What the ſanctification of the ſabbath conſiſted in before David, or rather Solomon's time, except repairing to the tabernacle, if they dwelt near it, rehearſing the wonders which God had done for them, and a total ceſſation from work, is not eaſy to gueſs. We have endeavoured in a former ſection (32) to account for this indolent obſervation, from which the day is called שבת, Sabbath, or reſt. The Jewiſh doctors have ſtretched this abſtinence from work to the moſt ſuperſtitious degree. They extend it not only to every buſineſs that tends to the getting of food and raiment, ſuch as plowing, ſowing, reaping, threſhing, and the like, which they make to amount to thirty nine negative precepts, beſides many others which are as appendixes to them; ſuch as thoſe that follow: graſs muſt not be walked upon leſt it be bruiſed by it: a horſe muſt not be rid leſt it be galled; if wet of any kind fall upon one's cloaths it muſt not be wringed out, nor dirt be bruſhed off them; an apple muſt not be put to the fire to roaſt, nor any liquid be mingled with muſtard, tho' never ſo dry; a flea muſt not be caught whilſt it hops about, but if it faſten upon the fleſh it may; vermin that is ingendered by the ſweat of the body, ſuch as lice, &c. reptiles and inſects that ſting, ſuch as vipers, ſcorpions, waſps, gnats, and the like, may be killed, and ſo may mad dogs and wild beaſts, if they aſſault one, but if quiet or running from one, they muſt be let alone.

Whatever ought to be done in publick is likewiſe forbid to be done in private; tho' they do not all ageee in this, ſome of them thinking it lawful to do ſome things in private, ſuch as wiping any dirt or filth off ones cloaths, or the like in a corner, which it would be unlawful to do in ſight of others. If a houſe chance to be ſet on fire, nothing is to be ſaved from the flames but the victuals and cloaths deſigned for the ſabbath, unleſs it be a cheſt or bag in which there is a ſacred book, in which caſe it may be carried off, tho' there chance to be alſo money in it.

It

(32) Sup. p. 39. ſub. fin. note (E).

ſter, ſervant, ſlave, ſtranger, or cattle [q]. There ſhall no fire be kindled on that day [r], nor any thing bought or ſold

[q] Exod. xx. 8, & ſeq. Deut. v. 12, & ſeq. [r] Exod. xxv. 3.

It is not lawful to ride in a coach or cart tho' a heathen drive it. No ſinging, dancing, playing upon inſtruments, or any kind of noiſe is allowed, tho' it were to quiet a croſs child. No cauſe is to be tryed, accounts made or caſt up, or marriages ſolemnized. No diſcourſe about buying and ſelling, or any other worldly matter, much leſs looſe and profane talk is to be ſuffered; a field, vineyard, orchard, and the like is not to be viſited on the ſabbath, with many more of the like nature. However, they allow it to be violated in caſes of dangerous ſickneſs, by adminiſtering any help to the ſick; a woman may be aſſiſted in her labour, or even be cut open, if ſhe die in it and there be any hope of ſaving the child.

The poſitive precepts concerning the ſabbath run much in the ſame ſtrain, we ſhall only inſtance in two or three of them. On that day every one is obliged, according to their circumſtances, to put on clean linen, to wear better cloaths than ordinary, to eat fleſh, fiſh, or fowl, and to drink wine, and to eat at leaſt once in ſix hours. Care alſo is to be taken, that a clean table-cloath be laid, and the victuals ſet upon it, the beds made and the lamps lighted before the entrance of the ſabbath, which begins and ends with them on or about ſun-ſet, according to the ſaying in Geneſis, *the evening and the morning were the firſt day* (33.)

A learned Jewiſh author tells us ‡, that they were obliged, in all diſtricts and towns throughout Iſrael, to blow the trumpet, on the evening of the ſixth day, ſix different times, from ſome eminence, whence it might be eaſily heard at a due diſtance, ſo that they who were abroad in the fields might have timely notice to repair to their habitations before the ſabbath began. Accordingly at the ſound of the firſt trumpet they left off work, and began to march homeward: at the ſecond ſounding, all ſhops, ſtalls, and places of trade were ſhut up: at the third the pots and kettles were taken off the fire, the tables cover'd, and the meat dreſſed for the ſabbath was ſet upon them, &c.—— The laſt trumpet was generally about ſun-ſet; and on the next night, as ſoon as they could perceive two or three ſtars in the ſky, the trumpets

(33) Gen. i. 5. vide Munſt. in loc. & præcep. negat. & affirm. de ſabbat. ‡ Maimon. tract. שבת cap. v. ſect. 27. vide Goodwin's Moſes and Aaron, l. iii. c. 3. § 10.

fold. No person shall be put to death for any crime whatsoever

trumpets blew from the same places to proclaim the end of the sabbath; at which time the head of the family, after a short prayer, wished himself and the rest a good week, as he did a good sabbath at the entrance of it. From this blowing of these trumpets from some high places, a cabbalistical philologist (34) hath concluded, that the מוסך השבת. Mussak hassabath, the vail, or as our version renders it, the covering of the sabbath, which king Ahaz took away from the temple (35), was some kind of watch-tower on the top of it, from which the priests used to proclaim the entrance and exit of the sabbath to those that lived at Jerusalem. But, for ought we can see, it might as well have been any thing else.

The Jews are fallen into several extravagant notions about the sabbath, some of which we shall but just hint; such as that the obligation of sanctifying it is of much greater force than any other command: that it is the soul and totum of all the rest; so that he that violates it breaks all the rest. That on that day the dæmons, satyrs, and other such hurtful creatures shun the light of it, and do not return from deserts and dark caverns to infest mankind till it is over, with many more of the like nature, which the reader may see at full length in Leo de Modena (36).

It must be owned, however, that many of the wiser Jews do make the sanctification of the sabbath to consist in duties of a more noble nature, than these talmudical trifles; namely, in meditation on the wonderful works of God, in the study of his law, and instructing those that are under them in it (37). Some of them do even maintain, that they used to assemble themselves every sabbath, even from the time of Moses, to hear the law read and expounded (38). And this is likewise believed by several learned men amongst the Christians (39), who infer it from the words of St. James, that Moses ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων has in every city those who preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath day (40). All that we dare say is, that the much greater number are of opinion, that this custom was not set on foot till Esdras's time. All that the priests were commanded to do on the sabbath was only to set the new shew-bread on the tables, to take

(34) Rheinferd op. philolog. differt. 18. (35) 2 King. xvi. 18. (36) Cerem. jud. part iii. c. 1. vide & Munst. in Gen. ii. 1. & Exod. xx. & præc. affir. 29. (37) Vid. Munst. in Exod. xx. Meyer. de temp. sacr. cap. ix. § 66. (38) Phil. in vit. mos. Joseph. cont. Apion, lib. ii. talm. hieros. tract. megill. Maimon. tephilah, & Bircath-hacohanim, & al mult. (39) Vide Coccei sum. theol. c. xxi. § 14. & seq. Grot. & Meyer. ub sup. (40) Act. xv. 21. comp, with ver. 36.

take away the old one (41), and to offer the meat, drink, and burnt-offerings peculiar to that day (42); however, their antient doctors did ſince clog it with ſuch a number and variety of precepts and ſubtilties; and thoſe that came after have been ſo divided about the right meaning of them, and their practice has ſo often varied, that it is impoſſible for them to know whether they kept it right or not. This made ſome of their rabbies ſay, that if they could but obſerve two ſabbaths as they ought, God would ſoon put an end to all their miſeries (43).

Whether the obſervation of the ſabbath or ſeventh day be as old as the creation, as ſome authors both Jews and Chriſtians contend for, from thoſe words of Moſes, *and the Lord bleſſed the ſeventh day and ſanctified it* (44), or whether that text means no more, than that God ſet apart that day to be afterwards obſerved by the Iſraelites, as the far greater part of the fathers and chriſtian commentators underſtand it; is a queſtion which, tho' more curious than important, has been very ſtrenuouſly debated on all hands. The Jews are as divided about it as we are; for whilſt ſome affect to call the ſabbath their ſpouſe, as being granted to the Jews alone excluſive of all other nations (45), others affirm, that all the patriarchs and all good men did obſerve it up to Adam, whom they pretend to have been the author of the 92d pſalm, intitled, a pſalm or ſong for the ſabbath day (46). They likewiſe interpret the words in Geneſis, *becauſe Abraham ——— has kept my charge*, of his keeping the ſabbath (47). The ſame they affirm of Jacob, and add, that the reaſon of his takeing up his lodging in the open field in his way to Meſopotamia, was, that it happened to be the eve of the ſabbath, ſo that he was obliged to ſtop there as ſoon as he perceived that the ſun was about ſetting (48). Job's offering ſacrifices, for his ſeven ſons every ſeventh day, is likewiſe underſtood of his keeping of the ſabbath, though another reaſon ſeems to be given in the text (49).

Joſephus and Philo go ſtill further, and affirm, that the obſervation of it had been preſerved among the Gentiles. The former ſays, that there were ſcarce any nation, either Greek or Barbarian, that did not in ſome meaſure conform to the obſervance of the ſabbath (50); and Philo aſſures us (51), that it was not a feſtival peculiar to any nation or country, but common to

(41) Levit. xxiv. 6, 8. (42) Num. xxviii. 6, & ſeq
(43) Vide Buxtorf. ſynag, Jud. c- xi. (44.) Gen. ii. 3.
(45) Vide Selden & rabbin. ab eo citatos. (46) Vide chald. paraphr. targum, in titul Pſ. xcii. middraſh tehill. talm. babyl. tract. Sanhedr. & al. (47) R. Salom. in Gen, xxvi. 5.
(48) Bereſh. rabb. paraſh. 79. talm. tract שבת R. Bechai, & al.
(49) Vide Abenez. in Job. i. 25. (50) Cont. Apion. lib. ii ad fin. (51) De opific. mund.

to all, and kept as a kind of birth-day of the world. He adds in another place, that the Jews, whilſt in Egypt, having quite forgot the ſeventh day, God was pleaſed to indicate it to them by ſending them manna ſix days, and ſtaying it on the ſeventh (52). We find likewiſe ſeveral antient writers among the Heathen, ſuch as Homer, Heſiod, and others quoted by the fathers, who ſpeak of the ſeventh day as ſacred to religion (53). Something like this may alſo be gathered from that abſurd account, which ſome others, particularly Tacitus and Plutarch, give of the Jews, obſerving it in imitation of the Heathens, who conſecrated that day to Saturn according to the former (54), or to Bacchus according to the latter, who adds, that he was alſo named Sabbos, becauſe they uſed frequently to ſhout out the word Sabboi at his feſtival (55). However, as theſe teſtimonies would at beſt amount to a bare probability, and ſeem contradicted by ſome expreſs texts both in the writings of Moſes and ſome of the prophets (56,) which intimate, that the ſabbath was given to the Iſraelites for a memorial of their deliverance from Egyptian bondage, and to diſtinguiſh them from all other nations; the far greater part of Chriſtians, both ancient and modern, have declared for the other ſide (57); and it muſt be owned, that if that feſtival had been inſtituted and kept from the beginning, we cannot ſee why Moſes ſhould be ſo exact and cautious in the particulars he gives about the inſtitution and obſervance of it, eſpecially in his prohibition of gathering manna on that day; unleſs we ſuppoſe with Philo, that the Iſraelites had quite loſt the memory of it.

We muſt beg leave to cloſe this note with taking notice of that expreſſion in one of the goſpels (58), ε'ν σαεβάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ, in the ſecond prime ſabbath, or, as our verſion more clearly renders it, on the ſecond ſabbath after the firſt, which has puzzled a world of Commentators, till Joſ. Scaliger did hit upon an explication (59), which has been univerſally approved and followed ever ſince (60). We need not trouble our readers with the various conjectures of the reſt. That of our author carries its own evidence, being founded on the Jewiſh manner,

(52) In vit. moſ. lib. i. (53) Vide Euſeb. de præp. lib. xiii. c. 12. Clem. Alex. ſtromat. lib. v. & al. (54) Hiſtor. lib. v. (55 Sympoſiac. lib. iv. (56) Vide Exod. xxxi. 13. Deut. v. 15. & alib. paſſ. vide & Jerem. xvii. 22. Ezek. xx. 12, 20. (57) Juſt. dial. cont. Tryph. Tertul. cont. Jud. lib. iv. Iren. cont. Hæreſ. lib. iv. & al. vide Seld. de Jur. natural. Gent. juxt. diſcipl. Hæbr. lib. iii. c. 13. & ſeq. Spenc. de leg. rit. Hæbr. Jun. le Clerc, Calm. comm. in Gen. ii. & al mult. (58) Luke vi. i. (59) De emend. temp. lib. vi. (60) Vide Lightfoot, Cauſab. Baron, Jun. Grot. in loc. Goodwin's Moſ. & Aar. Sir Iſaac Newt. & al.

ſoever, no travelling ſhall be allowed on the ſabbath [s] (N).

THE ſabbath-breaker ſhall be ſtoned [t]; with ſeveral others, either to the ſame purpoſe, or of leſs moment.

Laws relating to the three grand feſtivals, the paſſover, the feaſt of the weeks, and the feaſt of the tabernacle.

THREE times a year ſhall all the male children appear before the Lord their God, at the place by him appointed; namely, at the feaſt of unleavened bread, or paſſover, at the feaſt of the weeks, or pentecoſt, and at the feaſt of tabernacles. They ſhall not come empty handed before him, but every man ſhall offer unto the Lord The three grand feſtivals.

[s] Ibid. xvi. 29. & alib. [t] Ibid. xxxi. 14, 15.

manner of computing the ſabbaths from the feaſt of the paſſover to that of the weeks, or from Eaſter to Whitſunday. The firſt of theſe, namely, that which immediately followed the two great feaſts, or the firſt and laſt day of the paſſover, was by them called שבת שני דשאן, Sabbath Sheni-reſhon, the ſecond prime ſabbath; the next was called the ſecond ſecond, or the ſecond after the ſecond prime; the third ſecond third, and ſo unto the ſeventh, which laſt did immediately precede the feaſt of the weeks or pentecoſt (61). The fact for which this ſabbath is recorded by the evangeliſt, namely, Chriſt's diſciples plucking and rubbing the ears of corn, confirms this expoſition, their harveſt happening always between Eaſter and Whitſunday.

(N) Tho' the text doth expreſly ſay, that they ſhall not ſtir out of their place, yet it could mean no other than a prohibition of going out to gather manna, for it is plain, they were obliged to repair to the tabernacle from all parts of the camp, and afterwards to the temple from all quarters of Jeruſalem (62); however, the Jews underſtand it of going out about worldly buſineſs, or for pleaſure, and indeed upon any account, beyond what they call a ſabbath day's journey, this diſtance is not indeed fixed by Moſes or any other prophet, but is determined at two thouſand cubits. And tho' they differ among themſelves about the length of that meaſure, ſome making it much longer than others, yet they agree, that the ſafeſt way is not to exceed two thouſand moderate

(61) Vide ſi lib. Miſhnam tract. יומא cap. 5. (62) Vide Levit. xxiii. 3.

Lord, according to the ability wherewith he hath bleſſed him *_* (O).

Of

_ Deut. xvi. 16, 17. Exod. xxiv. 23, & alib.

derate paces, (63), and this ſeems to be pretty near the diſtance between Jeruſalem and the Mount of Olives, which St. Luke calls, *a ſabbath day's journey* (64.), of which we have already ſpoken †, however, he that exceeded that diſtance was not judged a violater of the ſabbath, but came off with a beating, whereas the breaker of it was to be ſtoned to death (65).

(O) The Talmud, however, exempts from this obligation, 1. The women, who were to take care of their families, unleſs their huſbands permitted them to go with them, as in the caſe of Hannah and the virgin Mary. 2. Boys under 12 years of age, who were not under the obligation of the law, or called בני התורה, Bene-hathorah, that is, the ſons or diſciples of the law, till they were entered into the 13th, and this ſeems to be the reaſon why Chriſt did not make his firſt appearance among the doctors at the feaſt, till he had attained to that age. 3. All old men above ſixty. 4. All the ſick and impotent lunatics, &c. And laſtly, all that either lived at ſuch a diſtance from the tabernacle, and afterwards from the temple, or were any otherwiſe ſo weak, that they could not perform the journey on foot.

Nothing could be more wiſely calculated to preſerve the union of the Jewiſh nation, already ſo ſtrongly cemented by their religion, laws, weights, meaſures, cuſtoms, &c. which were common to them all, than this frequent and univerſal concourſe to the chief place of worſhip. But here ariſe two very great difficulties: firſt, how Jeruſalem could contain ſuch prodigious multitudes, as did flock to thoſe ſolemnities from all parts of Judea; and ſecondly, how the Iſraelites could leave their towns and villages deſtitute of males, without the greateſt danger from thoſe nations which were ſtill left amongſt them, and would be ready, no doubt, to embrace every opportunity of retrieving their lands and liberties. Add to this, that thoſe who lived upon the borders of the land, ran ſtill a greater riſk of being invaded by their neighbours, if they had left their country under no better guard than that of old men, women, and children.

To the firſt difficulty, beſides what has been hinted in the geography of the land, concerning the capaciouſneſs of Jeruſalem; it

(63) Vid. Maim. Tract. עירבת, c. v. ſect. 27. Goodwin's Moſ. & Aar. lib. iii. c. 3. § 10. (64) Acts i. 12. † Vide ſup. p. 53. note (L). (65) Vide Maim. ubi ſup.

Of the paſſover.

WE have already ſpoken of its inſtitution, and the occaſion and deſign of it in a former ſection †; the laws relating to it are to the following purpoſe. Eaſter or paſſover.

It

† vol. ii. p. 573.

it may be anſwered firſt, that they did not all appear together on the ſame day, but that they took it by turns, and ſtayed in the city but one night; and on the next morning, having performed their devotions, they departed and made way for others. This is plain from the inſtance of Elkanah; and ſecondly, that there were tents and other conveniencies for their reception, not only in the empty ſpaces within, but likewiſe in all convenient places without, the walls of the city. And if this be thought ſtill inſufficient for ſo vaſt a concourſe, what is anſwered to the ſecond difficulty, of their leaving the country too much expoſed to their enemies, will eaſily remove all that is left of the firſt.

And here we need not have recourſe to improbable conjectures, as Cunæus, Baſnage, and others have done, who think, that this obligation laſted no longer than during their abode in the wilderneſs, when their nearneſs to the tabernacle did eaſily admit of it. For, beſides that, if this had been the caſe, there would have been need for Jeroboam to ſet up the golden calves to prevent his ten tribes going to Jeruſalem, their hiſtory furniſhes us from time to time with ſufficient teſtimonies, that theſe feſtivals were kept conſtantly till after our Saviour's time, as it plainly appears from the vaſt multitudes that were at Jeruſalem, from all parts of the world, at the feaſt of pentecoſt, when the holy ghoſt fell upon the apoſtles. Neither need we ſecondly ſuppoſe with others, that they only ſent a certain proportion of men, as one in ten or twelve to Jeruſalem, to be as it were the repreſentatives, and to offer the gifts of the reſt, whilſt theſe kept the ſolemnity in their own towns. For if any ſuch thing had been either allowed or practiſed, we ſhould certainly have met with ſomething of it in holy writ, whereas the contrary doth rather appear, from the inſtances above-mentioned. But ſince there was a permiſſion from God, that they that were unable to celebrate the paſſover on the firſt month ſhould do it in the ſecond, as we ſhall ſee in the next note; will it not be more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they might extend this indulgence alſo to the other feſtivals? ſo as that one half of the males ſhould ſtay at home to guard their houſes,

whilſt

It ſhall be of perpetual obligation, both to the Iſraelites and to all circumciſed proſelytes [u].

No circumciſed perſon, whether of the ſeed of Abraham, or admitted into the commonwealth by circumciſion, unleſs hindered by ſickneſs, journeying, or ſome legal impurity, ſhall omit the annual celebration of it, under the penalty of being cut off from his people [x] (P).

No ſervant or ſtranger ſhall eat of it, unleſs he become circumciſed [y].

THE

[u] Exod. xii. 14, 24, & alib. [x] Num. ix. 13, 14.
[y] Exod. xii. 43, & ſeq.

whilſt the others went up, and, at their return, to go and partake of the ſolemnity of the ſecond month. It is indeed urged, that there was a promiſe from God, that none ſhould deſire their lands whilſt they went up to appear befor him, but, beſides that their natural backwardneſs in believing him gives us little reaſon to think, that they would commit their wives, children, and all that was dear to them to his ſole care, whilſt they went ſo far from them to worſhip him, it is plain, that thoſe promiſes were only conditional, that is, as long as they continued ſtedfaſt in their obedience, which was ſo ſeldom their caſe, that had their faith in his promiſes been ſtronger than it was, yet their diſobedience gave them but ſmall encouragement to lay hold on them to ſuch a degree.

(P) We have already given the moſt probable meaning of this penalty *, and indeed conſidering that the principal end of this inſtitution was not only to perpetuate the memory of all the wonders which God did in Egypt and at the Red-ſea, but alſo to make it a ſtanding and irrefragable monument to all poſterity of the truth and certainty of thoſe amazing works ‡; nothing could be more expedient than to enforce the obſervation of it under ſome ſevere penalties. However, it is evident by the ſequel, that they did not underſtand it of a capital puniſhment, ſuch as was to be inflicted on blaſphemers, idolaters, ſabbath-breakears, and the like, ſeeing they not only omitted to celebrate it, during their abode in the wilderneſs, without any viſible excuſe (66); but were afterwards guilty of a moſt ſhameful neglect of it, during ſeveral wicked reigns, till Hezekiah, and after him Joſiah, revived it (67), as we ſhall ſee in its proper place.

As

* Vol. ii. p. 573.
(66) Vide ſup. p. 72, paſſ.
‡ Pag. 590, See before note (P).
(67) 2 Chron. xxx. & xxxv.

THE feaſt (Q) ſhall begin on the eve of the fourteenth day of the month Abif, or, as the original expreſſes it, between

As for thoſe who by reaſon of any legal impurity, whether accidental or voluntary, were unfit for, and thoſe who were hindered by any lawful impediment, from celebrating this feſtival, with the reſt of the people, on the month Niſan, they were ordered to keep it with the uſual ceremony on the following month called Jair. This indulgence was granted by God himſelf in favour of ſome men, who had defiled themſelves by aſſiſting at the burial of ſome relation (68); and was afterwards made uſe of by the prieſts and Levites, who being under ſome legal impurities, when the king commanded them to revive this feſtival at its uſual time, were forced to poſtpone it to the next month (69).

(Q) This feſtival is called in the original פסח, peſach, from the verb paſſach, which ſignifies to paſs by, or leap over, and not from the Greek, πασχω, to ſuffer, as if it had been prophetical of Chriſt's ſuffering at that feaſt, as ſome antient fathers have imagined for want of underſtanding Hebrew (70). God himſelf explained the etymon, where he commanded them to tell their children, that this was the ſacrifice of the Lord's paſſover אשר פסח, Aſher paſſach, who paſſed by or leaped over the houſes of the Iſraelites (71). It was to begin דעַרְבַּיִם, Be-harvaim, between the two evenings (72) of the 14th of the month called by Moſes, Abif, which properly ſignifies the ſtalk that bears the ear of corn, becauſe wheat begins to be ripe about this time. This month was afterwards called Niſan, and anſwers to our March and April. The expreſſion between the two evenings is variouſly taken. Some reckon the firſt evening to be between noon and ſun-ſet (73), others between two and ſix (74), but the moſt rational opinion, and the moſt received is, that the firſt evening is that which immediately follows ſun-ſet, and that the ſecond begins when that planet is ſo far ſunk below the horizon, that the ſtars do viſibly appear above it (75).

The computation of this new year began at the firſt new moon that happened neareſt or upon the vernal equinox; with this rule, that the preceding full-moon, how near ſoever to it, belonged to the laſt month of the former year. Now as they had no aſtronomical tables to regulate thoſe conjunctions, but were forced to

(68) Vide Num. ix. 6, & ſeq. (69) 2 Chron. xxx. 3. (70) Tertul. cont. Judg. c. 10. Ambros, lib. de Myſter. Paſch. & al. (71) Exod. xii. 27. (72) Ibid. ver. 6. (73) D. Kimchi ap. Munſt. in loc. (74) Calm. Dic. ſub. voc. Paque. (75) Moſ. Gerund. Abenezr. Salom. & al. in loc.

tween the two evenings [z], at which time the paſchal lamb ſhall be killed (R); and the feſtival be continued, till the one and twentieth day of the ſame month at evening.

THE

[z] Ibid. ver. 6. See the margin of our Bible.

to guide themſelves by the firſt appearance of the new-moon, all their diligence in ſending out people to obſerve it from high places at ſun-ſet could not prevent great irregularities happening in their months and years, becauſe ſometimes it is not to be ſeen till the ſecond or third night, nor even then if clouds interpoſe. Add to this, that they were in all other reſpects ſo negligent of their chronology, that it is no wonder, if ſo many learned men have laboured ſo much to correct and adjuſt it (76), and with ſo little ſucceſs. However, as to the new-moons, and thoſe feſtivals which depended upon them, and indeed all other computations of time, they were committed to the care of the prieſts and judges, and the people were obliged to abide by their calculations, whether they proved right or wrong (77).

(R) This ordinance of the paſchal lamb our learned Spencer thinks to have been one of thoſe which God expreſly appointed in oppoſition to the Zabian and Ægyptian worſhip, in order to cure, as he expreſſes it, the Iſraelites of their itch of idolatry, becauſe the ram among them was ſacred to Jupiter. He adds alſo, that the ceremony of killing, dreſſing, and eating it, namely, neither boiled nor raw, but roaſted, with the head and all other the appurtenances, that a bone of it ſhould not be broken, &c. were in like manner oppoſite to thoſe that were uſed in ſacrifices by thoſe idolaters (78).

As to the Ægyptians, the reader may ſee by what we have often ſaid on that head, that this pretended contrariety is at beſt but very lame and imperfect. 1. Becauſe as they inſtead of ſheep ſacrificed goats to him, ſo here Moſes ordains the killing either a lamb or a kid; and 2. becauſe even they once a year killed a ram in honour of that God, and cloathed his golden ſtatue with the ſkin of it; ſo that there was nothing in this paſchal lamb ſo very proper to obliterate that piece of idolatry in the worſhip of Jupiter.

As for the ſect of the צבאים, Tzeboim, or סבאים, Seboim, we dare venture to ſay, that it is, at leaſt, a very bold aſſumption in our author, to make it more antient than Moſes. when he tells us

(76) Vide ſup. vide & Scaliger. ubi ſup. Vignier. Genebr. Uſſer. Sir Iſ. Newt. Bedford, & al. (77) Vide præc. affirm. 46. (78) De Leg. Rit. Hæbr. lib. ii. c. 24.

THE firſt and laſt day ſhall be kept holy and free from all ſervile work, even as the ſabbath, except only that on the former victuals may be dreſſed, but not on the latter [a]; thoſe two days ſhall likewiſe be ſolemnized by an holy convocation [b] (S).

No

[a] Compar. Exod. xii. 16. with xxxv. 3. [b] Ibid. ver. 16.

us himſelf in another place (79), that nothing is more obſcure and uncertain, than its origin and antiquity, and that there are as many opinions as authors, and errors as opinions, about it. He quotes every where the teſtimony of Ben Maimon, who tells us among other things (80), that he came to underſtand the deſign and meaning of a great number of Moſes's laws, by being converſant with the religion, worſhip, and ceremonies of the Zabeans; from which he adds, that Abraham, who was brought up in them, had been converted, but of what weight the opinion of a Jew, and he far from a ſtrict one, can be, to account for the deſign of the Moſaic laws, or of what authority his teſtimony can be, who lived but in the 12th century, to prove the Zabeans to have been ſo conſiderable a ſect in Abraham's, or even in Moſes's, time, that God ſhould take ſuch care to preſerve his people from their idolatry, by giving them a great number of ceremonies that were quite oppoſite to theirs, we ſubmit to the reader. Dean Prideaux ſeems indeed very fond of Maimon's notion, and wonders that any one ſhould miſtake it (81), but brings neither proof nor teſtimony ſufficient to back it. However, as to the paſchal lamb we may more juſtly wonder, that any Chriſtian ſhould fetch its origin from ſo dark and muddy a ſource, when the writers of the new Teſtament have pointed to us one that is ſo much clearer and more divine, its being a type of Chriſt. We ſhall find a more proper place to ſpeak of the nation, or rather ſect, of the Zabeans, and to ſhew how little their boaſted antiquity is to be depended upon.

(S) We find no precept about the keeping of the five intermediate days, except the eating of unleavened bread and abſtaining from very laborious works. The rabbies have ſupplied that defect by their comments. They allow that time to be ſpent in mirth and all lawful recreations; they enjoin all, eſpecially the women, to wear the gayeſt apparel, to eat fleſh, fiſh, and fowl, and to drink wine. Weddings are forbid during this, and the other

(79) Ubi ſup. c. i. ſect. 1. 2, & ſeq. (80) More Nevoch. part iii. c 29, & 40. Havodah Zarah, c. 11, 12, & alib. paſſ. (81) Connect. part 1. lib. iii.

No leaven of any kind ſhall be uſed or even kept in the houſe during thoſe ſeven days; whoſoever uſeth any leaven on thoſe days ſhall be cut off from Iſrael [c] (T): all leaven therefore ſhall be removed out of the houſe before the paſchal lamb is killed [d].

On the firſt day of the paſſover ſhall be offered a burnt-ſacrifice of two young bullocks, one ram, and ſeven lambs of the firſt year; with ſome other offerings of leſs value [e]; and on the ſecond day of the feaſt ſhall be offered, beſides the uſual ſacrifices, a ſheaf of the firſt fruit of that year's harveſt; no new corn ſhall be eaten in any way before the firſt ſheaf has been preſented unto the Lord [f] (V). Some other

[c] Ibid. ver. 15, 19. [d] Ibid. 34. 25, & alib. vide præc. aff. 347. [e] Num. xxviii. 19, & ſeq. [f] Levit. xxiii. 10, & ſeq.

other two grand feſtivals, leaſt the joy that attends the former ſhould make them forget the occaſion of the latter. Some allow labours of neceſſity to be done during thoſe five days, and others think it unlawful to take up a ſtraw to pick their teeth. However, they all agree, that women may ſhave and waſh themſelves, or even their cloaths upon ſome occaſions (82). There is one merry injunction of theirs, that obliges every man and woman, tho' they be ſo poor that they live by alms, to drink at leaſt four bumpers of wine on the firſt night of the paſſover, whilſt they are rehearſing the wonders wrought by God in Egypt and at the Red-ſea (83), with ſome more of the like nature not worth repeating (84).

(T) This curſe is underſtood to extend only to the perſon that eats any thing that has leaven, and not to him who only keeps it within his doors, and whoſe tranſgreſſion is only puniſhed with a certain number of ſtripes. But in the former caſe their doctors are ſo ſtrict, that they even forbid eating a foul in whoſe crop is found one ſingle grain of corn, becauſe it is apt to ferment where it meets with moiſture. They have likewiſe ſeveral wild diſtinctions with regard to liquors that are, or are not, apt to ferment, which are more nice than true, and conſequently not worth being dwelt upon (85).

(V) We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of all the different kinds of firſt-fruits which were to be offered to God, as a token of their ſubmiſſion,

(82) Vide præc. neg. 75. (83) Pr. aff. 40. (84) Pr. neg. 77, & ſeq. (85) Ibid. pr. 77, & ſeq.

other ordinances of leſs moment about this and other feſtivals are interſperſed in the pentateuch, which we therefore omit.

The feaſt of the weeks, or pentecoſt.

THIS feaſt was inſtituted in memory of the law being given upon mount Sinai, fifty days after the exod (W), The feaſt of weeks. and

ſubmiſſion, gratitude, and dependance, and the manner of offering them, when we come to ſpeak of offerings in general. As for this ſheave we are now ſpeaking of, it was to be of barley, becauſe that is the firſt corn that is ripe about this time in that country. It was reaped on the evening of the 15th day of Niſan, and was to be offered up in the name of the whole nation. Thus far the text. The Jews add, that as ſoon as the evening of the firſt day of the paſſover was come, at which time the ſecond began, and in which ſome kind of works might be done, the בֵּית דִּין, Beth-din, or great council aſſembled, and deputed three men to go and gather the ſheave with a kind of ſolemnity, at which great crouds, from the neighbouring cities, flocked to Jeruſalem, within whoſe territories it was to be gathered. Theſe deputies aſked three times whether the ſun was ſet, and were as often anſwered by the by-ſtanders in the affirmative. They then aſked three times leave to reap the ſheave, and it was no ſooner granted, than they entered into three different fields, each with a ſickle in his hand, and gathered each a diſtinct parcel, which they put into three different boxes, and brought them to the temple. Here they were threſhed, winnowed, and parched, and an Homer, which contains about three pints, was filled with it, and preſented to the prieſt, who poured a quantity of oil, and threw ſome incenſe upon it, and having heaved it to the Lord towards the four points of the compaſs, he threw ſome part of it on the fire of the altar, and the reſt he kept for himſelf. After this ceremony, it was lawful for every man to begin his harveſt (86).

(W) The reader may remember, that the Iſraelites came out of Egypt on the 15th of the firſt month Abif, or Niſan (87), and came to Sinai on the 3d day of the 3d month, two days after which the law or decalogue was given in the preſence of all the people (88).

(86) Vide מנהות ס. Maimon. ומוספים ס. תמידים Abenezr. in Deut. xxvi. & al. (87) Exod. xii. 3, 6, 41, 51. (88) Ibid. xix. 1, 13, & ſeq. vide vol. ii. p. 576. & p. 600. & ſeq.

and to oblige the people to appear before the Lord, to offer the firſt-fruits of their harveſt (X), as an acknowledgement of his abſolute right and dominion over them and their land, and of their dependence, upon him.

Seven weeks, or fifty days, were to be reckoned from the ſixteenth day of the month Niſan, which was the ſecond of the paſſover, and the fiftieth day was to be the firſt day of this feſtival (Y).

The ſacrifices ordained upon this day were to be, beſides the two loaves, ſeven lambs of the firſt year, one young bullock, and two rams, to be for a burnt-offering; together with their uſual meat and drink-offering, and likewiſe a kid for a ſin-offering, and two lambs for a peace-offering (Z). No ſervile work was to be done on that day, ſave

(X) Some commentators are of opinion, that every family was bound to offer two loaves of the firſt fruits of the new corn, but it is more reaſonable, that there were but two in all, offered in the name of the whole nation, as the firſt barley-ſheave was, which we mentioned in the laſt note but one. Theſe loaves were made of wheat, becauſe the wheat harveſt was ended about the time of this feſtival.

(Y) It is therefore called in the original חג שבועות Chagg Shebughoth, or the feaſt of weeks, from the ſeven weeks which were reckoned from that of the paſſover; as from the fifty days the Greeks gave it the name of pentecoſt. Neither the text, nor Joſephus, nor any antient Hebrew writer, tells us, whether or no this feaſt laſted ſeven days, like theſe of the paſſover and of the tabernacles. However, the modern Jews keep it but two days, during which all ſervile work, except dreſſing their meat, is wholly ſet aſide. As for their other ceremonies on thoſe two days, as they are foreign to our purpoſe, the curious reader may ſee them in Leo de Modena (89).

(Z) There is ſome difference between the ſacrifices that are ordered on this feſtival, in Leviticus and in Numbers (90). Joſephus joins them all together (91), but whoever compares them will rather think, that there is ſome error in the tranſcriber, either in one or the other of theſe places. Buxtorf tells us, that the Jews were ſo afraid leſt they ſhould be miſtaken in their calculation of this feſtival, and that of the paſſover, that they kept it two days inſtead of one. He inſtances in one place in Judith (92), in which

(89) Cerem. Jud. part iii. c. 4.
(90) Comp. Levit. xxiii. 18, 19. & Num. xxviii. 27.
(91) Ant. lib. iii. c. 10.
(92) Judith viii. 6.

ſave that victuals might be dreſſed, and a holy convocation was to be called, as on other ſolemn feſtivals [g].

The feaſt of the tabernacles.

THIS feſtival was ordained in memory of the forty years abode of the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs; for which reaſon it is called the feaſt of the tabernacles, or tents (A); not only becauſe they lived in tents, or booths, during all that time, but becauſe it was to be celebrated in ſuch kinds of booths, made of the branches of ſeveral ſorts of trees, ſuch as willows, palms, olives, and the like (B), and erected in the moſt decent and convenient manner [h]. The feaſt of tabernacles.

THIS

[g] Levit. xxxiii. 15, 16, 18, 19. Exod. xxiv. 22. Numb. xxviii. 27, & alib. [h] Levit. xxiii. 40, & ſeq. & alib.

which the Greek ſeems to confirm his aſſertion, and by that means removes the difficulty which has been ſtarted of our Saviour's eating the paſſover one day before the reſt of the Jews (93).

(A) The original calls it חג הסוכות, Chagg Haſſukoth, the feaſt of the tents or booths, from which the Greeks gave it the name of Σκηνοπηγια, Skenopegia (94). Tho' the text ſays it was appointed in memory of their abode in the wilderneſs; yet the Chaldee paraphraſt ſeems to have underſtood it, not of their living in tents, but in the open air, when he renders the word סוכות, Succoth, Tents, by מטלא ענניס, the ſhade of the clouds. It is likewiſe thought to have been inſtituted as a feaſt of thankſgiving for the concluſion of their harveſt and vintage, which did generally end there about this time, which anſwers to the beginning of our October.

(B) Moſes gives us a fuller deſcription of this feaſt (25) than of any other, probably, becauſe it was not to be celebrated till after they were ſettled in the promiſed land; but as to the particular trees of which the booths were made, and the manner of their ſtructure, they are not ſo eaſily to be underſtood. The firſt word that

(93) Synag. Jud. vide & Cyril. Alex. in Joh. xiii. Chryſoſt. Homil. 82. Epiphan. Eutym. Paul Burg. P. de Midelo. Scalig. Janſen. Maldon. & al. mult.

(94) LXX, & 1 Maccab. x. 21. 2 Maccab. i. 8, & alib.

(95) Levit. xxiii. 40.

This feaſt was the third grand one, and equal in ſolemnity to the other two, except in what related particularly to the paſſover. It began on the eve of the fifteenth day of the ſeventh month called Tiſri, which was the firſt of the civil year, and anſwered to part of our September, by which time all the harveſt being finiſhed and brought in, they returned their ſolemn thanks to God for it [1]. It was to laſt ſeven days, the firſt and laſt of which were kept with the greateſt ſtrictneſs

[1] Exod. xxiii. 16.

that is mentioned there is עץ הדר, Ghetz-hadar, goodly tree, or, as the original imports, rich or magnificent wood, which the Jews will have to be the citron tree (96). The others are the תמר, Thamar, or Palm; the 3d עץ עבות, which ſignifies any thick or buſhy wood; and the laſt ערוי נהל, which certainly ſignifies river or water willows: But when Nehemiah (97) directs the people what brances to gather for the revival of this feaſt, he calls the firſt זית, Zajith, the olive, the ſecond עץ שמן, Ghetz-ſhemen, fat or oily wood, which is applicable to any wood that abounds with turpentine, as the pine, fir, &c. the third is called הדס, Hadas, concerning which we know little but the name; and to theſe three he adds the palm and thick wood, concerning which we are alſo in the dark, tho' the Jews think it was the myrtle, which they have uſed ever ſince; and ſeveral interpreters have tranſlated it ſo accordingly; in particular Joſephus (28), the Syriac, the generality of the rabbies, and Chriſtians. However, the two firſt are differently named from thoſe in Leviticus, but whether they are the ſame trees or not is neither certain nor of great importance. It is rather more likely by this difference of names in thoſe two places, that they were not ſo ſcrupulous about the exact choice of them, as about getting ſuch as were the moſt beautiful, fragrant, and convenient, that the land could afford, and eſpecially ſuch as would beſt keep their verdure during thoſe ſeven days. This, at leaſt, was the caſe of the wiſe Caraites, who, deſpiſing the niceties of the Cabbaliſts, thought they ſufficiently anſwered the deſign of the law-giver, if they lived in ſuch tents or booths as their fore-fathers had done in the wilderneſs; whilſt the Talmudiſts and their commentators have rather obliterated it by their numberleſs additions to it †.

(96) Vide Munſt. in loc. (97) Nehem. viii. 16. (98) Antiq. lib. iii. c. 10. Rabbin. Leo Jud. Jun. in loc. Baſnag. Rep. Hæb. tom. 1. lib. ii. c. 24. & al mult. † Vide Miſhn. Tract. סוכה, Arbah. Thurim. Maimon. Tract. תשובה & alib.

ſtrictneſs (C), by repairing to the tabernacle, or temple, with palms and other branches in their hands, by marching round the altar, and ſinging the praiſes of God; by ſacrifices peculiar to the ſolemnity, over and above the uſual ones, and

(C) The firſt day of this feſtival was uſhered in by a general proceſſion, in which the men carried branches of thoſe trees mentioned in the laſt note, ſome in one hand, and ſome in the other, waving them about to the four winds, and ſinging ſome pſalms or hymns proper for the ſolemnity, and crying Hoſannah! which word doth properly ſignify, ſave we beſeech thee; from this word the laſt day of the feaſt, on which this ceremony of carrying palms round the altar was performed ſeven times, and with greater ſolemnity, in memory as is pretended (99) of the taking of Jericho *_*, was called Hoſannah Rabbah, or the day of the great Hoſannah.

The Jews add, that every Iſraelite who neglected to carry theſe branches any morning of the ſolemnity, and to go with them round the altar of burnt-offering, was not to eat during all that day. The hundred and eighteenth pſalm is likewiſe ſuppoſed to have been ſung on, if not compoſed for, that feſtival, becauſe there are not only ſeveral expreſſions in it that have an affinity to it, ſuch as theſe: אנא יהוה הושעה נא אנא יהוה הצליחה נא ana adonai haſhiahah-na ana adonai hatzlichah na (100); but alſo from the very analogy of the whole compoſure with the ceremonies of that feaſt; ſuch as the praying more particularly for the coming of the Meſſiah, for the proſperity of the next year, the fetching of water from the pool of Siloah, and the like; but whether theſe and ſeveral other particulars, which they obſerved in it, were uſed during the ſtanding of the firſt temple, or were afterwards introduced by Eſdras and others of their great ſynagogue in proceſs of time, is too uncertain to be dwelt longer upon. As for the ceremony of fetching water from Siloah's pool, it ſeems to be of much later date, and to have been introduced but a little before our Saviour's time, tho' ſome of the Jews attribute the inſtitution of it to the prophets Haggai and Zechariah (1). Our Saviour is thought to have had alluded to this, when he cried in the temple, on the laſt day of this feaſt, *If any man thirſt let him come unto me*, &c. (2).

(99) Baſnag. ibid: *_* Hoſpen. Orig. Feſt. c. 7. Munſt. in calend. & al. (100) Pſ. cxviii 25. (1) Vide Cun. ub. ſup. Calm. ſub. voc. pentecoſt, Meyer, Feſt Heb. Goodwin's Moſ. & Aar. & al. vide & Miſhn. ſub tit. סוכה & Woot. & al. Comment, in ead. (2) John vii. 37, 38.

and by a ceſſation from all ſervile works, except cookery [k].

They were likewiſe obliged to dwell in thoſe booths all the ſeven days, and to eat and drink, and lie in them (D), unleſs lawfully hindered [l].

The

[k] Numb. xxix. 13, & alib.

[l] Ibid. ver. 14. ad fin.

(D) The Jews except out of this number, the ſick and their nurſes, and thoſe who could not bear either the dampneſs of the earth, or the fragrancy of the boughs. They add, that as theſe booths were not to be covered with any thing but branches, and theſe not to be ſet up ſo thick but that they might ſee the ſtars through them; they were allowed to retire into their own houſes whenever it rained through them (3). It is not at all unlikely, that from theſe ceremonies of carrying branches in their hands, &c. Plutarch might take it into his head to affirm, that the Jews celebrated this feaſt to Bacchus, and that they entered into their temples with branches of the vine and thirſe in their hands, tho' he knew not what was done in the inſide of them (4). It is true, that Joſephus, ſpeaking of this feaſt, and of the noſegay or bunch of greens which the Jews wore in it (5), calls it εἰρεσιώνη, which among the Greeks ſignified a bunch of olive tyed up with wool, on which did hang great variety of fruit. This noſegay uſed to be carried by a child, and laid at the gate of the temple of Apollo (6). But our author here tells us, that the Jewiſh one was made up of myrtle, willow, and palm, on which hung little ſprouts of peach, or as others render it, young citrons. However that be, Spencer has from thence fancied, that it was inſtituted by Moſes in imitation of the Heathen, who about that time uſed to celebrate ſome feaſts to their gods, with the ſame mirth and ſolemnity (7), but Moſes gives us a quite different reaſon, namely, that their poſterity might know, that God had made the Iſraelites to dwell in booths at their coming out of Egypt (8), and elſewhere, that they departed from Rameſes and encamped at Succoth (9), ſo called from the booths which they reared up there, the place abounding with proper materials for them.

Walton adds another reaſon to this of Moſes, namely, that it was on the 10th day of the month Tizri that Moſes came down the ſecond time from the mount, and brought them the joyful news that God was appeaſed for the ſin of the golden Calf, and that

(3) Vide Munſt. in Levit. xxiii. Præc. aff. & neg. & auct. ſup. citat. (4) Sympoſiac. probl. v. (5) Ant. lib. iii. c. 10. (6) Vide Gloſſ. in voc. (7) De Leg. Rit. Jud. lib. i. c. 6 & lib. iii. c. 8. (8) Levit. xxiii. 42. (9) Exod. xii. 37. vide vol. ii. 451, 576.

THE ſacrifices peculiar to this feaſt were, on the firſt day, thirteen

that he had ordered the tabernacle of the congregation to be reared up (which that idolatrous defection had obſtructed for a time), in token, that he did now no longer diſdain to be among them, ſeeing he vouchſafed to dwell with them in the tabernacle (10); and as he obſerves there, that this happened ſix months after the exod, it doth account for that feaſt being inſtituted in that month, rather than in the firſt, in which the people began to live in booths or tents. Maimon gives indeed another reaſon for it, namely, that that ſeaſon was fitter to dwell in booths, than the other (11); but he forgets, that if there be any difference between the months Niſan and Tizri, that is, between March and April, and September and October, the former ſeems to have the preferrence. And therefore the learned R. Jaacob Levita doth judiciouſly enough obſerve, that God did chuſe the latter for the celebration of that feaſt, becauſe that was the time in which the cold mornings, winds, and rains, obliged people to quit theſe kind of dwellings, who had lived in them all the ſummer, for the ſake of coolneſs; whereas, had he appointed it in Niſan, the 15th of which anſwers to about the beginning of our April, there would have been nothing ſingular enough to have put them in mind of the occaſion of it, ſeeing that was the ſeaſon in which people left their houſes for ſuch airy booths (12). However, as this feſtival was likewiſe inſtituted as a thanksgiving for the concluſion of their harveſt and vintage; upon which account it was alſo called חג לולב, Chagg lullabh, the feaſt of branches, and חג האסף, the feaſt of gathering †; this is reaſon ſufficient for its being appointed in that that month, in which the whole was generally finiſhed. Several interpreters, both Jewiſh and Chriſtian, have thought that the pſalms which are intitled על הגתית, Ghal Haggittith, which are the 8th, 81ſt, and 84th, were compoſed for this ſolemnity, becauſe the word Gittith ſignifies a wine preſs (13): But Leo de Modena (14) tells us, that the pſalms which begin with הללויה, Halleluja, that is, the 111, 112, 113, &c. to the 118, where the proper ones to be ſung on that day. Thoſe who are curious to know how the Jews do obſerve this feaſt ſince their diſperſion may find a full account of it in the ſame author and place.

(10) Harmon. Evang. ad Luc. iii. 21. ap. Meyer de Templ. Sacr. cap. 16. § 3. (11) More Nevoch. lib. iii. c. 43. מדרים, de Rit. Jud. per tot. an. Vide Mey. ubi. ſup. § 4. (12) מדרים. de Feſt Jud. p. tot. ann. † Vide Abarb, in Levit. 23. Meyer, & al. (13) Vide Theoph. in John vii. (14) Cerem. Jud. part ii. c. 7.

thirteen bullocks, two rams, fourteen lambs of a year old; all without blemiſh, which were offered up in a burnt-offering, with their uſual meat and drink-offerings, conſiſting of a certain quantity of flour mingled with oil, and ſome wine. To theſe was added likewiſe a kid, for a ſin-offering, which was offered up in the name of the whole people of Iſrael; beſides the uſual morning and evening ſacrifices, which were never to be intermitted, and thoſe which any one might offer out of devotion. On the ſecond day they offered twelve bullocks, fourteen lambs, with their concomitant offerings of flour and wine, and a kid, as on the firſt day; and thus on the third, fourth, fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh, they offered the ſame ſacrifices, with this difference only, that they leſſened every day one bullock, ſo that on this laſt day they ſacrificed but ſeven (E); as for the other offerings, they continued the ſame throughout. On the eighth

(E) The reaſon which the Jews give for leſſening one bullock every day is, that the whole number of them offered in thoſe ſeven days amounted to 70, which they ſay is the number of the nations for whom theſe ſacrifices were offered, that they might dwindle by little and little, till they were all brought under the ſcepter of the Meſſiah, who is emphatically called the deſire of all nations (15). Thoſe who have called this 8th day the Hoſanna-rabba (16), are certainly contradicted by all the Jews, who affirm that it was the ſeventh day, (17), as for this eighth day on which there was to be what moſt interpreters render as we do, a ſolemn aſſembly; the Hebrew word עצרת Ghetz-ereth, ſignifies a retention, or as our margin hath it (18), reſtraint, for which reaſon they affirm, that, after the ſeventh day was over, and ſo conſequently the feſtival, the people uſed to ſtay, or to be detained one day longer (19). On this day it is, that the Jews end the laſt paraſha or ſection of the pentateuch, and immediately after, begin the firſt, that they may not ſeem to be better pleaſed with having ended the one, than with beginning the other (20), and for this reaſon it is called חג שמחת תורה, the feaſt of the joy of the law (21).

(15) Haggai ii. 7. Vide Hoſpin. Orig. Feſt. in loc. Goodwin's Moſ. & Aar. lib. iii. c. 6. § 8. (16) Goodwin, ubi ſup. Calm. in voc. Tabernacle. (17) Vide Miſhn. ubi. ſup. Shulchan, Haruch, Arbah, Thurim, & al. (18) Levit. xxiii. 36. (19) Vide Munſt. ibid. Meyer. de Feſt. c. xvi. § 15. (20) Buxtorf in Abreviat. & Synag. Jud. c. 28. vide & Abarb. in Deut. 31. (21) ר אלעזר, Exod. xxiii. 16. & xxxiv. 22.

eighth or laſt day, which was the moſt ſolemn of all, and on which they were to hold a ſolemn aſſembly, and to abſtain from all ſervile work, they offered but one bullock, one ram, and ſeven lambs, beſides the goat for a ſin-offering, and the uſual and voluntary ſacrifices[l]; which laſt did riſe and fall, according as their harveſt had been more or leſs plentiful. Laſtly, on this day the firſt fruits of thoſe things, which were of later growth, were brought up and offered to God, and theſe came ſometimes in ſuch numbers, that they were forced to continue the feaſt one day longer[m].

The feaſt of the trumpets and new moons.

The feaſt of the trumpets.

WE have already taken notice, that the month Tiſri was the firſt of the civil, as that of Abib or Niſan was of the ſacred, year; this feaſt was appointed to be kept on the firſt and ſecond day of that month. It was to be uſhered in by the ſound of the trumpets, to be kept holy, free from all ſervile work, and to be diſtinguiſhed from other new-moons by particular ſacrifices[n].

As the ſcripture doth no where give the reaſon of this feſtival, authors are much divided about it, the Jews in general believe, it was inſtituted in memory of the creation, which happened on that month (F) †, tho' ſome rabbies think, that it was alſo in memory of Iſaac's deliverance, and of the

[l] Ibid. ver. 14, ad fin. [m] Vide Sigonius, Bertrand, Cunnæus, Meyer, Goodw. & al. [n] Levit. xxiii. 24, Num. xxix. 12 & ſeq. † See vol. i. p. 175.

(F) The Gemarrah doth poſitively, affirm, that בחשרי ברא העולם the world was created in the month of Tiſri, for which reaſon it is thought, that this feaſt was ordained to prevent the old or civil year being obliterated by the ſacred, and obſerves that that of the tabernacles was to be kept בתקפת השנה, at the revolution or return, or, as our verſion renders it, tho' not ſo properly, at the end of the year †. And the miſhna adds, that the firſt day of this month is the head of the year, from which the ſeventh year, the jubilee, &c. are to be computed (22).

† Vide Maim. kiduſh hakodeſh c. 9. (22) Tract. ראש שנה, cap. 1. vide & levit. xxv, 3, 5, 6.

the ram that was caught by the horns, and ſubſtituted for him [o]. Some of the fathers think, it was in memory of the law being given upon mount Sinai [p], at which time the trumpet and thunder was heard: others laſtly, from ſome of the ceremonies obſerved by the Jews by way of preparation for, and from ſome of their notions about, the feſtival (G), have fancied, that it was to put mankind in mind of

[o] Vide R. Sal. Fag. Munſt. & al. in Levit. xxiii. [p] Baſil. in Pſ. lxxxi. Theodoret, qu. 32 in levit.

(G) The antient Jews had a notion, that God paſſed a kind of judgment upon men at this time, for the good or bad deeds of the foregoing year, according to which he ordered his bleſſings and puniſhments for the next (23). The miſhna expreſly ſays—— that at the beginning of the year they paſs before him like ſheep, according to the ſaying of the pſalmiſt (24), *from the place of his habitation he looketh upon the inhabitants of the earth, he formed their hearts alike, and conſiders* [or takes notice of] *all their works.* For this reaſon they thought that nothing could be more proper to awaken men from their ſleep of ſin than the ſound of the trumpets according to that of the prophet Joel (25), *blow the trumpet in Sion, and ſanctify a faſt,* &c. Accordingly Maimon obſerves from the Megillah tahanith, that the trumpets, which were more ſolemnly blown on faſt days, were proper to excite men to prepare themſelves during the ten days, that were between this feaſt and the next faſting day, or day of expiation, for the work of repentance (26). Remarkable is the ſpeech which a learned Jewiſh rabbi has tranſmitted to us (27), which then uſed to accompany the ſound of the trumpets. Awake, awake from your ſleep, awake, ye that deal in vanity, for deadly is the ſleep that holdeth you. Conſider ſeriouſly in your hearts who it is that ye are going to appear before to give an account, &c. The apoſtle ſeems to allude to this in his epiſtle to the Epheſians (28).

Hitherto there is nothing either improbable or abſurd; but that is more than we can ſay of the additions which have been ſince made to the Talmud; we ſhall only inſtance in two or three of them: they believe, that God keeps three books, one of the good

(23) Ubi ſup. (24) Pſ. xxxiii, 14, 15. Vide Hotting. & Wootton, in Miſhn. (25) Ch. ii. paſſ. (26) More nevoch. part. iii, ch. 43. (27) ר' שים טוב, comm. in maim. in loc. (28) Ch. v. 14. Vide Goodw. ubi ſup. § 6.

of the general reſurrection, which is to be uſhered in by the ſound of the trumpet [q]; but the moſt probable reaſon for this feaſt, and for proclaiming the entrance of the civil year by the ſound of the trumpets, ſeems to be in order to render it more obſervable, ſeeing all their contracts, mortgages, bargains, and ſuch like, as well as their ſabbatic years and jubilees, were to be regulated by it [r]; for which reaſon the trumpets ceaſed not to ſound every where from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſetting *.

THE proper ſacrifices for this ſolemnity were a bullock, two rams, and ſeven lambs, offered up in a ſolemn burnt-offering, with the uſual addition of flour and wine, in the name of the whole nation, beſides the kid for a ſin-offering, and the daily and monthly ſacrifices [s].

The new moons.

THE Iſraelites were commanded to obſerve the firſt day of every month or moon, and to offer, beſides the uſual ſacrifices, a burnt-offering of two young bullocks, one New moons.

[q] Vide Goodw. ubi ſup. § 6.
* Vide Shindler, ſub voc. שפר.
[r] Idem ibid. § 5.
[s] Num. xxix. 3, & ſeq.

good, a ſecond of the bad, and a third of thoſe that are neither one nor the other. The firſt is the book of life, the ſecond that of death, and thoſe that are in the third are to be tranſferred either to the firſt or ſecond on the next expiation day, according as they grow better or worſe. Thoſe two books have two kinds of pages, the one for this life, the other for the next, and it is on this day that they think their names are written for that year. Upon this account they take particular care, whatever they do the reſt of the year, to be well employed about this time. Some appear in the ſynagogue in white, others in their ſhrouds, in token of repentance; others will plunge themſelves gradually into the water, confeſſing their ſins and ſmiting their breaſts as they ſink lower and lower, till they are over head and ears in it; and laſtly, others will give themſelves 49 laſhes on their bare backs, or procure ſomebody to do it for them, and after theſe mortifications and ſuitable prayers, &c. they wiſh one another the happineſs of being written down for a good year (29).

(29) Vide Buxtorf, Synag. jud. Hoſpin, Goodwin, Leo de moden. & al.

one lamb, and ſeven rams, with the uſual quantity of flower, wine and oil [t]. The moſt ſolemn of all the twelve was that of the month Tiſri, which we ſpoke of laſt, and which was kept holy upon a particular account. The reſt had nothing to diſtinguiſh them from common days, except the ſacrifices above mentioned, which were accompanied with the ſound of the trumpets (H); making better cheer, and perhaps uſing ſome kind of devotion or aſſemblies peculiar to thoſe days. We find nothing like it indeed enjoined by Moſes, but one may gather the former from David's excuſe for abſenting himſelf from Saul's table on the firſt day of the month, and Saul's reſenting it [u], and the latter from what the Shunamite's huſband ſaid to diſſuade her from going

[t] Ibid xxviit. 11, 12, &c: [u] 1 Sam. xx., 18, 27. 5

(H) The fixing the time of the new-moon, for want of aſtronomical tables, was done in this manner. The firſt men that obſerved, or thought they did obſerve, the new-moon, were to repair with all ſpeed to the grand council, and to give notice of it. An enquiry was then made, 1ſt, whether the perſons were credible witneſſes, and ſecondly whether their report agreed with ſuch computations as they were then able to make; in which caſe the preſident proclaimed the new-moon by ſaying מְקֻדָּשׁ, Mekudaſh, it is conſecrated, which word was twice repeated aloud by the people; after which it was ordered to be proclaimed every where by the ſound of the trumpet, or by other ways according to the time and plabes (30).

Some authors have denied that theſe new-moons were proclaimed by the trumpet (31), and think, that only the firſt in their civil year was ſo; whereas the contrary is plain from the expreſs command of Moſes 32, and blow the trumpet in the beginning of their months; but whether the diſtinction which the Jews make between the trumpets which the text calls חֲצֹצְרוֹת hatzotzeroth, and thoſe that are called שׁוֹפָר, Shoper, and between the ſound that is called תְּרוּעָה Terughah; and that which is called קוֹל, Col, voice, and תְּקִיעָה, Tekugh, be ſo well founded as they pretend, is hardly worth enquiring. They affirm, however, that theſe two inſtruments differed in length, ſhape, and ſound, and that the one, which was the nobleſt of the two, was ſounded on the firſt day of the new year, and the other on the firſt day of the month (33.)

(30) Vide Hottinger, in Goodwin. ubi ſup. § 7. ſub note 5.
(31) Goodw. ubi ſup. § 4.
(32) Num. x. ix.
(33) Vide Hotting. ubi. ſup. ſub. note 3.

going to the prophet Eliſha, that it was neither new moon or ſabbath [w].

HOWEVER, though in all other reſpects this day was like a common day, they were very ſcrupulous in the obſerving of it, and as the ſpace of the moon's entering and comeing out of the partile conjunction of the ſun, belongs one half to the old, and the other to the new, month, and they had no ſure way of computing it with any exactneſs or certainty, they obſerved two days, namely, the laſt day of the old, and the firſt day of the new, for greater ſecurity. That this cuſtom began very early, ſeems plainly intimated in the inſtance we have given of Saul, wherein it is ſaid, that he excuſed David for his abſence on the firſt day, but reſented it on the ſecond.

THIS irregularity of the moon obliged them likewiſe to make ſome tranſpoſitions of the days of the month, in order to fix the beginning of that of Tiſri; and of the reſt of the months according to that (I). But how early theſe

[w] 2 Kings. iv. 23.

(I) The reaſon of this tranſpoſition was threefold, monthly, political, and mixt(34); the monthly was, leſt they ſhould celebrate the new-moon before the old one was expired. The political was, leſt two ſabbaths or days of reſt ſhould follow one another, becauſe, as it was forbid to dreſs victuals, bury their dead, &c. on ſuch days, they thought it a grievance to live two days upon cold meat, and to keep the dead bodies ſo long above ground. The mixed tranſpoſition is that which is done upon an account that is partly menſtrual and partly political. Theſe diſtinctions are in many reſpects very judicious and neceſſary, but they have branched them out at ſuch a rate, and with ſub-diſtinctions, and nice rules for the right uſe of them, that we chuſe to refer the readers that are curious about ſnch things, to thoſe authors mentioned above.

We ſhall only add with reſpect to theſe Neomeniæ, that our Spencer has a long diſſertation to prove, that the Heathen did likewiſe obſerve them in honour of the moon (35); but what he would inſinuate from it, that the Jewiſh ones were appointed in imitation of the others, is what we think a wild conjecture; neither do we ſee any reaſon for ſuppoſing, that either ſide did borrow this

(34) Scalig. ubi ſup. lib. ii. c. 1. diſſert. 4.

(35) De leg. Rit. lib. iii.

theſe tranſpoſitions began is what cannot eaſily be conjectured. All that we know is, that Scaliger has taken an infinite deal of pains to find out and rectify them, and that they have ſince been of great uſe in many caſes, as may be ſeen by the book itſelf, and by the authors quoted in the margin [x].

These are all the feaſt-days that were appointed by the Moſaic law, the Jews added in proceſs of time ſeveral others in memory of ſome great mercies, ſuch as that of Purim or Lots, in memory of their deliverance from Haman's cruelty [y], the dedication of the temple, and many more, which we ſhall not need mention here, becauſe they are below our epocha. All that needs be added to the foregoing is, that there was a command, that if any part remained unconſumed of the ſacrifices offered on thoſe ſolemnities, after the firſt and ſecond day, or even before, if the fleſh of them had contracted any filth, fly-blow, or ill ſmell, it was not to be eaten, but burned to aſhes [z].

Laws concerning the ſabbatic and jubbilee years.

THE ſabbatic, or ſeventh year, and the jubilee, which happened once in ſeven times ſeven years, are alſo to be looked upon as ſolemn times. They were appointed by God, and deſigned for reſt and rejoicing; and as they did bear a kind of analogy, or rather were a kind of conſequence of the ſabbath, or ſeventh day, they may upon that account be alſo reckoned among their ſolemn feſtivals.

The

[x] De Emendat. Temp. Hoſpin. Orig. Feſt. Buxt. Goodw. Mey. Uſſer. & Munſter, & al. mult. [y] Eſther. c. ult. ver. 20. & ſeq. [z] Levit. vii. 15, & ſeq. Præc. aff. 207, 208.

this rite from the other: the worſhip of the moon being common to almoſt all the Heathen, it was natural enough for them to pay her ſome particular honour at her firſt appearance, without knowing any thing of the Jewiſh laws; and as for the other ſide of the ſuppoſition, it is what we have already oppoſed upon other heads, and ſhall avoid repeating here †.

† Vide vol. ii. p. 407, note (R) 609, note (Y) & (Z).

THE Moſaic law diſtinguiſhes four ſorts of years: 1. The civil, according to which all political matters were regulated, conſiſting of twelve ſolar, and afterwards of lunar, months (K), beginning at the month of Tiſri, or September,

(K) It is plain by the calculation which Moſes gives us of the days of the flood (36), and elſewhere, that the year conſiſted of 365 days, and conſequently of 12 ſolar months, the laſt of which conſiſted of 35 days; and it is more than probable, that, having been brought up in Egypt he had learned that way of reckoning from them, becauſe they are generally allowed to be the firſt inventors of it, as we have ſeen in their hiſtory *. Beſides that it muſt have been the moſt known and eaſy method to the Iſraelites, who had been accuſtomed to it during their long abode there. Scaliger (37) and others after him have indeed ſuppoſed, that they had an intercalar month once in ſixſcore years, but it is plain, that the ſcripture hints nothing like ſuch an intercalation, or year of 13 months; tho' it is not eaſy to gueſs what they did with the ſix additional hours of the Egyptians to the 365 days without ſome ſuch ſuppoſition. However, Moſes, by the expreſs command of God (38), did afterwards compute the year by moons, for that is the meaning of the word חדש, Chodeſh, from חדש, to renew, tho' our Engliſh verſion renders it month; and theſe anſwered partly to each of our months, and partly to the next.

The ſame authors have imagined, that the Iſraelites had no names for their months before the captivity (39), becauſe they are often diſtinguiſhed only by their numbers, as firſt, ſecond, &c. yet it is certain, we find ſome of them called by particular names long before; thus we have ſeen, that the firſt month of the ſacred year was originally called אביב Abib. We find likewiſe that of זו, Zif, (40), איתנים, Ethanim (41), and בול, Bull (42); from which it is not improbable, that the others might likewiſe have their names, tho' they are not recorded, and are oftener mentioned by their numbers. As for the etymology of thoſe names, as well as of thoſe which they uſed after the captivity, about which the learned have puzzled their brains more than the thing deſerves, we think them too uncertain to trouble our readers with it, and ſhall

(36) Gen. vii. & viii. paſſ. * Vide vol. i. p. 580.
(37) De Emend. Temp. lib. iii. (38) Exod. xii. 2.
(39) Vide Hotting. in Goodw. lib. iii. c. 1. § 13. note 3.
(40) 1 Kings vi. 1. (41) Ibid. c. viii. 2. (42) Ibid. vi. 38.

ber, as we ſaid above. 2. The ſacred, which began at the month Niſan, or March, which was the ſeventh of the civil year, and regulated the order of all their religious ceremonies; ſo that the paſſover, which happened in the middle of that month, was, as it were, the mother of all the other feſtivals. 3. The ſabbatic, or ſeventh, year; and 4. The jubilee or fiftieth year, which was kept at the end of ſeven weeks of years. We have already ſaid as much as is neceſſary concerning the two firſt.

Laws concerning the ſeventh years.

THE ſabbatic year was to be kept every ſeventh year; the obſervation of it conſiſted chiefly in the five following articles.

1. A total ceſſation from all manner of agriculture [a].
2. In leaving all the product of their ground to the poor, the orphan, and the ſtranger [b].
3. In the releaſe of all Hebrew ſlaves, unleſs they voluntarily renounced their proferred liberty, and choſe to abide by their old maſters; in which caſe they were to be brought before the judges, and to have their ears bored in their preſence, in token, that they freely

[a] Levit. xxv. 4. [b] Ibid. ver. 6.

ſhall content ourſelves with ſubjoining a liſt of the names themſelves which is as follows:

		Days.		
1	Tiſri	39	Anſwers to our	September
2	Marcheſhvan	29		October
3	Chaſleu	30		November
4	Thebet	29		December
5	Sebat	30		January
6	Adar	29		February
7	Niſan	30		March
8	Yiar	29		April
9	Sivan	30		May
10	Thammuz	29		June
11	Abib	30		July
12	Elul	29		Auguſt.

To this liſt they added, in proceſs of time, the intercalar month, which they called ואדר, Veadar, that is, and, or, the ſecond, Adar, as that was the laſt of the ſacred year.

freely embraced a perpetual ſervitude, or at leaſt till the year of jubilee [c].

4. In the remiſſion of all debts from one Iſraelite to another; but this did not extend to ſtrangers, who were excluded that benefit [d].

5. It was to begin and end on the month Tiſri, or September, that ſo there might be ſufficient time for gathering all the fruits of the earth of that year, and for ſowing it againſt the next year, that ſo the land might not lie fallow two years together [e] (L). Some other

[c] Exod. xxi. 2, & ſeq. & alib. [d] Deut. xv. 1, & ſeq.
[e] Levit. xxv. 9.

(L) This year is by Moſes called by ſeveral names, as שנה השבעית, Shanah haſhbighith, the ſeventh year, שבת הארץ. Sabbath haaretz, the ſabbath, or reſt of the earth; שמטה ליהוה, Shemitah Ladonai, the releaſe of the Lord, and the like. The time of year in which it was to begin is no where fixed by Moſes, but is eaſily gathered from that of the jubilee, which was to begin on the 10th of the 7th month (43), and from the reaſon of the thing given under that article, as well as from the generality of Jewiſh authors. Neither is it agreed, how ſoon this ſabbatic year was obſerved after their entrance into Canaan, concerning which it would be endleſs to mention all the different conjectures of the learned, both Jews and Chriſtians. The reader may, if he pleaſes, conſult the authors quoted in the margin (44); all that we dare advance on the ſubject is, that if any opinion appears to us more probable than another, it is that of the learned arch-biſhop Uſher, who fixes it on the ſeventh year after the manna ceaſed, at which time they began to ſow and till the ground ‡. Cunæus ſpeaks more particularly to the ſame effect; his words run thus (45): there is no neceſſity for beginning the epoch of the ſeven years at the diviſion of the land of Canaan, but rather at the death of Moſes, which was the 41ſt year after the exod, and then the firſt ſabbatic year will be on the ſeventh after the paſſage of Jordan; ſo that after having been taken

(43) Levit. xv. 9. (44) Gemar. Kidduſh. Gemar. Hieroſ. in loc. Sedar. Holam. Maimon. de Shemitah & Yobel, paſſ. Abarban. in Joſh. xiv. 12, & alib. R. Dav. Gantz. in Zemach. & al. Scaliger. Annot. in Chronic. Euſeb. & alib. Goodw. Moſ. & Aar. lib. iii. c. 9. Munſt. Calend. Meyer de Temp. Sacr. cap. 17. Cun. Colm. & al. ‡ Sub. A. M. 2554. (45) Vide Baſnag. Rep. Heb. tom. ii. c. 8.

other laws, we find relating to this year, such as that those servants, who were released in it, should not go away empty, but that a compensation should be made to them for their service [f]; that they should not withdraw any needful assistance from their poor brethren, by reason of the nearness of the seventh year [g]; with some others relating to the opening of their fields, orchards, and vineyards to all comers, and the like (M). Among these, was that remarkable

[f] Deut. xv. 13, & seq. [g] Ibid. ver. 7, & seq.

taken up six years in the conquest and dividing the land, the seventh proved in all respects a year of rest, seeing they rested from their conquests, and peaceably enjoyed the fruit of them, and of the conquered land,

There is likewise no small dispute, whether the release of debts and of slaves was to take place at the beginning or end of the sabbatic year. The original orders it to be done מקץ שבע שנים, at, or from, the end of seven years; from which Maimon would infer, that it was not to take place till the seventh year was expired; but tho' there is some difference between saying at the end of seven years, and at the end of the seventh year, yet is it generally believed to have taken place at the beginning of it, because the week of years was then complete.

(M) It may be perhaps asked, what they lived upon during that year, if they must relinquish the product of all their lands to the poor? But it must be remembered, that they were allowed to take as much out of it as was sufficient for themselves and their families (46). However, as some of them made a scruple to touch even any of these, we may reasonably suppose, that they made what provision they could against that time of such things as could be easily preserved, such as corn, wine, oyl, olives, raisins, figs, dates, pulse, and the like; and as to herbs, roots, fruits, and all kind of ספיח, or things of a spontaneous growth, they might gather them in their own or any other ground. Tho' even this some of their rigid scribes pronounce unlawful, not so much because the law expressly forbids it, as for fear of transgressing by too great a liberty (47), But the misfortune is, that before the Babylonish captivity they were so far from being such scrupulous observers of these laws, that their prophets were continually upbraiding them with the universal

(46) Levit. xxv. 6. Tract. שביעית, cap. vi.

(47) Vide Ben Maim. ubi sup.

able one, which we have taken notice of in another place, of reading the law before all the people on the day of pentecoſt. For, as they were to abſtain from all works of huſbandry, there is no doubt, but there was a greater concourſe to hear it, than could have been at any other intermediate year.

THE reaſons and excellence of theſe laws, as well as thoſe that relate to the jubilee, are obvious to every one, being extremely proper to breed up a faithleſs and ſtubborn nation in a conſtant dependance upon, and ſubjection to, the divine providence, and to inſpire them with ſentiments of mercy and beneficence towards their poor brethren, ſervants, ſlaves, and ſtrangers, by reminding them of verſal breach of them, and in particular, for defrauding and oppreſſing the poor in this point; but after they had been chaſtiſed for their incorrigible diſobedience, they ran into the contrary extreme, and this produced that vaſt number of gloſſes and ordinances, which we find in their Talmud and rabbinical writeings, and which grew up to ſuch a height of ſuperſtition, that it almoſt obliterated the main deſign of the law. Tho' it muſt alſo be owned, that they were not alike ſtrict, and that ſome of their head doctors and lawyers took as much pains to find out pretences for eluding the law, as others did to have it ſcrupulouſly obſerved. We ſhall give but one inſtance, which relates to the expreſs command of remitting all debts on this and the Jubilee year, where, beſides their excepting ſeveral articles, ſuch as what we may properly call a tavern ſcore, or what a man owes to a victualler; debts for which either pledge or bond has been given, and the like, the famous Hillel, a man in the higheſt repute amongſt them, next to the inſpired writers, obſerving that the rich forbore to lend to the poor, by reaſon of the approaching year of releaſe, made an ordinance, that upon a man's putting a caveat in the judges court to this effect: This I deliver to you the judges of this place, ſuch a one and ſuch a one, to the end, that whatever money I lend, I may challenge it whenever I pleaſe, he ſhould be free from this law or remiſſion (48). This plainly ſhows, that the command was deſigned to extend to all debts, elſe there would have been no occaſion for their refuſing their aſſiſtance to the poor upon that account, much leſs for God's forbidding it ſo expreſly as he did (49).

(48) Ibid. c. x. & ſeq. Vide Hotting. in Goodw. ubi ſup. note 6. Munſt. Jun. Mey. & al. (49) Deut. xv. 9.

of their Egyptian ſlavery, which is aſſigned as one of the reaſons of the inſtitution [h]; to which we may add another, namely, the great advantage which the land received by being left fallow every ſeventh year. However, the generality of the Jews, and a great number of Chriſtians, both antient and modern, have looked upon the main deſign of theſe inſtitutions to be typical of the millenium, or thouſand years reſt; for, as the pentateuch conſecrates the ſeventh day, the ſeventh year, and the ſeven times ſeventh year to reſt, they conclude, that the world will laſt ſix thouſand years in the ſtate we ſee it in; or, as R. Elias in the Talmud expreſſes it, two thouſand years without the law, two thouſand under the law, two thouſand under the Meſſiah [i]; after which comes the grand ſabbath of one thouſand years; but this is too nice a point for us, and which we willingly refer to the divines; only we beg leave to obſerve, from a modeſt hint of the learned Mr. Mede [k], that as long as we perſiſt in denying the ſecond appearance of Chriſt upon earth, in as glorious a manner as his firſt was obſcure, we ſhall hardly be able to convince Jews that he is the true promiſed Meſſiah; becauſe we can give no tolerable reaſon, why the prophecies concerning his humiliation and ſufferings ſhould be underſtood in a literal, and thoſe of his exaltation and glorious reign in a ſpiritual, ſenſe. Whereas, were the doctrine of the Millenium, which is far from being anti-evangelical, in any but a Jewiſh and carnal ſenſe, generally received, it would effectually anſwer one of their ſtrongeſt objections, without caſting the leaſt reflection on the Chriſtian religion, whilſt the Jews were left at their liberty to take it in as groſs, and we in as ſpiritual and refined, a ſenſe, as we ſaw fit (N).

Laws

[h] Ibid. ver. 15. [i] Tract. Sanhedr. § Helec. vide Hoſpin. Goodwin. Mey. Munſt. & al. [k] Clav. Apocalypt. ad fin.

(N) We do not pretend to take upon us to ſhew how far this doctrine can be proved from the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, eſpecially from the prophecies of Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Revelations. The reader may ſee that ſubject copiouſly treated by Mr. Mede above-mentioned, among others. But with reſpect to the Jews expectation of a glorious Meſſiah, it is alſo ſtrongly rivetted in them, that they have even gone ſo far as to acknowledge two Meſſiahs; namely, one ſuffering and obſcure, deſpiſed and perſecuted, whom they believed

Laws relating to the Jubilee.

THIS ſolemnity is the laſt, and moſt conſiderable, that God enjoyned to the Iſraelites. It was to be celebrated every fifth year [1], and had this advantage over Jubilee year.

that

[1] Levit. xxv. 8, & ſeq.

believed to have appeared at the time foretold by the prophets; and the other a glorious one, of the ſeed of David, whoſe kingdom is to reach to the end of the world, and is ſtill expected by them; tho' they own themſelves altogether in the dark concerning the time of his coming. But this notion of a twofold Meſſiah is plainly oppoſite to that prophecy of Iſaiah, which appropriates both thoſe characters to one and the ſame perſon (50). However, as to this firſt character, it is plain, the antient Jews were not fond of publiſhing it, whatever notion they might have of it. This is plain from the Septuagint's paraphraſe of that verſe of the pſalmiſt (51), in which the Meſſiah is repreſented as voluntarily taking upon him the form of a ſervant, by an expreſſion alluding to the law of boring thoſe ſervants ears that refuſed to be releaſed, ſpoken of under this article. The words in the original are אזנים כרית לי, *Oznaim carita li, mine ears has thou bored*; theſe interpreters fearing, in all probability, leſt ſuch a ſervile mark ſhould be thought too derogatory to his character, have rendered it σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι, *a body haſt thou prepared for me, or adapted for me*, which in the main comes near to the ſame purpoſe, and only ſoftens very much in the expreſſion, the firſt implying by the boring of the ears, that Chriſt freely ſubmitted himſelf to become God's perpetual ſervant, and the other, that God had given him a body fit for the ſervice he had voluntarily undertaken at his coming into the world. This is therefore the reaſon of the difference between the words in the original and in the quotation from it by the apoſtle to the Hebrews (52), and is a further confirmation of the writers of the New Teſtament making uſe of the Septuagint verſion; and this will, we hope, apologize for this digreſſion, if it may be deem'd ſuch.

(50) Eſai. liii. p. tot. & alib. Vide R. Mart: Pug. Fid. Dupleſſ. Advertiſ. au. juifs, Grot. de Verit. Bartoloc. Bibliot. Rabbinic. Mänſt. Calm. & al. mult. (51) Pſ. xl. 6. comp. with ver. 8, ſeq. (52) Hebr. x. 5.

that of the ſeventh, that it releaſed all ſlaves that had refuſed their liberty, annihilated all debts, and reſtored to every man all his lands, houſes, wife, children, poſſeſſions, however alienated; and every Hebrew ſervant or ſlave to his own tribe and family, liberty and property, how, and upon what account, ſoever he had been deprived of them [m], during thoſe fifty years: for this reaſon it is, that we think after many commentators, that it was called Jubilee, or Yobel, becauſe it reſtored every thing to its priſtine ſtate (O). However, it muſt be obſerved, that this privilege extended no further than to the original Iſraelites, or to thoſe who had been incorporated into their religion and common-wealth by circumciſion; theſe indeed might claim the benefit of it, tho' they had been ſold for ſlaves for any crimes, even by the ſentence of the grand ſanhedrim [n]; but as for the Gentiles, they were wholly excluded from it [o].

Some think, that the Iſraelites were wont to reckon by Jubilees, as the Greek did by Olympiads, the Romans by Luſtra, and the Chriſtians by Indictions [p]; and probably

[m] Ibid. ver. 28, 41, & alib. [n] Ibid. ver. 40. [o] Ibid. ver. 46. Vide Maimon. Tract. עבדים, c. 9. [p] Hoſpin. Orig. Feſt. c. 9. Goodw. Hotting.

(O) Authors are fallen into various opinions about the etymon of this word, ſome thinking that it is ſo called from the Hebrew יובל, Yobel, which ſignifies a trumpet made of rams horns, from the Arabic, Johelah, a ram; becauſe the Jubilee was proclaimed by the ſound of that inſtrument (53). Others, that it is a fictitious word in imitation of the ſound of that inſtrument (54); others again think, that it comes from Jubal, the firſt inventor of muſical inſtruments (55): But we prefer that which derives it from the obſolete root יבל, Yabal, in hiphil, הוביל, hobil, which ſignifies to recall, reſtore, bring back, &c. which is what the Jubilee did. The reader may ſee that word occur in many places of ſcripture, and particularly in the Pſalms, where among others he will find this expreſſion: יובילו שי למורה, Yobilù ſai lammorah, bring preſents to him that is to be feared (56).

(53) Rabin. ſer. Omn. Vide Kimch. in Rad ſub. voc. יובל, Goodw. Mey. &c. 54) Bochart. Hieroſ. Bekius Annot. in Maimon. Shemitah veyobel, note 5. (55) Goodwin, Hotting, &c. (56) Pſal. lxxvi. ver. penult. vide & Job x. 19. xxi. 30, 32. Jerem. xxxi. 9. & alib.

probably enough they did ſo, becauſe they were always to have regard to that year in all bargains of lands, houſes, and the like, which generally ſold for more or leſs, according to their nearneſs to, or diſtance from it [q]. The caſe was ſomewhat different with reſpect to the ſale of houſes that were within walled towns, tho' not of thoſe that were in the country, for thoſe might be redeemed at any time within the ſpace of twelve months, by paying the whole ſum of the purchaſe, but if they were not redeemed within that time, they were not to return to their original owner at the year of Jubilee [r] (P). As for the poſſeſſions of the prieſts and Levites, they had certain privileges and immunities, which ſhall be ſpoken of in a more proper place [s].

DURING the whole twelve months all kind of agriculture was expreſly forbid, the poor had the benefit of the harveſt and vintage, and of all the product of that year, and all other things of that nature went on after the ſame manner as they did in the ſabbatic year. The beginning of it was by God's own appointment fixed to the ſeventh month Tiſri [t], which is about the time of the autumnal equinox; but in what year after they entered into the land of Canaan they celebrated the firſt Jubilee, and whether from the beginning of every forty-ninth or fiftieth year is not eaſy to determine. As to the former, the Jews begin to reckon the firſt of the fifty years, from the fourteenth after Joſhua's paſſing the Jordan. Their computation ran thus, according to the learned Maimon [u]: "From "their entrance into Canaan to their being carried out "of it are ſeventeen Jubilees, and the year in which they "went into captivity and the temple was deſtroyed was "the ſeventh or ſabbatic year, and the thirty ſixth "of

[q] Levit. xxv. 27, & ſeq. [r] Ibid. ver. 29, 30, [s] Ibid. ver. 32. & ſeq. [t] Ibid. ver. 8, 9. [u] Ubi ſup. c. x. ex Verſ. Beckii.

(P) The Jewiſh lawyers add another exception, from what authority we cannot find, that theſe who ſold their houſes, lands, &c. in order to traffick and make a gain of the purchaſe-money or indeed upon any other account than to ſupply the neceſſities of life, were excluded the benefit of the Jubilee (57).

(57) Maimon. Shemit. veyobel. c. xii.

" of the 18th Jubilee, which they prove thus: the firſt " temple ſtood 110 years, after which there was an end " of that epocha; the land then did lie waſte ſeventy " years, and then the ſecond temple was built, which " ſtood likewiſe 120 years. In the ſeventh year after its " reſtoration, Ezra went up to Jeruſalem; and from this " time began a ſecond epocha. On the thirteenth after " the rebuilding of the temple, they celebrated the ſecond " ſabbatic year, and ſeven weeks of years, or forty nine " years, being elapſed, they conſecrated the fiftieth; for " tho' they did not celebrate the Jubilee after their return " from the captivity, nevertheleſs they continued to com- " pute the years of it in order to celebrate the ſabbatic " ones (Q)." Thus far Maimon, but here it muſt be obſerved, that he has followed the reckoning of Joſephus, Philo, and all the Jews, who not only place the firſt ſabbatic year, and conſequently the Jubilee, ſeven years later than Uſher and Cunæus, namely, from the fourteenth year after their entrance into Canaan, but allow fifty complete years to every Jubilee; whereas that primate, and with him a great number of learned Chriſtians [x], think, that it was celebrated every forty-ninth year, as we ſhall ſee preſently. However, as he has here rectified the Jewiſh chronology in ſome other reſpects, ſo he reckons but the ſame number of Jubilees that Maimon doth before the deſtruction of the temple; as the reader may ſee in the table at the end of his annals under the word Jubilee.

The firſt of them he fixes on the 3318th year of the Julian period, which is the 2609th of the world, or 1396 years before Chriſt, and the ſeventeenth or laſt before the captivity

[x] Hugo Cardinal. Gerard, Mercat. in Chronol. Jos. Scaliger, Petav. Calvis. Lansberg, Capell. Cunæus, Spanheim, Jun. Le Clerc. & al. mult.

(Q) There is ſome difficulty in apprehending what that author means by keeping up the computation of the Jubilee, in order to obſerve the ſabbatic years, for the latter uſed to regulate the former, while it continued, but after it ceaſed, the ſabbatic years could eaſily be kept in their courſe without it; and ſo they did accordingly; for Joſephus tells us, that Alexander the Great remitted to the Jews the ſeventh year's tribute, upon that very account (58).

(58) Joſ. Ant. lib. xi. c. ult.

captivity in 4102 of the Julian period, 3393 of the world, and 612 before Chriſt. As for the remainder, which he has carried down to the thirtieth, or to the year of the world 4030, they are only added, in order to make a complete calculation of them to the thirtieth year of Chriſt, or to the beginning of the goſpel. For it is plain, as Maimon obſerves in the place above quoted, that the Jews obſerved no Jubilee after their return from the Babyloniſh captivity, either with reſpect to the ceſſation of agriculture, the reſtitution of lands, manumiſſion of ſlaves, or any of thoſe ends for which it had been inſtituted. Neither indeed was it practicable; for the ſeventy years captivity having quite obliterated the memory and pretenſion to their forefathers land, every one, at their return, ſettled himſelf as well as he could, in the confuſion that then reigned, after which their affairs did take a quite new face in Judæa; whilſt a very conſiderable number of their brethren choſe to continue in the place of their captivity.

THE next controverted point is, whether it was celebrated on the forty-ninth or on the fiftieth year? We have already given a liſt of the principal authors who are for the former; thoſe who declare for the latter, (without reckoning Philo, Joſephus, the Targums, and all the Jews in general, Karaites as well as Talmudiſts) are ſtill more conſiderable.——Among theſe we may reckon ſome of the fathers [y], and a great number of moderns [z]. The truth is, that either hypotheſis may be defended from the different expreſſions which Moſes makes uſe of in the inſtitution of it; and, on the other hand, there are certain difficulties in each of them which cannot be eaſily ſolved. We ſhall content ourſelves with a bare hinting of them. In one place he expreſly commands them to number ſeven ſabbaths of years, or forty and nine years, and on this laſt to proclaim the Jubilee by the ſound of the trumpet [a]; and in the very two following verſes he ſays, that the fiftieth year ſhall be that of the Jubilee. The grand objection againſt the firſt of theſe is, that if Moſes had meant that the forty-ninth ſhould be the Jubilee year, there would have been no neceſſity

[y] Euſeb. S. Jerob. Auguſt. Grec. Mag. Iſidor, & al. [z] Teſtat. Bonfrer. Fagius, Junius. Druſius, Villet. Hottinger, Preiſ. Heidekker, Lewſden, Calmet, & al. [a] Levit. xxv. 8, 9.

neceſſity for his forbidding all kind of agriculture and the like on that year, ſince that was forbid of courſe, by its being likewiſe the ſabbatic year, for ſeven times ſeven make forty nine. On the other hand it is objected, that if the fiftieth year was to be the Jubilee, it will follow, that the land muſt have had two ſabbaths, or lain fallow two years, which is thought an unreaſonable ſuppoſition, ſince without a miracle it muſt, in all likelihood, have cauſed a dearth in the land. 'This Cunæus inſiſts very much upon in favour of the forty-ninth year, tho' he paſſes by the great difficulty above mentioned as of no weight; but we think this objection of the two concurring ſabbaths may be more eaſily anſwered. For in the firſt place, thoſe who are for the 50th year do rightly enough obſerve, that there is no neceſſity for ſuppoſing, that the land reſted two years, ſeeing the lawgiver's intention ſeems fully anſwered by the repoſe of one, and that upon the account of its being ſabbatical; and that therefore, when Moſes ſays, that the 50th ſhall be a year of reſt, he uſes only that round number to expreſs the uneven one of 49. There is indeed hardly any other way of reconciling the difference of Moſes's expreſſions; and one may add, that as the ſolemnity began on the firſt month of the civil, which was the ſeventh of the ſacred year, it might be called indifferently the 49th or 50th year, without any contradiction or difficulty. What convinces us further that this is more than a bare conjecture is, that Moſes makes uſe of the ſame calculation for the feaſt of pentecoſt. The analogy which ſeven weeks of days bears to ſeven weeks of years is obvious to every eye; now as it is plain, that the pentecoſt did not begin on the 49th, but on the 50th day; ſo we ſee no reaſon why the ſame may not be allowed with reſpect to the Jubilee.

However, as to thoſe who will not eaſily forego the notion of the land reſting two years in this caſe, we beg leave to obſerve, ſecondly, that even ſuch a ſuppoſition may be well enough granted, without the pretended inconveniency of cauſing a dearth in the land. For to ſay nothing of the extraordinary bleſſing which was promiſed to them upon ſuch occaſions, as long as they did religiouſly obſerve theſe ordinances, it is certain, that the natural fertility of the land, and the proviſion which every one might lay up during the foregoing years, might eaſily prevent any ſuch danger. We meet with a more ſignal inſtance of it in the time of Hezekiah, when the prophet Iſaiah ſent him word that he ſhould be delivered from the threatening power o

the king of Aſſyria, and, as a token of it, commands the people to live on that year upon ſuch things as grew of themſelves, and on the next upon ſuch as ſprung from the ſame, and on the third year to ſow and plant [b]. Here indeed the Jews pretend, that the middle year was a ſabbatic one, but, whether it were ſo or otherwiſe, it is plain, that there were to be at leaſt three years without any harveſt; for on the firſt year it is ſaid they ſhould eat, not the fruit of the foregoing harveſt; but that which grew of itſelf, and that which was ſown on the third could not be gathered till the fourth; and yet we do not find that there was any dearth upon that account. Upon the whole therefore we are more inclined to the latter opinion of the Jubilee being kept every fiftieth year.

THIS year was to be celebrated with the greateſt tokens of joy, becauſe it was deſigned to put them in mind of their Egyptian ſervitudes and to prevent their impoſing the like on their brethren. But whatever joy the maſters and land-holders might outwardly expreſs, we need not doubt, but that of the ſlaves and poor was ſincere, at the ſight of their approaching reſtoration. 'Tis true, this was not to take place till the tenth day of the month, otherwiſe called the day of expiation, which was therefore kept as a ſolemn faſt; but during the nine preceding days the ſlaves were wholly exempt from doing any work for their maſters, and ſpent that time in eating, drinking, and other diverſions, wore garlands about their heads, not unlike the Roman ſaturnalia; and as ſoon as the tenth day was come, the ſanhedrin cauſed the trumpet to ſound all over the land, upon which they were reſtored to their liberty at that very inſtant, and to the reſt of their poſſeſſions [c].

IT is plain, the deſign of this ordinance was to prevent the too great oppreſſion of the poor, as well as their being liable to a perpetual ſlavery. By this means alſo their law-giver prevented the rich accumulating lands upon lands, and preſerved, as much as poſſible, the freedom and order of Iſraelitiſh families, and a kind of equality of their poſſeſſions, than which nothing could more effectually inſpire them with a particular fondneſs for their country and patrimony, whilſt they knew, that this laſt could never be alienated from their poſterity, above the ſpace of half a century at the moſt. And that it wrought ſuch an effect upon them is plain, among

[b] 2 King. xix. 29.

[c] Vige Maim. Halak. Shemita, Veyobel.

among many others, from the instance of Naboth, who chose to incur the king of Israel's displeasure, rather than to part with a small portion of his inheritance to him; for which tenaciousness he fell a sacrifice to Jezebel's resentment, and lost both that and his life †.

Expiation-day, or day of Attonement.

Expiation-day.

THIS is the last solemn day that was of divine institution. It differed from all the rest, in that they were days of joy and thanksgiving, but this a day of fasting, humiliation, and confession of sins, and the only one of that kind of divine appointment [d], if we except that occasional one which God enjoined the Israelites, after their setting up of the golden calf [e] (R), but which we do not find to have been made annual by Moses, or observed by the people till after the captivity, when they became so religious, that they appointed as many fasts for every miscarriage and misfortune that had happened to their nation before it, as filled near the fourth part of their calendar [f]; but this is not the proper place to speak of them. Those who conjecture, that this expiation-day was ordained in memory of the golden calf, do limit the design of it too much, seeing it appears rather instituted to expiate for the sins of the whole nation, both public and private, but more particularly for those of the foregoing year. This is to be plainly

† 1 Kings xxi. pass. [d] Levit. xxiii. 26, & seq. [e] Exod. xxxiii. 5, & seq. [f] Vide Mishn. Megillath, Tahanith, per tot. Lamy, Calmet, & al.

(R) And yet we do not find one word of fasting on that solemn occasion of humiliation, nor even on this day of expiation, unless we suppose it to be implied in the words, afflicting your souls. However, it would be absurd to deny, that fasting had been in use long before Moses's time, because he has not taken notice of its being practised by any of the old patriarchs; or that it was not intended as part of solemn humiliation, because it is not expressed in so many words. The contrary seems rather to follow from his silence, not only because the early custom of fasting among the Heathens upon all particular occasions, as in the case of the Ninivites (59), and many others, shows it to have been

(59) Jonah iii. 5, 6.

plainly inferred from the name which Moſes gives to it (S), as well as from the confeſſion of ſins, and other remarkable ceremonies, which he enjoyned to be uſed on that day, of which we are now going to ſpeak. We ſhall ſay nothing of the typical relation it bears to the grand expiation wrought under the goſpel, it being out of our province.

It was to begin as other ſolemn days, on the evening of the ninth day of the ſeventh month, and to laſt till the evening of the tenth, during which time they were obliged to abſtain from all labour and pleaſure, and to continue in the work of mortification, under the penalty of being cut off from among their people. They were likewiſe to hold a ſolemn convocation, confeſs their ſins, and to offer a peculiar ſacrifice for them by fire [g].

[g] Levit. xxiii. 27, & ſeq.

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been diſcovered by the light of reaſon; but becauſe the very courſe of nature ſeems to give it a ſanction, for when men are viſited with any ſenſible affliction, or threatened with any immediate danger, it never fails of palling the appetite, and inclining them to faſt. And what evinces, that this practice was well known among the Iſraelites, is the many inſtances which we meet with from Moſes's time. Thus, after their unexpected defeat before Hai, Joſhua and all the elders of Iſrael continued proſtrate before the ark from morning till night without eating or drinking (60); the ſame was practiſed by the eleven tribes upon another occaſion (61); by all the people at Mizpeh, in token of their repentance for having ſerved Baalim and other ſtrange gods (62); and more particularly by David, in hopes of ſaving the life of the child he had got by Bathſheba (63). And, by theſe and many more inſtances of the like nature, it appears, that they not only abſtained from eating and drinking, but from all other things that might refreſh either the body or mind. Accordingly, the Miſhna forbids theſe ſix things on theſe days, eating, drinking, bathing or waſhing, anointing, putting on of ſhoes or ſandals, and matrimonial intercourſe (64), for every one of which they quote one or more precedents out of the ſacred books.

(S) The original calls it יום הכפורים, Yom hakphurim, in the day of expiations or attonements; becauſe on that day there was an attonement made for the ſins of the whole foregoing year, and of the whole people. For which reaſon the Talmud calls it by way of excellence יומא, Yoma, the day; and

(60) Joſh. vii. 6. (61) Ibid. xx. 26. (62) 1 Sam. vii. 6. (63) 2 Sam. xii. 16. (64) Tr. Yoma.

The high-priest's office on this day was still more solemn and awful. It was the only time in the whole year on which he was permitted to enter into the most holy place, under pain of sudden death from the Lord [h]; and therefore he was obliged to prepare himself for that grand ceremony in that extraordinary manner which was prescribed by God himself as follows: he was first of all to wash himself, not his hands and feet only, as at other times, but his whole body. The Talmud adds, that he was to abstain during seven whole days from all matrimonial commerce, and from every thing that might cause an accidental pollution, and thereby render him unfit for this duty [i]; secondly, his mitre, breast-plate, and other priestly ornaments, were to be set aside that day, and he only to appear cloathed in linen; this garb did consist only in a linen mitre, or cap, a coat, breeches, and a girdle. He was in the third place, to offer as soon as he came to the holy place a young bullock for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt offering for himself and his whole house, confessing his and their sins over them. After this he received from some of the heads of the congregation a couple of kids for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering, for the whole congregation. Then were two goats set before the tabernacle, and the high-priests cast lots for them, which of the two should be sacrificed on that day, and which should be sent away; and this latter was called Hazazel (T), or scape-goat. He then entered into the holy of holies, with

[h] Ibid. xiv. 2. [i] Vide præc. affirm. 209.

and perhaps likewise from a tradition they had, that it was on that day that Adam began to repent of his transgression, and God was reconciled to him (65). For the world, and consequently our first parents, according to them, were created on the first day of this month, as we have seen before, their transgression and punishment followed immediately after, and so consequently their repentance; for which reason some of them think that this day was appointed in memory of the fall †.

(T) We have followed our version, and the generality of commentators, who derive the word עזאזל Ghazazel, from עז, a goat,

(65) Rab. Elieazar, in Talmude. Vide Abarb. Comm. in Levit. xxiii. †Vide vol. i. p. 195.

with his cenſer in one hand, and a large quantity of fine incenſe

goat, and אזל, to go, or to eſcape; in which they have followed the Septuagint, who have rendered it ἀποπομπαίος, and the Latin after them emiſſarius (67): and it is certain, that the verb אזל, Azel, is often uſed in that ſenſe in the Old Teſtament (68). However, from Moſes's words (69), it ſhould rather ſeem, that Azazel is the name of the place whither the goat was led; for he ſays, that the man who lets the goat go לעזאזלה, lehazazel———which laſt cannot properly be rendered any other way than to Hazazel; and in this ſenſe moſt of the Jews, and ſome Chriſtians, have taken it (70); and ſome of the former do tell us, that it is a mountain diſtant about ninety furlongs, or about eleven thouſand paces from Jeruſalem (71).

And here we cannot but take notice of a ſtrange notion, which Spencer has taken into his head, that this Hazazel was neither the name of the place, nor of the ſcape-goat, but of a devil, unto which the goat was ſent by the meſſenger (72). He mentions one Mark, an arch-heretic, who pretended to have a demon of that name, by whoſe aſſiſtance he performed wonders (73), and from this and ſome expreſſions, which he found in ſome cabbaliſtical writings, and in thoſe of Julian the apoſtate, he pretends, that the ſcape-goat was ſent with its load of ſins to the devil, in which notion he is followed by ſome others *†*, who believe, that both the ſacrrificed goat and the ſcape one were typical of Chriſt, and think the firſt to be ſignificative of his death, and the other of his being expoſed to, and overcoming the power of ſatan. But as for us, we ſhould rather prefer Mr. Le Clerc's opinion, that Hazazel was a ſteep and cragged precipice, down which the goat was thrown: and this is not only more agreeable to the original, as we obſerved above, and to the Jewiſh notion of its being a rocky mountain, but the ſame author has further proved it from the words of Moſes, that it ſhould bear all their iniquities אל ארץ גזרה, el eretz Gezarah (74), which doth properly ſignify, not only an uninhabited land, or a land of ſeparation, as our verſion renders it, but a land that is cut off

or

(67) LXX. Aquil. Symmach. Theodoret. Bochart. de Animal. Sacr. Marſh. Secul. ix. Pagn. Jun. & al. (68) Vide Kimch. in rad. Buxtorf. Theſ. in voc. (69) Levit. xvi. 26. (70) Munſt. Ar. Mont. & al. (71) Trag. Jonath. R. R. Saad. Gaon. Kimch. Salom. Abenez. & al. (72) Differt. in hirc. emiſſar. (73) Vide Epiphan. Hæres 34. *†* Turretin. Coccei, Alting. Meyer, & al. (74) Levit. xvi. 22. Vide Le Clerc. in loc.

cenſe beaten ſmall in the other, that the ſmoak of it might fill the place, ſo as to cover the mercy-ſeat from ſight: and as ſoon as he had ſet the cenſer upon the altar, he came out and dipped his fingers into the blood of the bullock, which he had offered for himſelf, and went and ſprinkled it towards the mercy-ſeat eaſtward ſeven times. This done he killed the goat for the people's ſin-offering, and went and ſprinkled the mercy-ſeat with the blood of it, as he had done with that of the bullock, and by theſe aſperſions the tabernacle was purified from all the pollution, it had contracted by ſtanding in the midſt of that ſinful people. During all this ceremony, that is, till this ſolemn attonement had been made for the ſins of the prieſts and people, neither prieſts nor any perſon were permitted to come either within the tabernacle or even into the courts of it.

As ſoon as theſe ablutions were ended, and the prieſts and people purified, the goat, whoſe lot it had been to eſcape (V), was brought to the high-prieſt, who laid his hands

or broken off from another, ſuch as precipices are. It might alſo be probably enough called Hazazel, from its being inhabited only by goats, as Hottinger obſerved in his notes upon Goodwin. Le Clerc doth further confirm it by a new etymon of the word Azazel, which we ſhall not dwell upon. Neither is it eaſy to gueſs either what was done to the goat, or what became of it, after it was brought to the place appointed. The Talmudiſts, if we may rely on them, affirm, that it was thrown down a precipice, and broken in pieces by the fall. They add, that during the high-prieſthood of Simon, ſir-named the juſt, which which was ſignalized by many remarkable tokens of the divine favour, the goat uſed to fall in pieces before it had reached half way to the place, but that after his days, it uſed to be caught and eaten by the Saracens (75).

(V) How theſe lots were caſt doth not appear from ſcripture. What the antient Jews tell us of it is, that there was an urn brought unto the high-prieſt, into which he threw two wooden lots, upon on of which were written the words FOR THE LORD, and on the other FOR AZAZEL, and after he had ſhaken them, he put both his hands into the urn, and brought up the lots, the one in his right, and the other in his left, and as the goats ſtood on each ſide of him, their fate was determined by the lot that came up in the hand next to them. They alſo uſed to

(75) Miſhn. Tract. יומא vide & Maim. in יום הכפורים

hands upon its head, and confeſſed his own ſins, and thoſe of

to draw a good omen of God's being pacified with them, if the right-hand chanced to draw the lot that was for the Lord, as they ſay it happened all the time of the high-prieſt mentioned in the laſt note. As for the reſt of their cuſtoms obſerved on that day, ſuch as their mutual aſking and granting forgiveneſs for paſt offences, making reſtitution, and the like, tho' they are probably as old, or very near, as the inſtitution of this feaſt, yet we rather chuſe to refer our readers for them to the two laſt quoted books; or if he pleaſes to Leo de Modena and Buxtorf (76).

One thing, however, is worth obſerving, that on the eve of this ſolemnity the Jews of old uſed to take a white cock, if it was to be had, if not, of any other colour but red, and after a prayer they ſtruck their heads with that of the cock three times, ſaying, bear thou my ſins, ſuffer thou the death I have deſerved, die thou for me, and make thou reconciliation for me, that I may be admitted into a bleſſed life, with all the people of Iſrael. After which they killed the cock, confeſſing, that they deſerved the death they inflicted upon him, and threw his entrails on the top of the houſe, in hopes, that the crows would bear them and their ſins to the wilderneſs. 'Tis true, this ceremony is looked upon by the Dutch Jews as ſinful, and Leo de Modena, who owns that it was practiſed heretofore in the Levant and Italy, adds, that it was afterwards left off, becauſe it was found to be a meer piece of ſuperſtition, for which no tolerable reaſon could be aſſigned. But he ſeems to have forgot, that they gave one, which, however ridiculed by our learned Goodwin, is not without a ſingular meaning. It is this: the word גבר, Geber, in the ſcripture, ſignifying a man, and in the Talmud and Chaldee a cock, the divine juſtice required, that as Geber in the firſt ſenſe had ſinned, Geber in the other ſenſe ſhould bear his ſin. Now what other foundation can this cuſtom have than the prophecies that the Meſſiah, as Geber, in his human nature ſhould expiate for the ſins of man; unto whom therefore they ſubſtituted this typical Geber, or cock, till the antitypical one ſhould accompliſh that expiation by his death. And might not the chriſtians urging this againſt them be the motive of their aboliſhing it? Might not moreover, the Περιψήματα of the Gentiles, thoſe human victims, which they choſe out of the dregs of the people, to ſacrifice yearly to their gods, by way of expiation (77), and their

(76) Cerem. Jud. part. iii. c. 6. Vide & Buxtorf. Synagog. Jud. c. 20.

(77) Vide Suid. in voc. περίψημα.

of the whole nation, in words to this effect: O Lord, *thy people, the houſe of Iſrael, have ſinned, have rebelled againſt thee; ——and now, O Lord, I beſeech thee, forgive their ſins, rebellions, and backſlidings, by which they have offended thee, according as it is written in the law of thy ſervant Moſes: in that day he ſhall make attonement for you, and he ſhall cleanſe you, and you ſhall be clean from all your ſins before the Lord* (W) †. The confeſſion being ended, he delivered the

† Levit. xvi. 30.

their Καθάρματα, which they offered in times of plague, famine, and other public calamities, and on whom they ſo liberally beſtowed all the curſes, which they thought due to themſelves, have their original from hence (78)? this is what the apoſtle juſtly complains was practiſed againſt the firſt chriſtians (79), ſince there hardly happened any public calamity in the empire, but they were immediately perſecuted with the utmoſt cruelty, as the cauſe of them; and were looked upon as proper victims to avert the divine anger.

(W) He was likewiſe to make ſuch another confeſſion when he offered the bullock for himſelf and family, before he ventured to enter into the holy of holies, only inſtead of the houſe of Iſrael, he only mentioned that of Aaron. The reader may find it in the Miſhna, in the place above-quoted. It is plain, however, from the ceremonies which he was to perform there, that he was to enter four times into it on that day; 1. To ſet the incenſe a burning; for he went in with both his hands full, and could carry nothing elſe with him (80). 2. When he carried ſome of the blood of the bullock that was offered for himſelf (81). 3. When he carried ſome of that which he offered for the people (82). And 4. when he went to fetch out the cenſer and fire. The Talmud adds, that it was death for him to go in the fifth time. And therefore when the apoſtle ſays, that he went in but once a year (83), it is plain he has followed the verſion of the Septuagint, which render the words אחת בשנה, Achad, baſhanah, by ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαύτου, but it is certain it might have been more properly rendered one day in the year.

(78) Vide Vet. Scholiaſt. in Ariſtoph. (79) 1 Cor. iv. 13. Vide Budoe. Annot. in Pandect. de pœnis. Goodwin's Moſ. & Aar. lib. iii c. 8. § 7, & ſeq. (80) Levit. xvi. 12, 13. (81) Ibid. ver. 14. (82) Ver. 15. (83) Heb. ix. 7.

the ſcape-goat to a man appointed for the purpoſe, who conducted it into a deſart place, and there left it to ſhift for itſelf according to ſome, or threw it down a ſteep precipice according to others, as we have ſeen in the laſt note. After this ceremony the high-prieſt waſhed himſelf all over, and having changed his cloaths, or, as ſeems moſt likely, having put on the ephod, mitre, breaſt-plate, and his other prieſtly garments, he was to offer a burnt-offering of two rams, one for himſelf and the other for the people. As for the man that conducted the ſcape-goat, he was deemed unclean, 'till he had bathed himſelf and waſhed his cloaths, as were alſo thoſe who carried away the fleſh, blood, and entrails of the bullock, and goat of the ſin-offering, to be burnt without the camp [k].

It was likewiſe on this day, that the high-prieſt did give the people the ſolemn bleſſing preſcribed by Moſes [l], in which he pronounced the unutterable name of God, of which we have ſpoken in another place ‡; for according to the Jews [m], the uttering of that word had been forbidden upon any other occaſion by a particular law, ever ſince the ſtoning of a notorious blaſphemer [n]; but whether true or not, the pronouncing of that tremendous name, joined to the ſacred awfulneſs of the place, may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have filled him with uncommon dread whilſt he ſtayed in it, which is the reaſon, why he uſually made what haſte he could decently out of it, leſt he ſhould be ſtruck dead for ſome accidental miſcarriage or inadvertency during his ſhort ſtay there; and when he came out he went backwards, keeping his face ſtill towards the mercy-ſeat, and bending towards the ground. All theſe things no doubt took up a conſiderable time; the reſidue of the day was ſpent in prayers, and other works of mortification, and they were ſo afraid of ſhortening it, that they began it half an hour ſooner, and ended it half an hour later, than other feaſt-days; after which the trumpet gave notice that the ſolemnity was expired, and then they dreſſed themſelves in white, or at leaſt put on clean linen, and, after a bleſſing, ſat down to break their faſt. They ſeldom failed making a plentiful meal, and

[k] Ibid. xvi. paſſ. ibid. vi. 30. Vide Fag. in loc. Hotting. & al.
[l] Numb. vi. 24, & ſeq. ‡ Vide vol. ii. p. 536. note (T).
[m] Philo. in vit. Moſ. lib. iii. Joſeph. Talmud. & al. [n] Levit. xxiv. 10. & ſeq.

and to rejoyce that their ſins were now expiated; but above all, the high-prieſt expreſſed a more than ordinary joy, and that he had gone through the ſolemn and dangerous office of that day, and was come alive out of the moſt holy place ° (X).

Laws concerning other expiation or attonements.

BEFORE we leave this ſubject of expiations, it will not be amiſs to give an account of ſome others, which were enjoined by Moſes upon their contracting of any legal impurities, ſuch as thoſe of a woman after child-birth, of a man by the touching of any unclean thing, as a dead body, or carcaſe, or an unclean perſon, as a leper, and the like, and ſecondly by the breach of any one branch of the law, whether knowingly or through ignorance. By theſe and ſuch like the perſons contracted a kind of legal defilement, from which they could not be cleanſed, but by offering ſuch ſacrifices as the law appointed (Y); and this purification

° Vide Miſhna. Tract. Yoma. Maimon. Tract. Yom hakephur. Meyer, c. xv. § 9.

(X) The Jews add ſeveral other particularities relating to this day, which we dare not affirm to have been in uſe during the firſt temple, ſuch as theſe, that the ſcape-goat was eſcorted all the way by prieſts and laymen, to the place appointed; that between the temple and it, there was a cauſey made on purpoſe, with ten different ſtages on it; that as ſoon as the goat was thrown down the precipice, and broken in pieces by the fall, notice was immediately given to the people, who waited impatiently for the news in the temple, by proper ſignals ſet up at convenient diſtances, with many more of the like nature.

(Y) We believe it is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve here, that, in the language of the Old Teſtament, all tranſgreſſions, before they were expiated, are compared to a filth or defilement contracted by the tranſgreſſor; and the pardon, that attends this expiation of them, to an ablution or purification from it. It is according to this alluſion, that the Septuagint have rendered the words כופר and כפר, Kopher and Kaphar, as likewiſe thoſe of טהר and חטה, Tahar and Chatah, when this laſt ſignifies a forgiveneſs, by καθαρισμος and καθαριζειν; and it is in the ſame ſenſe that the writers

purification was to be performed in the following manner. The perſon who had committed any treſpaſs, whether knowingly or ignorantly, was to bring his victim or ſin-offering to the door of the tabernacle. This offering was to be a bullock or a goat, if it was for a prieſt, and if for a layman, a goat, ſheep, kid, or lamb, and if the perſon was too poor to afford one of theſe, then two pigeons or turtle doves, or even a ſmall quantity of flower was accepted of. One or more then of theſe, according to the nature of the treſpaſs, or the circumſtance of the perſon, were brought to the prieſt, and the perſon to be purified brought his victim, and having confeſſed his ſin, laying his hands upon the head of it, killed and offered it up. The prieſt then took up ſome of the blood of it with his fingers, and applied it to the horns of the altar of burnt-offerings, and poured the remainder at the foot of it. He then took the fat of the caul, kidneys, and the rump, and burnt it upon the altar, and having prayed for the perſon, pronounced him pardoned and abſolved from his treſpaſs; the fleſh of ſuch victim thus offered belonged to the prieſt alone; none other was to eat it [p]. This ceremony was performed ſomewhat more ſolemnly when the king, high-prieſt, or the whole nation had committed a treſpaſs, but in the main it came much to the purpoſe.

As for legal pollutions, ſuch as we mentioned above, there was added another ceremony for their cleanſing; namely, the aſhes of the red heifer reſerved for that purpoſe. The ceremony of killing and burning it, as it was preſcribed by Moſes [q], was after this manner. The high-prieſt was to take care that it was without ſpot or blemiſh, and that it had never been yoked. It was to be carried out of the camp, where he killed it, and made a ſeven fold aſperſion of the blood with his fingers towards the ſanctuary; after which, a large fire being kindled, it was flung into it, with its ſkin, entrails, and other appurtenances, and a bundle of cedar-wood, hyſſop, and ſcarlet, and burnt to aſhes before his face, himſelf helping to caſt her into the fire; and this was to be done in the preſence of all the people. The aſhes

[p] Vide Levit. iv, v, vi, paſſ. [q] Numb. xix. per tot.

writers of the New affirm Chriſt to cleanſe and purify us from our ſins by his blood.

aſhes were then gathered and laid up for uſe, and all that had had a hand in this ceremony were to be unclean until evening. When ever afterwards any perſon had contracted a pollution, ſuch as made him unclean ſeven days, he was to be ſprinkled with water, in which ſome of theſe aſhes had been thrown, on the third and ſeventh day, on which laſt he was to be clean; but if he neglected being ſprinkled on the third, he was not to be clean till the tenth day. This law was ſo ſevere againſt thoſe who were polluted by the touch of a dead body, or by coming into the tent or room where it lay, that if they offered to go to the tabernacle before they had been thus purified, they were to be cut off, as having polluted the ſanctuary. The very veſſels that were in the place uncovered, as well as the place itſelf where the corps lay, were likewiſe defiled, till ſprinkled with this water of ſeparation, as it is called in the text. How often this grand ceremony was repeated from Moſes to the captivity is not agreed. Some affirm, that the heifer which was burnt by Eleazar, Aaron's ſon, did laſt them all that time; others, that there was one burnt every year, and that ſome of the aſhes of it were ſent to every city and town in Iſrael [r] (Z). Whether or no this ſacrifice was to be numbered among the burnt-offerings which were made for the whole nation, is a diſpute amongſt the learned, both Jews and Chriſtians, which we ſhall not enter into; ſure it is, that the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews looked upon it was as a figure of Chriſt, who therefore ſuffered without the gates of the city, even as the heifer was burned without the camp **; and whoſe blood is of much greater efficacy

[r] Vide Hieron. Epiſt. 27. ** Heb. xiii. 11, 12.

(Z) It is juſtly wondered, that this water thus mixed with the aſhes of the red heifer, ſhould purify the unclean, and at the ſame time pollute not only thoſe who aſſiſted at the ſlaying, burning, and gathering of the aſhes of it, but even thoſe who ſprinkled the unclean perſon with it (84). The Jews have a very antient tradition, that Solomon, who was maſter of all other myſteries and knowledge, and could account for every precept in the law, even thoſe which forbad the eating of ſwine's fleſh, or wearing of mixtures of linen and wool, yet owned himſelf ignorant of

(84) Num. xix. 7, 8, 10, 21.

efficacy towards the purging and ſanctifying of men, than that of bulls and goats, the aſhes of an heifer, or any other legal ſacrifices [s].

Laws

[s] Ibid. ix. 13.

of the meaning of this red heifer (85). However, our Spencer has ventured to dive deeper than he, by the help of his infallible rule of relation either of conformity or oppoſition to the Egyptian rites, he ranks therefore the red heifer under this laſt claſs, becauſe that nation ſacrificed nothing but male animals, and that they had an averſion to all red-hair'd creatures, and even to the colour itſelf, whereas the Moſaic law makes no diſtinction of colours in any caſe but this (86). But we beg leave to obſerve here, that the Jews were as little fond of the red as the Egyptians, and that Moſes commanded the uſe of ſcarlet in ſacrifices for ſin, only to expreſs the guilt of it. Accordingly all the inſpired writers compared ſins of the deepeſt guilt to crimſon and ſcarlet, as they did innocence to white (87); and this, we think, doth ſufficiently account for the colour of the heifer.

And here we beg leave to ſubjoin a remark to the ſame effect, which is, that in the 22d pſalm, which abounds with many particularities relating to Chriſt's paſſion, there is one expreſſion, not hitherto obſerved, nor rightly rendered by any tranſlation that we know of. It is where he is called a worm and no man (88), for it is plain the word תּוֹלַעַת, Tholahath, is no where uſed in ſcripture, but to expreſs either the crimſon or ſcarlet colour itſelf (in which caſe it is commonly joined to the word שָׁנִי, Shani, and ſignifies double died); or at moſt the inſect from which that die is made, unleſs it be figuratively taken to imply a deep degree of guilt, as in the place above quoted out of Iſaiah. The moſt literally therefore that the pſalmiſt's words can be rendered would be; *as for me I am a ſcarlet inſect or worm, and not a man*; but the figurative ſenſe will be plainly this; *I bear the ſcandal and reproach of the deepeſt guilt, and am wholly free from it; I am reputed a ſinner, and yet am free from ſin.* But this by the by. We ſhall only add, that the Jews, Maimon excepted, whom Spencer affects to follow, allow, that there is a deeper myſtery in the ordinance of the red heifer, than any in the whole ſcripture, and highly condemn the preſumption of thoſe who pretend to

(85) Miſhn. Tract. de פרה אדמה, Maimon. More Nevoch, p. 3. c. 26. vide & lib. Jalcut & al. (86) De Leg. Rit. lib. ii. c. 15. (87) Vide int. al Iſai. i. 18. (88) Ver. 6.

Laws concerning ſome other ſacrifices and oblations, not mentioned under the former heads.

AS we had occaſion to mention the ſacrifices that were enjoyned to be offered upon every ſolemn feſtival, under the head of each, and of thoſe which were offered by way of expiation for ſin; we ſhall now mention thoſe few others that remain unſpoken of. Theſe may be reduced under the ſeven following heads. 1. The daily ſacrifice. 2. Peace-offerings. 3. Meat and drink-offerings. 4. Offerings for cleanſing. 5. Firſt-fruits. 6. Firſt-born, and 7. Tythes. Beſides theſe there were other occaſional ſacrifices, ſome of them directed by ſome prophets, as in the caſe of Samuel [t], and Elijah [u], and others obſerved by particular families, which were rather feaſts than ſacrifices, as appears by the pretence which David made for abſenting from Saul's table [w], and the like, of which we ſhall take no further notice, they being entirely arbitrary; as for thoſe that were to be offered at the conſecration of the high-prieſt, and of other inferior prieſts, they will be better ſeen in another place.

1. The daily, or, as it is called in the original, the continual ſacrifice, conſiſted firſt and before all things in burning a certain quantity of incenſe upon the golden altar, after which they were to offer two lambs of the firſt year, and without blemiſh, as a continual burnt-offering for the whole nation; theſe were burned every morning and every evening, and with a flower fire than ordinary, that it might laſt the longer. They offered likewiſe a certain quantity of wine and of flower, mixed with oil, for a meat and drink-offering. This was ordained by God upon mount Sinai

[t] 1 Sam. ix. 12. xii. 9. xvi. 2, & ſeq. [u] 1 King. xviii. 30, & ſeq. [w] 1 Sam. xx. 29.

to dive into that deep abyſs (89). However, what was a myſtery to the Jews is ſufficiently explained to the Chriſtians by the apoſtle to

(89) Vide Miſhn. ubi ſup. R. Abr. Seba. in Zeror. Hamor. fol. 118. & ſeq. R. R. Salom. Abenez. Abarban. & al.

Sinai [x], and is therefore called continual, beeauſe it was not to be interrupted by any other ſacrifices or ſolemnity, as we have ſeen under the article of each feſtival.

2. Peace-offerings; this ſacrifice was either euchariſtical, in acknowledgment of ſome mercies received from God, or ſupplicatory, in order to obtain ſome bleſſings from him, or out of meer devotion in honour to God, or laſtly upon account of ſome vow. Theſe were all free and voluntary, there being no law that obliged the Iſraelites to them, except where it is ſaid, that *they ſhould not appear empty before the Lord, but be liberal in theſe kind of ſacrifices according as God had bleſſed them.* It was likewiſe left to them to offer what beaſts they would, without regard to ſex or age, ſo they were of the clean ſort, and free from any pollution or defect. The votary was to bring it to the door of the tabernacle, lay his hands upon the head of it, and kill it. The prieſt then took ſome of the blood, and ſprinkled it upon, and round the altar, and poured the remainder upon the ground, at the foot of it. All the fat of the offering, the kidneys, and, if it were a ſheep or lamb, the rump were burnt upon the altar, after the prieſts had laid them upon the hands of the perſon, and directed him to wave them to the four points. The breaſt and ſhoulder of the victim was the perquiſite of the prieſt in waiting, and the reſt belonged to the owner, who might then dreſs and eat it, how and with whom he would, as if it had been killed within his own gates [y].

3. The meat and drink-offerings; theſe we have already ſpoken of occaſionally, becauſe they uſed to accompany the burnt-offerings of every feſtival, the daily and all other ſacrifices made with fire. They conſiſted of a certain proportion of wine, oil, and fine flower, to every beaſt that was ſacrificed. Thus, for inſtance, with a bullock they offered half an hin, that is about a wine gallon, of wine and oil, and three tenth deals, or wine pints of flower; to a ram, was allowed the third part, and to a lamb the fourth part of an hin, and ſo proportionably of the flower [z]. Beſides

[x] Exod. xxix. 38. Num. xxviii. 6, & ſeq. [y] Levit. iii. paſſ. [z] 2 Numb. xxviii. paſſ.

to the Hebrews, in the place quoted above, and to which, we think Spencer has given but a jejune and trifling anſwer (90).

(90) Ubi ſup. ſect. 6. obj. 3.

ſides theſe there were ſome others of the ſame nature, which were to be offered by the poor, who could not reach a higher offering, of which we have ſaid enough already.

4. Offerings for cleanſing. We have ſpoken of ſome of them above, under the head of expiation. There remains two more, namely, that of two pigeons, which a woman was to offer for her purification after child-bed, in caſe ſhe could not afford a lamb; or even a ſmall quantity of flower and oil, if the pigeons were alſo above her circumſtances [a]; and that of two ſparrows, which the leper offered, after his cure, for the cleanſing of himſelf [b] and his houſe [c]. In both theſe caſes one of the birds was inſtead of a lamb for a burnt-offering, and the other for a ſin-offering. The firſt bird was to be killed in a clean earthen veſſel over a running water; after which the prieſt took the other bird, with a bunch of cedar-wood, ſcarlet, and hyſſop, and dipped them in the blood, and ſprinkled the perſon or houſe ſeven times with it, and then pronounced them clean, and the living bird was let looſe. The perſon was likewiſe to add three tenths of flower mingled with oil, and a log of oil. Theſe quantities of flower and oil were made into cakes, and offered up to God. Some were of barley, others of wheat flower, ſome had leaven, and conſequently came not near the altar [d]; others had none. All of them were to have ſome ſalt. Some were voluntary, others not, ſome dreſſed one way, and ſome another, as the reader may ſee more fully at the end of the next note (A).

The

[a] Levit. xii. per tot. [b] Ibid. xiv. 4, & ſeq. [c] Ibid. ver. 49, & ſeq. [d] Ibid. ii. 11.

(A) It will not be amiſs to obſerve here, that all the offerings which had life were called קורבן, Corban, and thoſe which had not מנחה, Minchah; the firſt is derived from קרב, Karah to approach, becauſe the victims were brought to the door of the tabernacle, the other ſignifies a preſent; but both of theſe conſiſted of ſuch things as were commonly eaten, if we except the incenſe and the wood, which were likewiſe called offerings. The Corban was always looked upon as the moſt ſacred, and was therefore called קדשי קדשים, or moſt holy, the others קדשים קלים, or holy things of a lighter, or inferior nature. Theſe Minchahs were of five ſorts, 1. Of bare flower, 2. Made into cakes, and baked in an oven. 3. Fryed in a pan. 4. Upon a gridiron. And 5. The firſt-fruits, of which we ſhall ſpeak under the next head. Again, theſe cakes were either kneaded with, or fryed

THE next under this head is the ſhew-bread, called in the original *the bread of faces* (B), becauſe it was always to ſtand before the Lord upon the golden table in the holy place. It was to be made of the pureſt wheat, into twelve loaves or cakes, anſwering to the twelve tribes. The prieſts were to take care to bring freſh ones warm every ſabbath-day in the morning, at which time they took away the old, which were to be eaten by none but prieſts. Each loaf was to contain two tenth deals, or about three wine pints, of flower, and to be ſet up in two rows, ſix to each row, one loaf upon another. The Jews tell us, that there were ſome double plates of gold between each loaf, to give them air, and prevent their growing mouldy. This offering was accompanied with incenſe, with which the loaves were to be perfumed, but they were to be without leaven. Some commentators ſay, that there was a quantity of wine offered with them, but the text mentions nothing

fryed in, or only rubbed over with, oil, which was always that of olives, and as none of theſe three were to have any leaven, ſo neither were they to have any honey (91). If this laſt was at all offered, it was by itſelf, and under the notion of firſt fruits.

There is one of Moſes's laws which expreſly forbids the prieſts to offer any thing to God, that is in any way marred or ſpoiled, and particularly any bread from the hands of a ſtranger, as being polluted and corrupt (92); by which ſome underſtand any kind of ſacrifices, and others only that of theſe cakes, or meat-offerings, but in either caſe there is no doubt, but if a ſtranger was ſo well diſpoſed as to offer any ſacrifice to the God of Iſrael, the prieſts could furniſh him with either victims or bread ready baked, provided he payed the price of them †. But be that as it will, it ſeems from two or three texts, that they had a conſtant reſerve of loaves or cakes, kept in baſkets, for thoſe who came to offer up theſe meat-offerings, or any other ſacrifices that required them (93). And here we might add likewiſe under this head the meat-offerings of the Nazarites, and the cake of jealouſy, but they will be better ſeen in their proper places, when we come to ſpeak of them in the ſequel.

(B) The words are לחם פנים Lechem-phanim, which name ſome, eſpecially of the Jews, affirm to be given, becauſe the loaves

(91) Levit. ii. 11, 12. Num. xv. 14, & ſeq. Num. vi. 15, & alib.

(92) Levit. xxii. 24, 25. † Vide

(93) Compar. Exod. xxix. 32. &

nothing but incenſe and ſalt [e]. Theſe loaves were called the hallowed bread, in oppoſition to the common ſort which every body might eat [f].

5. Firſt fruits. We have already ſpoken of thoſe that were offered at Eaſter, Whitſuntide, and at the feaſt of Tabernacles; and theſe were offered in the name of the whole nation; but beſides them, every private man was likewiſe obliged to bring the firſt-fruits of his fields, orchards, and vineyards, to the tabernacle, and afterwards to the temple, as an acknowledgment that God was the giver of them. Neither the time, nor the quantity being preſcribed by the written law, the former was left to the conveniency of the people, and the latter was determined in ſome ſort by their wiſe men, yet ſo as to leave room for generoſity to exert itſelf, more or leſs, according to the diſpoſition of each perſon. Thus it was agreed, that they ought to offer at leaſt the ſixieth part of the product; but ſome did offer the fiftieth, and ſome even the fortieth part [g]. After the building of the temple they were all obliged to bring them thither, and the ceremony was performed as follows.

As ſoon as the perſon who came to offer them had reached the court of the prieſts, the Levites began to ſing the 30th pſalm, after which the perſon made this confeſſion; *I do*

[e] Exod. xxv. 30. Levit. xxiv. 5, & ſeq. [f] Vide 2 Sam. xxi. 3, 4. [g] Vide Miſhn. Tract. Terumoth & Bekorim, & commentat. in eund, vide & Maim. id loc.

loaves had four phanim or faces, that is, were four-ſquare (94); but it is more likely that they were ſo called from their ſtanding continually, לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהִים Liphne-elohim, before the Lord. Some have thought it improper to place this ſhew-bread among the meat-offerings, becauſe they were not offered upon the altar as theſe were. For onr part we think with ſome others, that the ſacred table on which they were ſet, (which may not improperly be deemed an altar) their being kept before the Lord, and called hallowed bread, and as ſuch allowed only to be eaten by the prieſts, may eaſily excuſe our ranking them under this claſs, rather than any other, eſpecially they being accompanied with incenſe, and offered in the name of the twelve tribes. The Jews add, that they were covered with leaf gold, but do no where tell us where they are commanded to do ſo.

(94) Vide Maim. Tract. חמידין, Abr. Haroph. שלשי גבורים, & al.

I do this day make a public acknowledgment before the Lord your God, that I am entered into the good land which he ſware unto our fathers that he would give us (C). Whilſt he was ſpeaking theſe words, he took his baſket off his ſhoulder, the prieſt lending him a hand, and whilſt theſe two held it up, he made an end of his confeſſion in theſe remarkable words preſcribed by Moſes [h], *A Syrian ready to periſh was my father, and he went down into Egypt, and ſojourned there with*

[h] Deut. xxvi.4, & ſeq. Vide Munſt. Jun. & al. in Levit. xxii. & xxiii. & Deut. xxvi.

(C) The Talmud adds ſeveral other remarkable particulars concerning the bringing of the firſt fruits to the temple, which we can neither warrant nor diſprove to have been uſed during the firſt temple. They are as follows. As ſoon as a man was got to the foot of the mount on which the temple ſtood, he was to take up his baſket (in which the firſt-fruits, or rather a ſample of them, were laid, not confuſedly, but every ſort by itſelf) and put it on his ſhoulders, and carry it up to the prieſt's apartment. They tell us, that the kings themſelves were not diſpenſed from it. Theſe baſkets were more and leſs magnificent, that is, from thoſe made of gold wire to the common ozier ones, according to the circumſtances of the perſons. To prevent confuſion as much as poſſible, they uſed to join themſelves by troops of four and twenty to a troop, which drove before them a bullock crowned with olive-branches, and having his horns tipped with gold or ſilver, which was to be offered with their firſt-fruits. They generally had a man to go before them, playing upon a flute or ſome ſuch inſtrument, and in that order they marched to Jeruſalem ſinging ſome pſalm or hymn proper for the occaſion. As ſoon as they came near the gates of Jeruſalem, the inhabitants uſed to go out to congratulate, and bid them welcome. Theſe firſt fruits did not conſiſt of all the different products of the earth, but only of ſix kinds; namely, barley, wheat, grapes, figs, dates, and olives; to which ſome add apricocks, or peaches, and pomgranates. Theſe firſt-fruits are not indeed called in the text מִנְחוֹת, Menachoth, or offerings, from Mincha mentioned in a former note, nevertheleſs we have ventured to rank them under that claſs, becauſe they were offered up at the altar (95). They add, that after each band had performed their duty in the manner mentioned above, they were to lie one night in the city, and then return to their homes (96).

(95) Vide Deut. xxvi. 10, & alib.

(96) Vide Baſnag. tom. 3. lib. iii. c. 2.

with a few, and became there a nation great, mighty, and populous; and the Egyptians did evil intreat us, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage. And when we cried unto the Lord God of our fathers, the Lord heard our voice, and looked on our afflictions, our labour, and oppression. And the Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand and stretched out arm, and with great terribleness, with signs and with wonders; and brought us into this place, and has given us this land, a land flowing with milk and honey. And now behold I have brought the first-fruits of the land, which thou O Lord hast given me. After this the basket was set before the Lord by the side of the altar, and he offered the burnt-offering and peace-offering which were always to accompany the first-fruits, and having paid his devotions to God, he went to make merry with his acquaintance with his share of the peace and meat-offerings. And here he was likewise obliged to impart some portion of his good cheer to the fatherless, widows, and to the Levites, that they might rejoice with him. And this the rich, who sacrificed a bullock, might be the more ready to do, because they were forbid to leave any fragments till the next day [i].

UNDER this head we may add the first cake of every lump of dough that exceeded the bulk of forty eggs, of which the woman was obliged to set aside, one part to be given to the next priests or Levites [k], in order to sanctify the rest. But as Moses did not determine the quantity, it was left to the discretion either of the master or mistress of the house, till the rabbies assigned the twenty-fourth part of that which was baked for ones own family, and the forty-eighth part of that which was designed for sale [l] (D).

6. FIRST-

[i] Levit. vii. 15, & alib. Mishn. Tract. חלה, c. 1.

[k] Num. xv. 19. & seq.

[l] Vide

(D) The Jews, we are told, were so scrupulous in this, that if they could come at neither priest nor Levite, they threw the cake into the oven and burnt it to ashes, before they put the bread into it (97). This is one of the three things that are committed to the care of the women, who were to say a blessing at the same time that they separated the paste; and this extended, according to them, to the bread that was made of wheat, rye, barley, wild barley, and oats.

(97) Mishn. Tract. חלה, Philo de præm. Sacerd. Hieron. in cap. 45. Ezek. Maim. Leo de Moden. & al.

6. FIRST-born. The Moſaic law makes a threefold diſtinction of theſe; namely the firſt-born of men, of cattle, and of the product of the earth (E). We have already ſpoken in a former ſection of the firſt of theſe, of the reaſon of their being conſecrated to God, and of their redemption by their parents †. And here we muſt obſerve, that the word firſt-born of the males muſt not be reſtrained to the eldeſt ſon; for he may be eldeſt, and yet not firſt-born. And therefore Moſes adds, that firſt opened the womb: ſo that it was poſſible among the Jews, where polygamy and polyguny was allowed, for a man to have ſeveral firſt-born, and all to be redeemed at the price of five ſhekels, as ſoon as they were thirty days old, at which time they were preſented to the prieſt, and the mother offered the ſacrifice of her purification, mentioned in a former article, and the price payed for the child's redemption, he began then to belong to the parents, and not till then [m] (F). How they

† Vide vol. ii. p. 576. [m] Exod. xiii. 2. Num. xviii. 15, & alib.

(E) We muſt remind our Engliſh readers, that this expreſſion has no ſuch harſhneſs in the original, as it has in ours, and other languages, becauſe the word which in theſe is rendered firſt-born, in the original is בכור, Becor, which properly implies the principal or moſt excellent of every thing, or creature in its kind, whether in a good or bad ſenſe. Thus God expreſſes himſelf concerning David, *I will make him my firſt-born, higher than the kings of the earth* (98); where the word means nothing like firſt-born in a ſtrict ſenſe. On the other hand, a moſt cruel death is in Job called בכור מות, Becor maveth, the firſt-born of death (99); and Iſaiah calleth the pooreſt, or rather the weakeſt, of all בכירי דלים, Becore dallim, the firſt-born of the weak (100). It is therefore probable, that this word is figuratively applied to the firſt-born, to imply their excellency in ſtrength and dignity, according to Jacob's expreſſion to Reuben his eldeſt ſon (1),

(F) According to this law we find the virgin Mary redeeming her child Jeſus (2); nevertheleſs it has been much diſputed, whether he was ſubject to this or not, tho' he is allowed on all hands to have been her firſt-born. Some think he was not, becauſe he did not break open the ſeal of her virginity (3). Others, thinking

(98) Pſalm. lxxxix. 27. (99) Job. xviii. 13. (100) Iſai. xiv. 30. (1) Gen. xlix 3. (2) Luke ii. 22, 23. (3) Cyril. Hieroſol. Homil de Occurſ. Domin.

they redeemed them since the destruction of the second temple is out of our purpose. The reader may see it in Leo de Modena and other Hebrew rabbies; only we may observe, that the children of the priests needed not to be redeemed at any time.

The first-born of clean beasts, such as calves, lambs, kids, and the like, were also consecrated to God; but with this difference, that they could not be redeemed, but were to be brought to the tabernacle or temple, and there be killed, the blood was poured at the foot of the altar, the fat burnt upon it, and the rest of the flesh was the priest's perquisite, with this precaution, however, that if the beast had any natural or legal defects, such as blindness, lameness, the want of a limb and the like, it was not to be sacrificed: the priest took it home, and there killed and eat it; and might invite whom he would to partake of it, as of any other common-meat. But if it was an unclean beast, such as an ass, a dog, and the like, the owner was at his liberty either to redeem it with a lamb, or with five shekels of money, or to break the neck of it[n] (G).

As

[n] Vide Num. xviii. 17, & seq. Exod. xiii. 13. Num. xviii. 16. Deut. xv. 20, & seq.

thinking that every male opening the matrix is equivalent to every first-born male, maintain, that he was to be redeemed (4). But some of the fathers have still improved this argument, affirming, that in strictness of speech this law of redemption was only applicable to Christ, seeing he was the only male child that properly opened the womb of his mother, whereas in other women it was opened already, if not before, yet when, the first-born was begot. For which reason they think this law to have been wholly typical of Christ (5).

(G) N. de Lyra, a learned convert from Judaism, tells us, that dogs, and such like creatures of no intrinsic value, were never to be redeemed, but put to death, by reason of a precept in Deuteronomy, against bringing the hire of a whore, or the price of a dog into the house of the Lord (6); wherein he is followed by the learned Bochart and others, as the most received opinion of the rabbies (7). But we question very much whether the generality

(4) Vide Cornel. a lapid. in Exod. xiii. & auct. ab eo citat.
(5) Origen. Tertul. Ambros. & al. ap. Calm. sub. voc. premier.
(6) Deut. xxiii. 18. (7) Vide Mishn. Maim & al. & Munst. in loc.

As to the firſt product of the trees, all that is meant by it is, that every new planted tree was to be reckoned uncircumciſed and impure during the firſt three years. It was not lawful to gather, much leſs to eat, the fruit of it; on the fourth year, all that grew upon it was the Lord's, and conſequently the perquiſite of the prieſts, from whom, however, the owner might redeem it, if he thought fit, by an equivalent [o]: but from that time the owner was at liberty to make the ſame uſe of them as he did of his old ones [p].

7. TITHES. Theſe, and the firſt-fruits, and the redemption of the firſt-born, were the moſt conſtant and conſiderable income of the prieſts and Levites; tho' the firſt is by far the more antient, as we have ſeen in ſeveral places of this hiſtory *. However, we confine ourſelves to thoſe preſcribed by the laws of Moſes, in which he has been ſo ſtrict, that he ordained, that of all thoſe which conſiſted of clean animals, none ſhould be redeemed at any rate, but that they ſhould all be ſacrificed unto the Lord; and that thoſe who conſiſted of the fruits of the earth ſuch as grains, fruits, and the like, ſhould not be bought off, without paying one fifth part more than their intrinſic value [q]. We need not here obſerve, that they were given to them as an equivalent for their not having any ſhare in their diviſion of the land, nor any portion or inheritance with the reſt of the people (H).

THESE tithes were of four ſorts; namely, 1. Thoſe which were thus aſſigned to the tribe of Levi [r] (I), and theſe

[o] Vide præc. affirm. 137. [p] Levit. xix. 23. * Vide vol. ii. p. 195. & note (S). vol. iii. p. 40. [q] Levit. xxvii. 30, & ſeq. [r] Num xviii. 20, & ſeq. Deut xiv. 22, & alib. vide & 2 Chron. xxxi. 4, & ſeq.

nerality of the Jews were ſo exact as to obſerve which came out firſt of a whole litter, it is more likely, that they deſtroyed them all for ſecurity's ſake.

(H) And, perhaps too, with a very judicious view of making them more careful to keep up the religious obſervance of God's laws among the people, too prone naturally to back-ſlide; ſince their income was ſure to riſe and fall, according as the ſpirit of religion and obedience proved more or leſs vigorous.

(I) Some authors have been of opinion, that every man was obliged to bring or ſend by proxy theſe firſt tithes to Jeruſalem

(8) but

these not being of the higher rank of holy things, all the Levites, men and women, clean or unclean, might eat of them. The tenths of these tithes which were assigned to the priests, for these last did not gather the tithes themselves; but that office belonged to the Levites, who were not to touch any part of them, till they had paid that proportion to the priests [s], and had sent it to Jerusalem. 3. After a layman had payed his first tithes to the Levites, he was obliged to set aside a second tenth, or exchange it for an equivalent in money, with an addition of a fifth part above the value; and this he was obliged to bring to Jerusalem, and there make a feast, and invite, besides his friends and relations, the priests and Levites to it [t] (K). 4. The last kind of tithes which Moses commands, was to be set by every third year, and be consumed in feasts at home, to which they were obliged to invite the Levites, the poor, fatherless, widows, and strangers [u] (L).

We

[s] Num. xviii. 25, & seq. [t] Deut. xii. 17, 18. xiv. 22, 23.
[u] Deut. xii. ver. 28, 29.

(8); but besides that, there doth not appear the least shadow of a precept for it, it seems rather from the second tithes, which the Levites were to send to Jerusalem (9), to the priests; that the first was to be payed upon the spot, or at furthest in the cities of the Levites. And indeed it would have been a terrible trouble and expence, especially for those that dwelt at a considerable distance from Jerusalem, to have even sent them thither. If it be objected, that it was equally so to the Levites, the answer is obvious, that it was much easier for them to send a tenth part, than to carry the whole thither, and be forced to bring nine parts back to their respective homes.

(K) That this tenth is different from the first that was payed to the Levites, whatever some commentators have thought to the contrary, is plain. 1. Because the first was the hereditary right of the tribe of Levi, which would have starved without it, and this was consumed by the owners and their friends. 2. The Levites were obliged to refund a tenth part of the first to the priests, but in this they were only invited as guests. 3. The first was payed all the land over, but this only at Jerusalem.

(L) It is, however, more likely, that this last tenth differed in nothing from the third, but only in that this was spent at home every

(8) Joseph. ant. lib. iv. c. 8. Vide Sixt. Amam. de decim. & auct. ab eo citat.

(9) Comp. Deut. xiv. 22. 23, with Nehem. x. 34. & seq.

We read indeed of another kind of tithes, ſuch as Samuel threatened the Iſraelites, that their king, if they perſiſted in the choice of one, would levy upon them out of their fields, vineyards, and flocks [w]. But as there is nothing of ſuch a rite mentioned by Moſes, in the rules which he ſettled for the conduct of their future kings [x], it is likely, the prophet only forewarns them of what they would be apt, rather than of what they might lawfully do.

What the firſt ſort of tithes conſiſted in, which were thus appropriated to the maintenance of the prieſts and Levites, whether in all great and ſmall cattle, and other kinds of animals, as well as all ſorts of grain and fruits, or only in the latter, is not eaſy to determine. The Jews, if we may believe ſome of the learnedeſt among them [y], affirm, that they had no ſhare nor title in the former, and that the fleſh of all thoſe creatures that were decimated belonged to the owners; and Obedias de Barthenora adds, that there is not one paſſage in the whole law that proves, that the prieſt had a right to any part of it [z]. It is hardly worth the while to dive further into this matter, becauſe we cannot attain to any certainty about it. As for the manner in which the cattle was uſually decimated, we ſhall give it in Maimon's own words [a]. "A man ſays he, who out of ten lambs, for "inſtance, ſhould have ſet aſide one, or ten out of an "hundred, would not be reckoned to have paid the tithes "of them: the right way therefore of doing it was as fol-"lows. They did ſhut up all the lambs, kids, or calves, "in a ſtable, which had one door ſo ſtraight that two of "them could not get out a-breaſt: they then brought "their dams to the door, that their young ones, hearing "their voice, might ſtrive to get out; purſuant to what "is ſaid in Leviticus xxvii. 32. *Every thing that paſſeth* "*under*

[w] 1 Sam. viii. 15, & ſeq. [x] Deut. xvii. 14, & ſeq
[y] Vide Maimon. in Bechoroth, c. 6. [z] Barthenor. in zabachim, c. 5, & al. [a] Maim. ubi ſup.

every third year, and the other at Jeruſalem on the other two years; ſo that there might be properly but three ſorts of tithes, that of the Levites, of the prieſts, and theſe laſt, which were rather a kind of euchariſtical agapæ, which the Jews therefore called מעשר עני, and the Greek πλωκοδεκατη, the tenth of the poor, and Tobit, the third tenth (10).

(10) Tob. i. 8.

" *under the rod.* Accordingly it was required, that theſe " young ones ſhould come out of themſelves, and not be " driven out; and as faſt as they came out one after " another, they that ſtood by told them one, two, three, " and ſo on to ten. This tenth was immediately marked " with red lead, and whether it were male or female, " whether with or without blemiſh; the owner ſaid, this " ſhall be conſecrate to pay the tithes. If it was fit, " it was then to be ſacrified to God; if not, it might " be killed and eaten where the owner pleaſed; for it " could be neither redeemed nor exchanged [b] (M).

To

[b] Vide Baſnag. Rep. Heb. tom. iii. lib. 33. c. 4.

(M) The reader will not perhaps think it amiſs, if we add ſome few remarks concerning their manner of ſacrificing their living creatures, not ſo much with regard to their ſlaying them, concerning which all that needs be ſaid is, that they were extreamly careful to let out all their blood, and to avoid every thing that might ſtagnate it in any part; but with reſpect to ceremonies that were uſed by way of diſtinction between the ſacrifices of a more, and thoſe of a leſs, ſacred nature. Of the firſt ſorts were all the burnt offerings and ſacrifices for ſin, and thoſe were always killed on the north ſide of the altar; whereas thoſe of the lower ſort, ſuch as peace, free-will, and all eucharifical offerings, were killed in any part within the court of the ſanctuary. As for birds, the prieſt pinched their neck with his thumb-nail, and that which was for a burnt-offering had its neck quite pulled off, but that for ſin only broken (11). We have already ſpoken of thoſe victims of the firſt rank, whoſe blood was carried and ſprinkled within the tabernacle, that of the others they only poured at the foot of the altar, except touching the horns with ſome of it, on ſome occaſions (12). The Jews add, that there was a grate through which the blood did fall into a kind of ſhore, which carried it into the brook Cedron (13). However, as for theſe aſperſions they were always to be repeated ſeven times; and from them, as well as the ſeven days of the week, and the week of years, and of ſeven weeks of years, as likewiſe from the ſeven-fold circumvection of the ark round the walls of Jericho, Naaman being commanded to plunge ſeven times into Jordan, and many more of the like nature, the Je s, eſpecially the Cabbaliſts, tell us great wonders of the number ſeven, too great indeed for us to enter upon.

The

(11) Levit. i. 15. v. 8, & alib. (12) Levit. xvi. 14, 15, & 18. & 34. & 5, & ſeq. 34, &c. & alib. (13) Vide Miſh. Tract. Middoth,

To theſe kind of offerings we might add ſome others, much as that of incenſe, which the prieſts only were to burn every

The next thing was the fleaing and dividing of the victims, according to the deſign for which they were offered, wherein we ſhall only take notice of one circumſtance with reſpect to the burning of the fat of them; namely, that if it was a ſheep or lamb, they always burned alſo the rump (14), becauſe they are commonly very fat; eſpecially in that kind of Syrian ſheep whoſe rump was between two and three cubits long, and weigh'd as far as 30 or 40 pounds (15). So that not being able to drag them after, without wounding them againſt the ground, the ſhepherds laid them upon a kind of ſledge, which the creature drew after it. Hence one may underſtand the meaning of that prohibition in the Miſhna (16), the ſheep ſhall not be ſent to paſture on the ſabbath, that hath its ſledge tyed to it. As to the burnt-offerings of four-footed beaſts, the prieſts were obliged to waſh their legs and inteſtines in water before they burnt them (17), This was done in a place by itſelf, that the court might not be defiled with their dung. Philo thinks there is a myſtery in it, and that it implies, that we ought to waſh away all our ſinful filth before we preſent ourſelves to God (18). Grotius ſays almoſt the ſame things concerning the fat of the kidneys, &c. which were not to be eaten, but burned, thoſe parts being the ſeat of luſt (19). But however that be, it is certain, that they were not allowed to eat any fat except, that which ſtuck to the fleſh. After theſe ſacrifices were duly diſſected and ſalted, a number of prieſts brought them upon the altar with the uſual quantity of wine and cakes. They were more or fewer, according to the days and the ſacrifices, and each carried one piece thither. Thus every common day, at the morning and evening ſacrifice, when they were but nine in waiting, the firſt carried the head and right foot, the 2d the two fore-feet, or hands, as the rabbies call them; the 3d the back-bone, liver, and kidneys; the 4th the breaſt and neck; the 5th the ribs; the 6th the inwards and legs in a diſh; the 7th a cake to be joined to the lamb; the 8th the cake that belonged to the high-prieſt; and the laſt brought up the wine for the drink-offering; each having his province decided by lot. All theſe pieces of the victim were to be ſet upon the altar, cloſe by one another in the ſame order as they were in before their being diſſected, according to what

(14) Levit. iii. 9. & alib. (15) Vide Herodot. lib. iii. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. viii. c. 48, & al. (16) Vide Tract. Sabbath, c. 4. (17) Levit. i. 9. (18) De Anim. Sacr. (19) Comm. in Levit. iii. 5.

every day upon the altar of perfume (N), before the morning

what is enjoined by Moſes; *and the prieſts, the ſons of Aaron ſhall lay the parts, the head, the fat, in order*, &c. (20); after which the fire was kindled and kept under them till they were conſumed. This formality, however, was obſerved only for thoſe burnt-offerings which were made for the whole people, but not for thoſe which private men offered for themſelves. There are many more particularities relating to theſe and other offerings, the bare mention of which would be too tedious; the reader may ſee them at full length in the Miſhna and the two rabbies mentioned above, and more particularly in Cunæus. All that we ſhall add is, that whatever was to be burnt of them upon the altar was to be done, not with common, but with ſacred, fire, which was preſerved for that purpoſe, (21).

(N) Some authors, who have inadvertently followed St. Auſtin's miſtaken notion, that this altar ſtood in the moſt holy place, have affirmed accordingly, that none but the high-prieſt was to offer it up, and have even maintained, that Zacharias, the Baptiſt's father, was inveſted with that dignity. Theſe have been ſufficiently confuted by Cunæus, among many more. However, there is one expreſſion in Moſes (22), which ſeems to favour that notion, where he ſays, that Aaron *ſhall burn incenſe every morning*, &c. But the Jews have made it plain, that the high-prieſt never offered it but on expiation-day, and on the firſt day of his inſtallation, on all other days, it was left to the prieſt in waiting, as the lot fell out (23); excluſive of the Levites and all other perſons, under pain of death. This mixture, which our verſion doth ſimply call incenſe, was rather a perfume, the compoſition of which is preſcribed by Moſes, and forbid under pain of death to be uſed by any but prieſts, or any where but in the ſanctuary (24), tho' any other compoſition might be, and was lawfully uſed, as appears by ſeveral places of ſcripture. Thus we read that Hezekiah ſhewed ſeveral ſorts of them among other rarities of his treaſure-houſe, to the king of Babylon's ambaſſadors (25): and king Aſa had ſome ſuch like ſort uſed at his funeral (26).

As to the reaſon of this continual burning of incenſe, tho' we grant, that it might be typical of the prayers of the ſaints, yet we believe, we may take that of the learned Maimon along with it, that the multitude of victims, that were continually offered up, would have made the holy place ſmell like a ſlaughter-houſe, and

(20) Levit. i. 8: (21) Comp. Levit. x. 1, 2, & xvi. 12. (22) Exod. xxx. 7. (23) Vide Luke i. 9 (24) Exod. xxx. 34, & ſeq. (25) 2 King. xx. 13 (26) 2 Chron. 16. ult.

ing and evening ſacrifice, and the high-prieſt once a year in the holy of holies, both which we have already ſaid ſomething of, and thoſe which were offered on ſolemn feſtivals, new-moons, ſabbaths, and the like, beſides ſome others of leſs note; but we have already dwelt too long upon this article, and ſhall only add, that as Jeruſalem became afterwards to the Jews, what the camp was during their abode in the wilderneſs, thoſe victims, which were ordered to be burnt out of the camp, were, after the building of the temple, to be burned out of the walls of the city.

Laws concerning Vows.

AS theſe made a ſolemn part of the Jewiſh worſhip and offerings, they may properly be joined as an appendix to the former, tho' their being free and arbitrary doth not permit us to put them in the ſame rank. How ſoon they began to be in uſe, we have ſeen an inſtance of in Jacob's vowing the tenths of all his acquiſitions, as he went to Padan-aran †; however, we confine ourſelves to thoſe under the Moſaic diſpenſation, concerning which that law-giver made ſeveral regulations, in order to direct and enforce the performance of them [c].

Laws concerning Vows.

Vows were of a twofold nature; namely, 1. Of ſuch as devoted the thing vowed, whether man, beaſt, money, or any part of a man's poſſeſſion to the ſervice of God [d]. 2. Of ſuch as devoted them to utter deſtruction [e] (O). Under

† Vide vol. ii. p. 507. [c] Levit. xxvii. paſſ. [d] Ver. 2, & ſeq. [e] Ver. 28. 29.

and conſequently have inſpired the comers rather with diſguſt and contempt, than awe and reverence, had it not been overpowered by the agreeable fragrancy of thoſe perfumes (27).

(O) The original diſtinguiſhes them by the words נדר, Nadar, which ſignifies to vow in the firſt ſenſe, and חרם, Charam, which implies to lay a thing or perſon under an anathema, or to devote it or him to deſtruction. Several learned commentators indeed will not allow of this laſt meaning, when it relates to men; but think, that thoſe perſons who were thus vowed, were to become wholly devoted to God beyond the poſſibility of redemption

(27) Ap. Baſnag. in Cun. tom. ii. lib. i. c. 13.

Under the first head it plainly appears, that persons that were sui juris might vow themselves, their children, or any part of their possessions to God. We say sui juris, because the vows of a son or a daughter, of a wife or slave, were of no further force, than as they were approved, or disapproved, by those under whose power they were [f]. So that a parent, husband, or master, if he heard the vow when it was made, or when he came afterwards to be informed of it, was at liberty either to give it a sanction, or to disannul it: but if the latter, he was obliged to do it on the same day, according to the text, or in twenty four hours, according to the Jewish doctors.

Of persons vowing themselves in this sense, we meet with no plain instance, but of their vowing their children we have; among others, that of Samuel, who was dedicated to God by his mother's vow, ratified, as is to be supposed from what we just now hinted, by her husband [g]; and he was accordingly consecrated to God's service all his life-time. However, in these cases the law of Moses allowed of a redemption or commutation for a sum of money, which was either greater or less, according to the age and sex of the person vowed, for which the reader will find a rate fixed to each of them, and an allowance made for those who were not able to pay that sum, in the chapter above quoted concerning vows [h]. It was otherwise with respect to cattle, lands, or the product of them, and the like. For these could not be redeemed or exchanged, in any case, except, where a man had vowed, for instance, a lamb, calf, or any such creature, which, before the time came of his offering it, had contracted any legal defect, which made it unfit for sacrifice. For in such cases he was to substitute another that was perfect and equivalent unto it, and if the beast which a man

[f] Num. xxx. pass. [g] 1 Sam. i. 21, & seq. [h] Levit. xxvii. 3. & seq.

on (28); but the reader may see, by the instances which we shall give above, that it meant quite another thing; namely, the death of the person, and extermination and destruction of the thing anathematised; and that the difference between the first and second vow was, that the first might be redeemed, but not the second.

(28) Vide Munst. Grot. Le Clerc, Pagnin. Jun. Calm.

man had vowed was an unclean one, he was, beſides the equivalent, to add a fifth part of its value by way of fine [i]. The ſame was to be obſerved if it was a houſe, field, or the like. As for the firſt-born of cattle, they could not be vowed, becauſe they belonged to God already [k].

THE caſe was quite different, with reſpect to thoſe things which were vowed to deſtruction; for they could not be redeemed at any rate [l]. That which had life was to be put to death, and that which had not was to be deſtroyed by fire, or ſome other way. We meet with various inſtances of it in the Jewiſh hiſtory, but ſhall ſingle only a few of the moſt remarkable. We may remember, that the children of Iſrael vowed the whole kingdom of Arad to deſtruction, and that all the cities of the Canaanites were under the ſame anathema [m], and more particularly Jericho; and that Achan, and all that he had, fell under the ſame curſe, becauſe he had ſaved ſome of the plunder of that city [n], which was to have been deſtroyed. As for Jephtha's vow, beſides that it was not exactly of the ſame nature, and authors are much divided about the manner of his fulfilling it, it will be more proper to examine it when we come to the hiſtory of that judge. The Iſraelites aſſembled at Mizpeh, vowed thoſe to deſtruction that did not aſſiſt in puniſhing the tribe of Benjamin, for their barbarous uſage of the Levite's concubine [o]: and Saul would have ſacrificed his own ſon Jonathan, for ignorantly incurring the curſe, which he had laid upon thoſe that ſhould eat or drink whilſt he was in purſuit of his victory; had not the whole army ſtrongly oppoſed it. By all which inſtances, and many more that could be brought, it appears, that nothing leſs than death was the lot of the perſons devoted by this kind of vows. Anathemas.

THOSE who think, that when they related to human victims, they meant no more than that they ſhould be dedicated to God's ſervice as long as they lived, do indeed object the abhorrence which God expreſſes againſt all kind of human ſacrifices; but we beg leave to obſerve, that the caſe here is not about ſacrifices, but vows, and ſuch as, for aught appears to the contrary, by all the inſtances we meet with,

[i] Ibid. ver. 13. [k] Ibid. ver. 14, & ſeq. [l] Ibid. ver. 28, 29. [m] Num. xxi. 1, & ſeq. Deut. vii. 23, & ſeq. xx. 15. & ſeq. [n] Joſh. vi, vii, & paſſ. [o] Judg. xxi. 5.

with, were not in the power of private men to make, but only either of the whole nation, as in the caſe of the land of Arad, or of the kings and judges, as in the other inſtances above-mentioned. Beſides they ſeem altogether to relate to thoſe idolatrous nations they were going to conquer, the meaſure of whoſe ſins had already provoked God to paſs ſentence of deſtruction againſt them; in which caſe, if they bound themſelves by a ſolemn vow to put it in execution, they would be more likely to fulfil it. Accordingly we find them very exact where that was the caſe, and as remiſs when it was not, elſe they had not left ſo many nations undeſtroyed, to be a continual ſnare to ſeduce them into all manner of idolatries. If therefore it was of ſo great conſequence to them to remove all ſuch dangerous incitements, we need not wonder if they were in ſome meaſure led into it by the ſtronger obligation of an oath. But after all, this precept may be only an inforcement of that vow, which Moſes had exacted of the whole nation, a little before his death *†*, of obſerving all the commandments of God, one of which was the extirpation of all theſe nations, with all their monuments of idolatry; in which caſe the meaning of thoſe words will be only this, that as they had ſolemnly vowed it to God, they muſt not pretend hereafter to exempt themſelves from it, upon any pretence whatever (P).

What

† Vide ſup. p. 42.

(P) Thoſe who underſtand the original know, that the future tenſe is very often uſed for the paſt, and ſo vice verſa: ſo that the words may be properly rendered, ſhall have vowed inſtead of ſhall vow. Theſe two verſes therefore ſeem to us to come in as an exception to the regulations which Moſes had made a little before, concerning the redemption of thoſe things which had been vowed in the firſt ſenſe, and which he therefore prefaces with the word אך, Ak, notwithſtanding, or nevertheleſs, whatſoever ſhall be vowed in the ſecond ſenſe, that is, to deſtruction, whether of men or beaſts, &c. ſhall not be redeemed, but be put to death: that is, ye have all bound yourſelves by a ſolemn oath to deſtroy all thoſe nations that will not accept of profered peace, and forſake their idolatry, and to eliminate all that belongs to them, remember therefore, that there is no redemption for them, and that if you ſuffer yourſelves, either through pity or covetouſneſs, to ſpare any of them, you will not only incur the puniſh-

ment

WHAT curſe Jonadab the ſon of Rechab had laid upon his poſterity, if they did not obſerve his arbitrary injunctions, of abſtaining from wine, from planting, ſowing, and the like, doth not appear; but how ſtrict obſervers they were of them we may conclude from their anſwer to Jeremiah, when he invited them to drink wine [p]. We ſhall conclude this article with a ſhort account of the Nazarites, often mentioned in the Old Teſtament, who were perſons that either dedicated themſelves, or were ſo by their parents, to obſerve the laws of Nazaritehood. Theſe were of two ſorts; namely, of ſuch who obliged themſelves to it only for ſome ſhort ſpace, as a week or a month, and thoſe who were bound to it all their life, and theſe were moſt commonly dedicated by their parents. Of this kind were Samſon and Samuel [q], and all that we find peculiar in their way of life was, that they were to abſtain from wine and all intoxicating liquors, and to wear their hair to its full length. As for thoſe of the firſt ſort, they were moreover to avoid all defilement, even that of entering into a houſe where a dead perſon was; for if they chanced to be polluted by it before the term was expired, they were obliged to begin afreſh [r]. Women as well as men might bind themſelves to this vow, and after it was accompliſhed, they preſented themſelves to the prieſt, who brought them to the door of the tabernacle or temple, where they offered the ſacrifices preſcribed by Moſes in ſuch caſes [s], after which he cauſed their heads to be ſhaved, and the hair to be thrown into the fire which was under the ſacrifice, and then pronounced them freed from their vow. Nazarites.

THOSE

[p] Jerem. xxxv. paſſ.
[q] Judg. xiii. 5. 1 Sam. i. 11.
[r] Num. vi. 1, & ſeq.
[s] Ibid. ver. 13, & ſeq.

ment of perjury and rebellion, but be inſnared into greater guilt, by conforming to their ways. Had Saul been mindful of this, he had not ſaved the king of Amalek, and the choiceſt of the cattle and plunder (29). When therefore he made that weak and puerile excuſe, that he deſigned the latter as an offering to God, Samuel did juſtly reprove him, by ſhewing him, how vain it was to pretend to attone for one open violation of God's command by another.

(29) 1 Sam. xv. 9, & ſeq.

THOSE that lived at such a distance from the temple, that they could not reach it by that time their vow was expired, might shave their heads at what place soever they found themselves, at which time they set aside the price of their sacrifice, in order to bring or send it to the temple by the next opportunity. This is what we find St. Paul did, who made this vow at Corinth, shaved his head at Cenchrea, and went soon after to Jerusalem, to accomplish it by the usual offering [t].

Laws concerning the Priests, Levites, and Nethinims.

Laws concerning the Priests.

THE two last things to be considered under this head of the worship of God, or, as it is commonly called, the commands of the first table, are, 1. The persons, and 2. The things, which were in a more peculiar manner consecrated to his service. Of the first sort were the priests, levites, and nethinims; of the second, the tabernacle, and afterwards the temple, with all the pompous apparatus of utensils prescribed by God himself to Moses on the mount, in order to inspire the carnal people with a greater awe and reverence for his religion. As to the tribe of Levi, we have seen above how and upon what account it was separated from the rest, and appointed for this important office †. Before that time the priesthood, or sacrificature, is generally thought to have belonged to the first-born; and when Moses ratifyed the covenant between God and the people at the mount, he acted the part of chief-priest, and chose a set of young men to act under him [u]; but after the tribe of Levi had been thus set apart for the inferior, and the family of Aaron for the higher, offices of the ministry, it became a capital crime for any other tribe to interfere with them in the sacred function; insomuch, that God's vengeance did miraculously display itself in the punishment of the first offenders, Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and in confirming the priesthood in that family by the supernatural budding of Aaron's rod [w]. It is not indeed easy to reconcile what is said of the Levites being chosen above all other tribes, upon the account of the zeal which they showed

[t] Acts xviii. 18.
[u] Exod. xxiv. 5, & seq.
† Vide sup. p. 33. note (C).
[w] Numb. xvi, & xvii, pass.

ſhowed in puniſhing the worſhippers of the golden calf [x], with Aaron's being raiſed to the higheſt dignity in that tribe, he who had ſo baſely conſented to, and countenanced, that defection. This choice may therefore more properly be aſcribed to the meer pleaſure of God, like that which he made of Seth, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Jacob, David, and many more. But, however that be, Moſes tells us in another place, that God took the Levites inſtead of the firſt-born of Iſrael, to be his own tribe, and it is remarkable, that when the ſums of both were taken, and the number of the latter exceeded that of the former, he commanded that the over-plus ſhould be redeemed at the price of five ſhekels per head, and the price to be given to Aaron and his ſons [y]. So that it is plain, that there was an actual ſubſtitution or exchange of the Levitical tribe in lieu of the firſt-born, which God had claimed to himſelf for his having ſpared thoſe of Iſrael, when he deſtroyed thoſe of Egypt; and a ſuperiority given to the family of Aaron over all the reſt of that tribe, both as to office and dignity, as we ſhall preſently ſhew under each head. As for the Nethinims, they were not ſo much as of the ſeed of Jacob, and we only rank them here, as being appointed to ſerve in the loweſt offices of the loweſt tabernacle and temple.

I. Of the prieſts.

WE have heretofore taken notice, that the tribe of Levi conſiſted of three main branches, diſtinguiſhed by their principal heads, namely, Gerſhon, Kohath, and Mr ari. But the prieſthood was given ſolely to the family of Aaron, which was no more than a ſmall branch of that of Kohath, whilſt all the reſt of it, even the ſons of Moſes himſelf, as well as the other two branches, remained in the common rank of levites, and were only admitted to the inferior functions of the miniſtry, whether of the tabernacle, or afterwards of the temple. So that theſe were always ſubject to, and dependent on the the prieſts, as will appear in its proper place.

At

[x] Deut. xxxiii. 8, & ſeq. & alib.

[y] Vide Num. iii. 12, 13, 45, & ſeq.

At the head of the prieſthood was the high-prieſt, who was alſo the head of the Jewiſh church, and the final judge of all controverſies, whether concerning religion, or even about the adminſtration of common juſtice. This laſt at leaſt ſeems plainly implied in the directions which Moſes gives the people, to have recourſe to the prieſts in all difficulties of that nature, and to abide by their determination under pain of death [z] (Q): and in this ſenſe Joſephus, Philo, and moſt, if not, all the Jewiſh rabbies underſtand them [a]. However, in this reſpect he acted rather as a civil judge, than as high-prieſt. The ſame may be ſaid of the ſubaltern prieſts and levites, which were commonly admitted to ſit in their inferior courts of judicature; for it is plain, that the main end for which they were ſet apart was to bleſs the people in God's name, and to offer up incenſe and thoſe ſacrifices to him that were preſcribed by the law, excluſive of all other tribes [b], under the ſevere penalties above mentioned (R).

The

[z] Deut. xvii. 8, & ſeq. xix. 17. xxii. 10. xxxiii. 20. vide & Ezek. xliv. 24. [a] Cont. Apion. & alib. Phil. Maimon. Vide Selden de Synedr. vet Hæbr. & al. [b] Num. xvi. & alib.

(Q) The words of Moſes run thus (30). 'And if there ariſe 'a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, 'between plea and plea, or ſtroke and ſtroke, being a matter of 'controverſy within thy gates, (the ſenſe of which from the laſt words is plainly, that if the matter is too hard for the judges of that city to which the contending parties belong (31). in ſuch a caſe) 'thou ſhalt ariſe and get thee up unto the place which the Lord thy God 'ſhall chuſe, and thou ſhalt come unto the prieſts and Levites, and 'unto the judge that ſhall be in thoſe days — and thou ſhalt exactly 'obſerve and do according to their ſentence — without ſwerving from 'it to the right hand or to the left — and the man that ſhall preſumptuouſly refuſe to abide by the determination of the prieſt, that 'ſtandeth to miniſter there before the Lord thy God, or to that of the 'judge, that man ſhall be put to death—'. Now by the prieſt there mentioned, the generality of commentators underſtand the high-prieſt.

(R) This ought not, however, to be underſtood too ſtrictly, becauſe it is certain, that ſeveral kings, judges, and prophets, have

(30) Deut. xvii. 8, & ſeq. (31) Vide vol. ii. p. 419. note (F).

THE laws relating to the high-prieſt are reducible to theſe three heads; 1. Such as related to his office. 2. To his conſecration. And 3. To his dreſs.

As to his office, beſides his having it in his power, whenever he pleaſed to perform any of the functions of the inferior prieſts; his being alone poſſeſſed of the divine oracle of Urim and Thummim, ſpoken of more particularly in a former ſection ‡, and his being alone authorized to enter into the holy of holies, and to pronounce that ſolemn bleſſing on the day of expiation, mentioned under that head; all theſe great privileges were confined to him, and intailed on his ſon and ſucceſſor, either of his own body or family. Accordingly we find the two branches of it, that of Eleazar The high priſte's office.

‡ before p. 33. note (C).

have taken this office upon them, that were not of that tribe. Thus we read in one place, that Samuel, who was of that of Ephraim, was waited for to bleſs the ſacrifice (32); and in another that he offered up a lamb for a burnt-offering (33), tho' theſe two functions did properly belong to the prieſts. Thus again Saul, Elijah, and David, are ſaid to have offered up burnt-offerings to God (34), and both he and his ſon Solomon to have bleſſed the people in the name of the Lord (35).

It is indeed commonly anſwered, that they only cauſed the prieſts to perform that office for them; but this expoſition is forced, and incompatible with the plain meaning of the original. We think it therefore more probable, that theſe perſons above-named, not ſo much as being heads of the people, but as being prophets, and being directed by the ſpirit, might perform theſe functions upon particular occaſions, ſuch as theſe we have quoted, for the greater ſolemnity of the ceremony. For even Saul was for ſome time endowed with the ſpirit, and Samuel told him, that he might follow the directions of it upon all emergencies (36); when therefore that prophet reproved him for his indiſcretion (37), it is not ſo much for having offered up a burnt-offering, as for doing it contrary to his judgment, and out of an untimely fear, leſt Samuel ſhould diſappoint him, and his enemies ſurprize him unprepared, for Saul adds, *and I forced*, or did violence to myſelf, that is, my fear drove me to this action, contrary to my own judgment.

(32) 2 Sam. ix. 13. (33) Ibid. vii. 9. (34) Ibid. xiii. 9, & ſeq. 1 King. xviii. 30, & ſeq. (35) 2 Sam. vi. 17, 18. 1 King. viii. 55, & ſeq. (36) Vide 1 Sam. x. 7. & ſeq. (37) Ibid xiii. 13.

Eleazar and that of Ithamar, the sons of Aaron, in the high-priesthood at different times, till the captivity, whilst the other occupied the next in rank, and this is the most probable reason why the prophet mentions a high-priest, and a second priest*†. HowPhineas's line came to be set aside from the first rank, the text doth not tell us, but the legal imperfections, which disqualified a man from that high dignity, were so many and so frequent, that it is probable, that some of them might be the reason of its passing to Eli, who was of the younger branch, in whose house it continued till Saul's time. After this it shifted once or twice more in David's time, till Solomon, dissatisfied with Abiathar, restored Zadoc of the Phinean family to the first rank again, where it continued to the end. So that Abiathar cannot so properly be said to have been deposed by that prince, as to have been reduced to the pristine rank of his branch (S). Accordingly we find him named in the very next

*† Jerem. c. ult. ver. 24. vide 1 Chron. xxiv. 2.

(S) This right was then only so far hereditary, that the high-priest-hood always descended to one of the two branches, as long as it was capable of succeeding, if not, one of the next was chosen that was duly qualified. 'Tis true, Moses has not left any written direction about it, but we find that Eli, who was both high-priest and judge in Israel, was not of the family of Eleazar, but of that of Ithamar, for his name is not to be found in the genealogy of the former (38), and Josephus tells us, that he was of the family of the latter (39), and the first of that line that was raised to that high function, and in whose family it continued uninterrupted till Saul's reign.

It were needless to trouble our readers with the various conjectures that have been made about the reason of this translation of the high-priesthood from the eldest to the youngest branch; it is enough for us, that it was not done without divine approbation, as appears by what a prophet sent from God said unto Eli (40), to this effect— *I chose the house of thy father Aaron to offer up incense and sacrifice upon my altar—Why then do ye kick at my sacrifices—Wherefore, tho' I said, that thine house—should stand before me for ever—Now far be it from me to honour those that dishonour me—Lo the time cometh, that thy sons Hophni and Phineas shall be cut off in one day—and thou shalt behold an enemy in my habitation—and I shall raise*

(38) Vide 1 Chron. vi. 3, & seq. (39) Ant. lib. v. c. ult.
(40) 1 Sam. ii. 27, & seq.

next chapter but one, after his ſuppoſed depoſition, as ſecond to Zadock. *And Zadock and Abiathar were prieſts* *†*. But to return to the high-prieſt, there was ſuch a particular ſacredneſs inherent in his dignity, as oblig'd him to ſeveral ſtrict laws, from which the reſt of the prieſts were exempt. It was not lawful for him to marry a widow, a repudiated woman, or a harlot; the perſon whom he took to his bed was to be a pure virgin, and one of his own tribe. He was forbid to put himſelf into mourning for the neareſt relation, or to go into any houſe where a corps was [c]; he was further obliged to abſtain not only from matrimonial commerce, during thoſe feſtivals in which he was to officiate, but alſo from all food and other things which might occaſion any defilement. Beſides all theſe, he was in common with other prieſts to be free from all natural defects mentioned by Moſes [d]; that is to ſay, that he was to be neither blind, lame, maimed, crooked, or a dwarf; he was to have neither ſcurvy, itch, or any diſeaſe in his ſkin, or defect in any of his limbs, eſpecially in his teſticles. As many as had any one of theſe blemiſhes, were abſolutely reſcinded from all prieſtly functions, from entering into the ſanctuary, and offering the ſhew-bread, only they wre allowed to live upon a portion of the offerings that were made there [e].

2. His conſecration. This ceremony was preſcribed by God himſelf on the mount [f], and was performed by Moſes upon his brother Aaron, with a ſolemnity anſwerable to the ſacredneſs of his office. It conſiſted chiefly in the

† Comp. King. i. 26, 27, and iii. 4. 10. & ſeq.
[c] Levit. xxi.
[d] Idid. xiii, & ſeq.
[e] Ibid. xxi, & ſeq.
[f] Exod. xl. 12, & ſeq.

raiſe me a faithful prieſt—Whilſt thoſe that are left of thine houſe ſhall fall into the utmoſt poverty and contempt. How, and when, this prophecy was fulfilled will be ſeen in its proper place. It is ſufficient at preſent to have given the beſt light we can get to the manner of this ſacred ſucceſſion. We beg leave to add, that where the prophet tells Eli, *thou ſhalt ſee an enemy in my habitation*, the word ſignifies more properly a rival, and ſeems to point directly at the eldeſt branch, which, tho' ſet aſide for a time, would again be reinſtated to that ſupreme dignity, as it actually was, when Saul cauſed Abimelech to be ſlain, and Zadoc to be put in his place.

the six following particulars. 1. And before all things, he was presented to the Lord at the door of the tabernacle, in the presence of all the people. 2. He was to wash himself all over in pure water, which was drawn out of a large capacious vessel that stood near the altar, and was set up there for all such purposes. 3. He was then immediately invested with all the pontifical vestments, of which we shall speak under the next head, and with the breast-plate and Urim. 4. His next business was offering the sacrifices appointed for this purpose; namely, a bullock for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering, and another for his consecration, with the blood of which Moses, 5. Anointed the tip of his right ear, thumb, and great toe, besides the usual aspersions on the altar, and other wave-meat, and drink-offerings. The last ceremony was the anointing of him with the sacred oil, whose composition was likewise prescribed by God [g], and was not to be used for any other purpose. These ceremonies were repeated seven days successively, at least as far as relates to the washing, the sacrifices, and the unction, for it doth not appear, that the ceremony was repeated relating to their putting on the priestly garments [h]. During all this time, Aaron and his sons were not permitted to go out of the tabernacle, but continued there, and feasted themselves with the daily sacrifices which they offered for their consecration, of which no fragments were to be left till the next morning, but was to be burned that very night. On the eighth day Aaron entered into his office by a double sacrifice, one which he offered for himself, and the other for the people, whom he blessed for the first time, and this his inauguration was signalized by the glory of God appearing unto all the people, and by the descent of the holy fire from heaven [i], which was thence-forwards preserved, till the destruction of the first temple, and the use of any other, in the sacred ministry, expresly forbid under pain of death †.

There is one thing to be observed in this first consecration, that not only Aaron, but his sons, were consecrated at the same time, and with the same ceremonies, tho' these were to continue still in the rank of common priests. This may be the reason, why Eleazar is afterwards

[g] Ibid. xxx. 22, & seq. [h] Levit. viii. 1, & seq.
[i] Ibid. ix. pass. vide ver. 23, & 24. † Vide sup. pag. 4.

wards ſaid to have been inſtalled into the high prieſthood, by the ſole inveſtiture of his father's garments without any other ceremony, from which ſeveral commentators have concluded, that the reſt were not to be uſed at the inſtallation of any new high-prieſt. It is true, we can offer nothing concluſive out of the Moſaic text to confute that notion, yet if we believe the antient Jews, who may be properly enough lookt upon as the beſt judges, they will tell us, that the unction did always accompany the inveſtiture till the deſtruction of the firſt temple, when Joſiah did depoſit the ſacred oil in ſo ſecret a place, that it could never be found out after their return from the Babyloniſh captivity. From which time, and not till then, they began to content themſelves with the bare inveſtiture, without the unction [k] (T). However that be, it ſeems reaſonable to think, that Moſes was commanded to conſecrate

[k] Vide Seld. de Succeſſion. ad Pontificat. lib. ii. c. 9. Baſnag. Rep. Heb. tom. i. lib. 2. c. 7.

(T) The rabbies add, that thoſe were conſecrated by unction were called, anionted, and the others only, inveſted, and that they did never venture to make a new compoſition of the ſacred ointment after that of Moſes was gone (41). But we can ſee no reaſon for joining with them, becauſe Moſes was ſo far from forbidding any ſuch thing, that he has left a plain receipt how to make it. It is certain, that many antient fathers believed, that it continued till the time of Chriſt (42); and Zechariah, ſpeaking of his viſion of the two high-prieſts, Jehoſhua and Zerubbabel, calls them בני היצהר, Bene Hajizhar, the ſons of oil or unction (43), which Kimchi renders, rightly enough, anointed, becauſe, ſays he, Jehoſhua was anointed high-prieſt, and Zerubbabel king (44). We may add an adage of the Gemarriſts concerning the דין ירושה, Din Jeruſhah, or hereditary right, about which they make this diſtinction, that an high-prieſt, the ſon of an high-prieſt, muſt be anointed, becauſe that right is not abſolutely in him, but the ſon of an anointed

(41) Vide Seld. de Succeſ. ubi. ſup. (42) Euſeb. Demonſt. Ev. lib. iv. c. 4. Chryſoſt. orat. 2 cont. Judæos. Cyril. Jeroſ. Myſtag. cont. Jud. Anaſt. de incarnat. verb. vide & Calm. ſub. voc. unction. (43) Ch. iv. ver. ult. vide Munſt. in loc. (44) Vide Abarb. & Munſt. in Zechar. ubi ſup.

crate Aaron's two ſons, Eleazar and Ithamar, at that grand ceremony, as being the two branches unto which the high-prieſthood was confined, as he did at the ſame time all the prieſtly garments, the tabernacle, and all the ſacred utenſils of it, which were to be entirely conſecrated to the ſervice of God for ever after [l].

is dreſs.

3. His prieſtly veſtments. And all that we can with any certainty advance concerning theſe is, that they were likewiſe preſcribed by God himſelf, and that they conſiſted of every thing that could make them truly rich, ſumptuous, and venerable, ſuch as a great variety of precious ſtones, gold, ſilver, purple, ſcarlet, the fineſt of ſilk, linnen, and the like: but as to the faſhion of them, all that has been advanced about it, tho' with never ſo poſitive an air, is all meer conjecture, becauſe Moſes has contented himſelf with giving us the names of them, without any further deſcription, as being altogether needleſs. Joſephus has indeed been more particular in this reſpect [m], but all we can depend upon him for is, that he has deſcribed them as they were worn in his time, and how far the faſhion of them might have altered during ſo long a ſpace, and ſuch a variety

[l] Vide Levit. viii. 10, & ſeq. ad 30. ix. paſſ. vide & verſ. 23, & 24.

[m] Ant. lib. iii. c. 7.

anointed king needs not be anointed, becauſe it is in him. Abarbanel adds, in his comment upon the place, that it was the judgment of their wiſe-men to chuſe him for a high-prieſt מאחיו, from among his brethren that was גדול בני גדול בעושר וגדול בכוח the moſt beautiful, the richeſt, and ſtrongeſt; who was therefore to be anointed, that the reſt might thereby know, that he was duely choſen from the midſt of his brethren (45).

How this anointing was performed, is not very clear, but, by the expreſſion of the pſalmiſt (46), as well as that which Zechariah makes uſe of here, it ſeems to have been performed by pouring the oil upon the head ſo plentifully, that it ran down to his beard, and thence upon the ſkirts of the garment. The rabbies are of that opinion, only ſome ſay, that is was poured in form of an X, others in that of a כ Caph; but theſe are not worth dwelling upon (48).

(45) Abarban: comm. in gemar. in loc. (46) Vide Goodwin's Moſes & Aaron. lib. i. c. 5. note 1. (47) Pſ. cxxxiii. 2. 48) Vide Toſtat, Janens. Manoch.

a variety of circumſtances, which the Jewiſh commonwealth went through, is not eaſy to gueſs. The rabbies have deſcribed them vaſtly different from him, and St. Jerom deſcribes ſome of them differently from thoſe two [n]. So that we may truly ſay, that thoſe moderns who have lately given us ſuch lively deſcriptions of them, both in writing and in various prints, have rather furniſhed the world with new models for maſquerading habits, than informed us with any thing, either certain or indeed material. This caution being premiſed, we ſhall now endeavour to give our readers the beſt account we can of them, with any tolerable certainty, and refer the reader to Joſephus and thoſe modern authors, who have treated more fully of them *.

THEY were of two ſorts, the one made of linen, and common to him and all the other prieſts; and if there was any difference between them, it was in the former being made of finer linen, and woven in a richer manner. We have already mentioned them under the head of expiation, they being the only ones, that he is ſuppoſed to have worn when he went into the holy of holies. Only one would be apt to think, that theſe were made of a finer linen, becauſe they are called by another name; namely, Sheſh, which is thought a fine Egyptian ſort, whereas that which is called Bad is a more common one. Theſe were the mitre, or turban, long robe or veſt, his drawers, and his girdle. The others, which were peculiar to him, and which he was to wear upon all ſolemn days and occaſions, were ſo rich and magnificent, that the Jews called them Bagde Zahab, veſtures of gold, to expreſs the richneſs of them; and *Moſes, the glory and ornament of Aaron* °. The firſt was a blue or purple robe, which he put on over his linen-veſt (V). This garment had no ſleeves, or any

[n] Hieron, ad Fabiol. Baſnag. Lamy, Calmet. & al.

* Ant. lib. iii. c. 7. Cunæus,

° Exod. xxviii. 2.

(V) We have no great certainty about theſe colours, eſpecially the blue. The Greek and old verſion render the word תכלת, Tekeleth, by Hyacinth, but as there is a ſtone of that name, which is of a yellow, and a flower of a light blue, or purpliſh colour, it is not eaſy to know to which of theſe the interpreters alluded. The old Flemiſh verſion, among ſome others,

any ſeam, according to Joſephus, being woven, like that of our Saviour's from top to bottom, with a ſlit to put his head through. The border of it, which reached almoſt to his ancles, was trimed with a rich fringe, to which were interchangeably hung little bells and pomgranates, curiouſly wrought in pure gold, at equal diſtance one from another,

others, renders it yellow ſilk, but as that colour, when mixed with ſcarlet and purple is too glaring, eſpecially where there is ſo great a mixture of gold, the generality of interpreters think it to be the colour of the flower ſo called. As for the ארגמן, Argaman, which we tranſlate purple, it is moſt likely to have been a die made of the blood of a ſhell-fiſh of that name, which was caught upon the coaſt of Paleſtine, and for which the Tyrians came to be ſo famous. Some Jewiſh etymologiſts make Argaman to be kind of adjective of the word רגם, Regem, which, according to them ſignifies a prince or royal perſon; for which reaſon they chuſe to tranſlate it a princely colour, ſuch as the kings wore themſelves, and cloathed their greateſt favourites with. Thus Daniel was cloathed in purple by Belſhazar (49); and Chriſt with a robe of mockery of the ſame colour (50).

Neither are we much more certain concerning the Hebrew words בד, bad, שש, ſheſh, פשתה, piſhtah, and בוץ, buzz; whence the byſſus; that is, whether they all ſignify linen made of flax or hemp, differing only in degrees of fineneſs, or weaving; or whether the ſheſh was not either a kind of cotton or ſilk. There is no reaſon to doubt, but theſe were both uſed and eſteemed at that time; and as the prieſtly robes were to be made of the moſt coſtly things, it is not improbable, but theſe went into the compoſition under one of the three firſt names. As to the buzz, by which interpreters commonly underſtand the fineſt of Egyptian linen, it is moſt likely to have been a ſilk, made of the tail of a fiſh †. But this laſt is not to be met with in the Moſaic writings. The laſt quoted author has at leaſt made it probable, that the ſheſh was a kind of fine cotton, †, and as for what the Jews ſay, that there could be no linen thread mixed in theſe garbs, becauſe it was contrary to the law, which forbids the mixture of linſey woolſey *, it is probable, as Cunæus obſerves, that it related only to ſtuffs made for common wear or uſe, and to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe that were for ſacred purpoſes, ſuch as the curtains, &c. of the tabernacle, and the robes of the high-prieſt, which were made of every thing that was ſplendid and coſtly.

(49) Dan. v. 29. (50) Iohn xix. 5. † Baſil. in hexamer. Procop. de fabric. ap. Calmet. comm. in Exod. & araPlipom. ‡ Idem comm. in Exod, & dict. ſub. voc. Cotton. * Levit. xix. 19. Deut. xxii. 11.

another, that by their tinkling his approach might be the more eaſily diſtinguiſhed. This veſt was tied round with a rich girdle, which went twice round his body, and hung down a convenient length before him.

OVER this veſt was a third called the ephod, curiouſly wrought with gold and other variegated embroidery, not unlike a ſhort coat, about two foot in length. On the top of it, on each ſide, were two ſhoulder-pieces, to which were faſtened two precious ſtones (W) ſet in gold, on which were engraved the names of the twelve tribes, ſix upon each ſtone, that he might always have before his eyes thoſe that were committed to his paſtoral care. Upon the breaſt of it was a vacancy of about half a cubit in length, and a proportionable breadth, on which the breaſt-plate was faſtened. This was a folded piece of the ſame rich embroidered tiſſue, on which were faſtened twelve precious ſtones, ſet in gold, on each of which were engraven the name of one of the tribes. Theſe were ſet in four rows, three in each row (X), and the whole was faſtened at the four corners; thoſe on

(W) The word in the original is שֹׁהַם, ſhohem, which our verſion, after ſeveral others antient and modern, tranſlates onyx-ſtone, though the Septuagint and ſome others think, it ſignifies the emerald. The truth is, that all the light we can get from commentators, whether Jewiſh or Chriſtians, antient or modern, is too dim to lead us to the certain knowledge either of this or any other of the twelve ſtones of the breaſt-plate, becauſe it is hardly poſſible for any of them to have been ſufficiently acquainted with their true ſignification. And this is the reaſon, why we find ſo little agreement among them, However, as the thing is of no great conſequence, we ſhall follow our Engliſh verſion, which, for ought appears to the contrary, may have gueſſed as right as any other. Thoſe who are curious in ſuch things may, if they pleaſe, conſult thoſe authors quoted in the margin (51), who have wrote about them ex profeſſo.

(X) Theſe were divided one from another by the little golden partitions into which they were ſet, and were diſpoſed in the following order, to which we have added their Hebrew names, together

(51) Vide commentat. in Gen. ii. 12. Lud. de Dieu, in Exod. xxviii. 17, & ſeq. Brannius de veſt. S. ſacerd Hæb. Fra. Dell. Strad. de gemmis, & al.

on the top to each ſhoulder-piece by a golden hook or ring, at the end of a wreathen chain; and thoſe below to the girdle of the ephod, by two blueſtrings or ribbons, which had likewiſe two rings and hooks; ſo that the whole might be tied faſt to the garment, beyond the danger of falling off. For theſe were never to be ſevered, and the Jews tell us, that if the high-prieſt did at any time, either through inadvertency or wilfully, put on the one without the other, he

together with the tribe that was engraven upon each of them.

1. אדם	Sardius.	2. פטרה	Topas	3. ברקת	Carbuncle
Odem	Reuben	Phiterah	Simeon	Barketh	Levi
4. נפך	Emerald	5. ספיר	Saphire	6. יהלום	Diamond
Nophek	Judah	Saphir	Dan	Jahalom	Naphthali
7. לשם	Ligure	8. שבו	Agate	9. אחלמה	Amethyſt
Leſhem	Gad	Shebo	Aſher	Achlamah	Iſſachar
10. תרשיש	Berit	11. שהם	Onyx	12. ישפה	Jaſper
Tarſhiſh	Zebulun	Shohem	Joſeph	Yaſhphe	Benjamin

Some of theſe ſtones, it muſt be owned, are of ſo hard a nature, eſpecially the diamond, that one may juſtly queſtion how they came ſo ſoon by the art of engraving on them. But here the Talmudiſts wonderfully help us out, by aſſuring us, that they were not engraven by any tool, which would have waſted ſome part of the ſtone, but by a miraculous worm, not now in being, which being ſet upon each of theſe ſtones, did ſink itſelf all along theſe places which Moſes had chalked to it, and ſo impreſſed the letters into the ſtones, in the ſame manner as we might do into ſome things of a ſoft and yielding ſubſtance, without taking off any part of it. They relate likewiſe ſeveral other wonders about this worm and theſe precious ſtones, which we ſhall not trouble our readers with, after what we have owned in the laſt note, concerning the little certainty we can have, from any good authority, of even the true ſignification of their names. The Jews, among other things, tell us, that the names of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, were engraven alſo over the name of Reuben, in the firſt ſtone; and in the laſt under that of Benjamin the words, שבטי יה, Shibte jah, the tribes of the Lord: in order to make up the whole alphabet, ſome letters of which were wanting in the names of the twelve patriarchs (53). But this is only to confirm an hypotheſis of theirs, that the divine oracle was known by the protuberance or ſuperior luſtre of ſuch letters as compoſed the anſwer. But of this we have already ſpoken in another place †.

(52) Exod xxviii 17. & ſeq. (53) Maimon, kele hommikdaſh. c. 9. † See before p. 33. note (C)

he was to be puniſhed for it. This ornament is therefore called the memorial, to put him in mind how dear thoſe tribes ought to be to him, whoſe names he wore over his breaſt. It is alſo called the breaſt-plate of judgement, becauſe it had the divine oracle faſtened to it. At leaſt the far greateſt part of interpreters have underſtood the command of God to Moſes, of putting the Urim and Thummim to the breaſt-plate [p]: as if it implied them to be a diſtinct thing from it; and this had made them run into various notions, as we ſhall ſhew preſently.

What this oracle conſiſted in, and how it was conſulted, we have ſeen in a former ſection †; and have now nothing left to enquire about, but its form and make. But here we are alſo left ſo much in the dark, that it would require a new Urim and Thummim to acquaint us with it, becauſe no inſpired writer has given us any hint, and thoſe who have ſince wrote their conjectures about it ſeem to have given ſo great a ſcope to their fancy, that one ſhall ſcarce find two or three of them agreeing in the ſame notion. Some antients thought, that there was a thirteenth ſtone in the breaſt-plate, whoſe extraordinary luſtre and beauty above the reſt did ſignify to the high-prieſt God's approbation or diſlike of the thing enquired about [q]. And though St. Auſtin has plainly proved, that there was not the leaſt foundation for ſuch a ſupernumerary ſtone [r], ſome moderns have not ſcrupuled to add another, in order to anſwer the two names of Urim and Thummim [s]. An antient father, who is followed by a great many moderns, thinks, that thoſe two words were either engraven on a plate of gold and fixed to the breaſt-plate, or embroidered in raiſed work upon it [t]. Moſt of the Jews believe, that it was the Tetragrammaton written upon a plate of gold, or ſome other way fixed to the breaſt-plate [u]; and Le Clerc, that Urim and Thummim were the names of the two kinds of precious ſtones, ſet in a gold chain or collar, which were hung about the high-prieſt's neck, and came down to his breaſt; probably, as he thinks, in imitation of the Egyptians, whoſe chief magiſtrate wore a gold chain, at the end of which hung the figures of juſtice and truth engraven on ſome precious ſtone [w]. A modern

[p] Exod. xxviii. 30. † Vide ſup. 33 note (C).
[q] Epiphan. tract. de XII. gummis. Suidas, in Εφοδ. [r] Queſt. in Exod. 117. [s] Arr. Mont. & al [t] Cyril. expoſit. Symbol. [u] Ita Rabbin. vide R. Salom. vide Egub, & Munſt. in loc. [w] Comm. in loc. vide Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. c. 3. biblioth. Ælian. var. Hiſt. & al.

traveller, in a letter dated from Cairo, tells us, that he saw a very antient mummy in Egypt, which had a large collar hanging down to its breast, with a bird engraven in gold fastened to the end of it [x]. Spencer, after De Castro, believed, that the breast-plate had two little golden figures, enclosed in a kind of purse, which did give answers vivâ voce, to the questions of the high-priest [y]; and for this he quotes St. Jerom and Cedrenus among the antients, Cornelius a Lapide and Ludovicus de Dieu among the moderns, with some Jewish writers: but this notion has been so severely answered by the learned Pocock*, as absurd and impious, that we know not of its having been embraced by any author since. Philo indeed seems to hint something like it [z], only with this difference, that he says, those two figures, or vertues, namely, manifestation and truth, were only embroidered upon it: and it must be owned, that if there were any such figures or symbols, it is more reasonable to suppose them, with him, to have been only embroidered, than with Spencer, that they were real figures, whether cast or carved by any other way; because this latter seems too contrary to the prohibition in the second Commandment (Y). But we see no need of supposing any such figures, upon the Authority of either, because Josephus,

[x] Pet. Valla, Epist. xi.
* Comm. in Hos. iii. 4. l. ii.
[y] Differt de Ur. & Thum.
[z] Invit. Mos. lib. iii. de Monarc.

(Y) If it should be objected here, that the cherubims in the sanctuary were as contrary to that prohibition, as these supposed figures, we beg leave to observe, that there was not the least danger of the former being mistaken for a symbol of the deity, even by the most stupid, because God is expressly said in several places to dwell between the cherubims; so that they could only look upon them as ornaments to the mercy-seat, or at most, as symbols of those heavenly beings, who continually adore and praise him, and fly with the utmost speed to perform his commands. And this seems to be the reason of the humble posture in which they were represented, and of their having so many wings. We cannot say the same of the latter, because their delivering the divine oracles in any way, but more especially if they had done it vivâ voce, as our author pretends, could hardly have failed of inspiring the people with the same idolatrous notions that the rest of the Heathens entertained concerning their false deities.

phus, who was alſo a prieſt, and may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been as well acquainted with it as Philo, doth not ſo much as hint any thing like ſuch figures, but makes the oracle to conſiſt in the ſupernatural brightneſs of the twelve ſtones at the time of enquiring, as we have ſeen already; and as for Spencer, it is plain, that he is too fond of fetching the origin of every thing from Egypt. Sure it is, that whoever compares the places where Moſes mentions the Urim and Thummim [a], will have reaſon to wonder, that God, who took ſuch particular care to give him the moſt exact directions for all the other garments, utenſils, &c. ſhould not give him the leaſt hint about theſe; unleſs we do ſuppoſe them to have been things ſufficiently known both to him and to all the people. If therefore we might be permitted to prefer one opinion to all the reſt, it would be that of the judicious Hottinger, who thinks, that when Moſes is commanded to put into the breaſt-plate the Urim and Thummim, which words, as has been ſhewn already, do ſignify light and perfection in the plural, it means only, that he ſhould make choice of the moſt perfect ſet of ſtones, and have them poliſhed, ſo as to give the moſt conſummate luſtre [b] (Z). And this ſeems

[a] Exod. xxviii. 30. xxxix. 8. & Levit. viii. 8. [b] In Moſ. & Aar. lib. .i c. 5. note 11.

(Z) This conjecture is ſo far from jarring with the literal ſenſe of the original, that the very expreſſion, which Moſes makes uſe of in the places above quoted (54), ſeems to lead one to it. For after God had given him all particular directions for making the breaſt-plate, ſuch as the length and breadth, the materials, the precious ſtones, &c. even to the hooks, rings, chains, and ſtrings, by which it was to be made faſt to the ephod; he adds, ונתת אל חושן המשפט את האורים ואת התמים which literally runs thus; *and thou ſhalt give to the breaſt-plate of judgment theſe lights or luſtres and perfections*; namely, of the twelve ſtones before deſcribed. We need not to add, that according to the Hebrew idiom the word אור, or light, doth often imply the brightneſs, and תום, thom, the goodneſs of a thing in its kind, and that the plural number, as here, is often uſed to expreſs the higheſt degree of it. However, we leave it to the reader to adopt which of all theſe ſeems moſt probable to him, and if he is deſirous

ſeems moſt agreeable to what Joſephus and Maimon have ſaid of it, except the miraculous luſtre which the former attributes to them, in order to account for the oracle, concerning which we have elſewhere offered a more probable conjecture *†*. However we are far from diſapproving of that more ſpiritual notion of the learned Prideaux, who believes, that thoſe two words were choſen to expreſs the clearneſs and certainty of the oracle, by a particular divine vertue communicated to the breaſt-plate at its conſecration, only we are more inclined to ſuppoſe, that this latter ſenſe was emblematically ſignified by the genuineneſs and brightneſs of the ſtones. At leaſt we find, that the Jews, immediately after their return from the captivity, thought it neceſſary to imitate this breaſt-plate in all its parts, and to call it by the ſame name, tho' they own, that it had not the oracular vertue of the former [c]. Now it is plain, that ſuch an imitation would have been ridiculous, if not impious, upon any other ſuppoſition, than that they underſtood the words Urim and Thummim, to have been deſigned by God, not as abſolutely expreſſive, but as ſymbolical, of the light and clearneſs of this oracle.

THE laſt garment peculiar to the high-prieſt was his mitre or bonnet. Whether, and how far it differed in faſhion from that of the common prieſts, Moſes doth not tell us, neither is it eaſy to gueſs, tho' their being called by different names, and made at leaſt of different kinds of linen (A), inclines one to think, that there was ſome conſiderable

† ſup. p. 33. note (C).

[c] Vide Maim. Kele hammikdaſh, cap. x. § 10.

deſirous to know more about this point, he may conſult the learned Buxtorf the younger, who has almoſt exhauſted the ſubject (55).

(A) As to the names, that of the high-prieſt is called מצנפת, Mizgepheth, from which the boldeſt etymologiſts, that we know of, have not ventured to draw any hint about its make. It is not ſo with thoſe of the common prieſts, which being called מגבעות, Miggbaghoth, they conclude, were higher than the former, becauſe גבעה, ſignifies a hill (56). Tho' the word, being

(55) Exercit. iii. de Ur. & Thum.

(56) Maimon. ubi ſup. c. viii. § 29.

ſiderable difference between them; if not in ſhape, yet in beauty and richneſs. The reader may ſee in the next note all that can be conjectured concerning it (B), from Jewiſh and

ing in the plural, would rather incline one to believe, that there were ſome partitions in thoſe prominences, like unto the mitres, worn in the church of Rome, but the learned Abraham Ben David has rejected that notion in his obſervations on Maimon, and maintains, that the high-prieſts mitre was higher than all the reſt. We ſhall not take upon us ſay which of theſe is moſt in the right.

Another difference marked by Moſes is, that that of the high-prieſt was made of שש, ſheſh, and that of the prieſts of בד, bad. We have already taken notice, that the former was, if not a ſilk or fine cotton yet at leaſt a finer ſort of linen than the latter (57).

(B) All that we can gather from Joſephus, St. Jerom, Maimon, (58), and others concerning this ornament is, that it was a kind of cap not unlike a hemiſphere, which conſequently did not come down lower than the ears, and was wrapped ſeveral times about with a piece of fine cotton or linen, of a conſiderable length, and tied behind the head with a blue ribbon or ſtring, to prevent its falling of. Joſephus adds, that the mitre was covered with another of fine blue or purple, having a tripple crown of gold about it, and that on the top, juſt in the middle, it had a kind of golden cup turned upwards, reſembling the bud of a plant which he is there very particular in deſcribing. But we ſhall refer the reader to the author. The Jews further add, that as the crown or plate of gold did go but half way round the head, the other, that is, the hinder part, was filled up with artificial flowers or feſtoons to the place where it was tied. Both the high-prieſt and the inferior ones were very careful to tie their bonnets faſt when they officiated, becauſe it was thought a mark of reverence to appear with the head covered, and of irreverence and boldneſs to be ſeen bare-headed; according to which notion the Chaldee paraphraſt renders thoſe places, where the Iſraelites are ſaid to have marched out of Egypt, with a high hand (59), by the words bare-headed, that is, with boldneſs and intrepidity. On the contrary, the greateſt token of reſpect with them was to be barefoot; and this is the reaſon why we find no mention of ſhoes or ſandals among the prieſtly robes, they being obliged to perform

(57) Vide Calm. ſub voc. Cotton. (58 Joſ. Ant. lib. i. c. 7. Hieron. ad Fabiol. Maim. Kele hammikdaſh, c. ix. 10.
59) Exod. xiv. 8, & alib.

and Christian authors; however, the pontifical one was remarkably distinguished from the common, by the golden plate on which were ingraven in Hebrew the words, Holiness to the Lord [d]. This plate is also called in some other places a crown [e], and was fastened to the fore-part of the mitre, by two blue ribbons or strings.

These words, the Jews tell us, were raised by a kind of enamel above the gold [f]: but this seems contrary to the meaning of Moses's words, who expresly says, that they were to be written, like the engraving of a signet. However there is no doubt, but it was designed to express the holiness of the character of the person that wore it, which was to be such, that the least defilement, tho' never so unvoluntary, disqualified him from performing his office, till he had been legally purified from it. Concerning this point, the Jews acquaint us with a particularity, which, tho' not mentioned by Moses, is well worth inserting here, as having no small probability. They tell us out of their Talmud [g], that on expiation-day, the high-priest being to perform the service of that solemn fast, and it being far from impossible, that he might contract some impurity, which might unfit him for his office, notwithstanding all his care and caution, they used, on the eve of it, to appoint him a vicar to officiate for him, in case of such a defilement. This vicar was neither anointed nor consecrated for the place, tho' his new office did oblige him to go into the most holy place instead of him. They add, that as soon as the one was cleansed, he re-entered into his office, and the other relinquished it, and returned into the rank of common priests, only with this difference, that he had some kind of superiority and rule over the rest; and if the high-priest died before him, he succeeded him in that dignity of course. Josephus confirms this by the instance of the high-priest Matthias, who, having defiled himself by a dream, on the night preceding the expiation, Joseph, the

[d] Exod. xxviii. 36. [e] Exod. xxix. 6. xxxix. 30. Levit. viii. 9. [f] Maim. ubi sup. c. ix. § 1. [g] Idem in Massec. in Yoma.

perform their office bare-foot; and in this became so scrupulous, that if they perceived any thing, tho' but a straw, between their feet and the ground, they were obliged to remove it, or else their ministry was esteemed null.

the ſon of Eli, a near relation of his, officiated for him [h]. Maimon calls this vicar Sagan, and adds, that he had two prieſts to wait upon him, as he himſelf waited on the high-prieſt; with ſome other particulars which we ſhall not dwell upon, becauſe they appear of later inſtitution [i] (C). However, with reſpect to the high-prieſt, it is plain, that he might be ſullied ſo many unforeſeen ways, and ran ſuch riſk if he entered the moſt holy place with any ſuch pollution, that it is more than probable, there was ſome perſon appointed by way of precaution to perform his office in all ſuch caſes. But who this ſubſtitute was, how, and by whom, he was appointed, we dare not affirm; though it is not improbable, that he might be the head of the other branch, which, as we obſerved at firſt, did hold the next rank to him, and is therefore moſt likely to be the perſon meant in the laſt chapter of Jeremiah, where it is ſaid, that *the captain of the guard took Serajah the high, and Zephaniah the ſecond, prieſt* *. In this ſenſe likewiſe it is thought by many of the learned, that Annas and Cajaphas are ſaid, by St. Luke †, to be high-prieſts in the ſame year; but, concerning the perſon that named him, or the ceremony by which he was qualified for it, Moſes has left no written direction, any more than about the choice of a ſucceſſor

[h] Ant. lib. xvii. c. 8. [i] Vide Maim. Kele hammikdaſh.
* Verſ. 24. † Luke iii. 2. vide Cauſab. adverſ. Baron. Joſ. Scaliger, Prolog. in Euſeb. Hotting. in Goodwin's Moſ. & Aar. lib. i. c. 5. ſub note 19, & al.

(C) The truth is, that after the Babyloniſh captivity, when they became more ſcrupulous obſervers of the law, their prieſts and wiſe-men made abundance of ordinances for keeping a ſtricter diſcipline, even to the adminiſtering of a ſolemn oath to the high-prieſt on the eve of expiation, that he would exactly conform to the Moſaic injunctions, according to the traditions then received. This caution became highly neceſſary, not only after the high prieſthood became venable, and the purchaſers leſs ſcrupulous about the functions of it, but alſo by reaſon of ſome difference in opinions about the burning of incenſe in the holy of holies, the ſcape-goat, and ſome other things concerning which the reader may conſult Ben Maimon (60).

(60) Halaka havodath yom hakephurim, c. 1. Vide Baſnag. in Cun. lib. ii. c. 6.

succeſſor to the pontifical dignity, when the next immediate heir was unfit for it.

Laws concerning the prieſts.

Laws concerning prieſts.

WE have already taken notice, that theſe were deſcended from Aaron the firſt high-prieſt, by his two ſons Eleazar and Ithamar. Moſes indeed mentions only theſe two, as being the heads of the two main branches of the prieſthood, but it were abſurd to ſuppoſe from thence, that they were the only two that officiated under their father; for we find that Phineas was already come to years of manhood, by that zeal which he ſhowed againſt the Midianitiſh defection [k]; and probably there were more of age ſufficient to perform the prieſtly functions. Theſe, being ſubordinate to the high-prieſt, and of a rank and office ſuperior to the levites, may be conſidered in a threefold view, namely, with regard to their conſecration, office, and dreſs. But of theſe we ſhall not need ſay much, becauſe there was nothing of pomp or ſolemnity uſed in any of them.

Their conſecration.

THEIR conſecration, if we except that of the ſons of Aaron, which we mentioned in a former article, was performed with little or no ceremony. They were firſt carefully examined, whether they were free from all natural defects and impurities (D), and if ſo, they were introduced into

[k] Num. xxv. 7, & ſeq.

(D) Theſe were the ſame as unqualified the high-prieſt, and are mentioned under that head out of Leviticus (61); but the Jews tell us, that theſe are but a ſketch of thoſe that exclude from the prieſtly functions, which they have enlarged at a very ſtrange rate. We ſhall juſt mention the heads of them. They reckoned eight of them belonging to the head, nineteen to the eyes, five to the eye-lids, ſeven to the eye-brows, nine to the ears, as many to the noſe, ſix to the mouth, three to to the lips, two to the neck, three to the belly, three to the back, ſixteen to the genitals, twelve to the joints of the hands and feet, eight to the ſkin and fleſh, and at leaſt eleven to the upper ſkin (62). Beſides

(61) Ch. xxi. 18, & ſeq. (62) Vide Maim. in Biath hammikd. ch. 8. Baſnag. ubi ſup. tom. iii. lib. 2. c. 4.

into the court of the tabernacle or temple, where they waſhed themſelves with pure water preſerved there for that purpoſe; after which, being cloathed in their prieſtly habit, they were brought to the high-prieſt, who preſented them to the Lord; and after the uſual ſacrifices preſcribed by Moſes, that pontif, or the prieſt in waiting, ſanctified them, or, as the original imports, filled their hands, by which is underſtood their being immediately ſet about ſome branch of the prieſtly office. At leaſt theſe ceremonies are inferred from thoſe of the conſecration of the levites [l]; for as theſe were of an inferior rank, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the prieſts could not be conſecrated with leſs ceremony; but even here it is very much queſtioned, whether any of theſe, except only the two or three firſt, were ever uſed, unleſs in caſes of ſome ſignal defection, or long diſuſe of their office and the like, ſuch as frequently happened during the reigns of ſome of their wicked kings [m].

[l] Numb. viii. 5, & ſeq. [m] Vide 2 King. ii. 5, 7.

Beſides theſe, which unqualified a man, either from being admitted to the prieſtly office, or from being continued in it, if he contracted them after his admittance, there were ſeveral other voluntary ones for which he was ſet aſide from the miniſtry, either for a time, or for his life. Of the firſt kind were ſeveral legal pollutions, the greateſt of which was that of a dead body. For this reaſon they were not allowed to aſſiſt at the funeral of any but the neareſt relations, that is, a father or mother, and a brother or ſiſter, that died virgins. In all ſuch pollutions they were forbid not only to perform any ſacerdotal office, but even to eat of holy things, till they had thoroughly purified themſelves, according to the law (63). Thoſe that excluded them wholly from the prieſthood, beſides the natural and accidental ones above-mentioned, were, for inſtance, unlawful marriages, that is, the marrying of a harlot, or a Canaanitiſh, or any ſtrange, woman, and refuſing to put her away. Something like this we find practiſed in the time of Ezra (64), after the captivity, to which we may add, that of the prophet (65), that they were even forbid to marry the widow of any but a prieſt. Idolatry likewiſe, and many other crimes of that high nature, did wholly exclude a perſon from the prieſthood (66).

(63) Lev. xxii. 6, & ſeq. (64) Ezr. x. 10, & ſeq. (65) Ezek. xliv. 22. vide & Levit. xxi. 13. (66) Vide Maim. ביאת המקדש, c. 1.

Office. THEIR office, which was severally determined by lot, and which they did cast at their first coming into waiting, was either to burn incense morning and evening in the holy place, or to offer up the daily sacrifice, to kill, dress, and offer up the victims proper for the day, to pour the blood at the foot of the altar, to keep up a continual fire upon the altar of burnt-offerings, to light the lamps, and to make and offer the shew-bread upon the golden table, with some others of the like nature, the most material of which we have had occasion to mention under the articles of sacrifices, first-fruits, purifications, and the like. Their waiting was weekly from sabbath to sabbath, and quarterly according to their classes; the age in which they were to begin to minister, was fixed by Moses at about twenty-five or thirty years of age, and ended about fifty [n]; but in David's time they were made to serve from the age of twenty [o]. Those who either by age or infirmity were disabled from ministering, were maintained by the offerings of the altar, and other perquisites of the priesthood; and any levite that willingly offered himself to serve in the temple all his days, was admitted to the like maintenance [p], as we shall see in its place: other more important parts of the priestly office were the instruction of the people [q], judging of controversies [r], of leprosy, and other pollutions [s], causes of divorce, and the use of the waters of jealousy [t]; of vows, and of the fitness or unfitness of victims; the blowing of the trumpets, in order to proclaim the sabbath and solemn feasts, the calling of assemblies; founding to war; encouraging of the combatants, and others of the like nature, which have been occasionally spoken of already. But the most sacred part of their function was the bearing of the ark, preserving of the volumes of the law, and blessing of the people in God's name [u]. There were likewise some severe inhibitions relating to their office, some of which were explicit, and some implicit. Of the first sort were those which forbad them to make use of any strange fire [w], of drinking either wine or any intoxicating liquors,

[n] Numb. iv. 3. viii. 24. [o] 1 Chron. xxiii. 24. 2 Chr. xxxi. 17. [p] Deut. xviii. 6. [q] Lev. x. 11. Malach. ii. 7. [r] Deut. xvii. 8. & seq. xix. 17, & alib. [s] Lev. xiii. xiv. & xv. pass. & alib. [t] Numb. v. 12, & seq. [u] Num. vi. 23, & seq. [w] Lev. x. 1, & seq.

liquors, when they came to miniſter [x] (E). They were likewiſe forbid to begin any ſacerdotal function till they had firſt waſhed their hands and feet [y]. The implicit ones were ſuch as theſe, not to appear in the miniſtry without their prieſtly garments, or with any rent in their cloaths, becauſe they were tokens of mourning; or with their hair grown to too great a length, or their heads uncovered. To theſe the Talmudiſts have added ſome others, ſuch as ſitting down whilſt they performed any part of their office (F); making uſe of the left hand inſtead of the right (becauſe Aaron and his ſons had their right ears, thumbs, and great-toes ſanctified by the blood of the victims); and others of leſs conſequence [a].

In David's time the two families of Eleazar and Ithamar were for better order's ſake, divided into twenty four claſſes, according

[x] Ibid. ver. 9. [y] Exod. xxx. 21. [z] Vide Maim. Biath. Hammikdaſh, c. 1. & ſeq. Baſnag. R. H. tom. iii. lib. ii. c. 4.

(E) The reaſon of this prohibition we hinted at heretofore †, but as expreſs and plain as it is, the Jewiſh doctors have ſubtiliſed a conſiderable part of it away, and thereby fruſtrated its main deſign, by diſtinguiſhing between wine under or above forty days old; between the latter and other ſtrong drink; between drinking the quantity of a quarter of a pint, at one, or at ſeveral draughts, and the like (67). Sure it is, that this prohibition was intended to prevent all kind of blunders and indecencies in God's ſervice, whereas it is plain, that a prieſt might drink enough to endanger his being guilty of them, and yet to be deemed guiltleſs, or at worſt come off with a baſtinado, by thoſe nice diſtinctions.

(F) Some of their rabbies have indeed been more remiſs, and allowed them to ſit down when they were not in the actual performance of their office; but the Talmudiſts are ſo far from ſuch an indulgence, that they would not permit them to ſit, or to be in any other than a ſtanding poſture, even whilſt they waſhed their feet. And this they inferred from the words of Moſes, *the Lord has choſen them to ſtand to miniſter* (68).

† Vide ſup p. 3. (67) Maim. ubi ſup. (68) Deut. xviii. 5, 7, & alib. Vide Chryſoſt. ad Hæbr. x. 11. Maim. ubi ſup, c. 5. R. Sal. Jark. in Deut. xviii. 5, & al.

according to the number of each family; so that the former, being the more numerous, was divided into sixteen, and the latter into eight, classes. These took their turns in the ministry, according as it was assigned to them by lot, which was commonly cast before the king, high-priest, and other persons of distinction, to avoid fraud and confusion: an account of which the reader will find in the twenty-fourth chapter of the first book of the Chronicles. All that we shall add is, that these classes took their names from their heads or chiefs, and continued to be called by them to the end of that common-wealth, and from this the heads of each class came afterwards to be called chief-priests. This is the reason why we meet in two of the evangelists *†* with an assembly of them, which ought therefore to be distinguished both from the high-priest and from the suffragan.

Dress. We have already said something of their dress when we spoke of that of the high-priest going into the holy of holies. It consisted of a vest, a pair of drawers, a girdle, and a mitre or cap, all of linen. The cap resembled, according to Josephus, and those who follow him, a helmet or pointed turban. Their girdle was variegated with the finest colours about three finger's-breadth, and woven round like an eel-skin. Their vest or long coat, it is pretended, was without seam woven from top to bottom, and with the sleeves to it. Some of those authors have ventured to give us the print of a loom or frame for making such kind of garments [a]. No priest was to wear his hair to its full length, but was obliged to clip it with a pair of sciſſars, at least when he went into waiting [b]. As to their dress, they were only bound to wear it at the time of their ministering, at other times they were left at their liberty. What relates to their maintenance, revenue, and perquisites, will be best seen when we come to speak of the levites: in the mean time, we cannot forbear making one observation upon the garb both of the high and lower priests, in describing of which we have followed Josephus and the current of interpreters, that if their vests had been of the length which they tell us of, and had had a pair of drawers under them, there would scarce have been any room for that precaution of building the altar without steps, for fear of their discovering that which modesty

† Math. xxvi. 3. Mark. xv. 1.

[a] See the versions of Josephus, Lamy, Calmet, and others.

[b] Comp. Levit. xxi. 5. & Ezek. xliv. 20.

modeſty requires to be hid [c]. We hope this will be a ſufficient excuſe for our enlarging no further on that ſubject.

Laws concerning the Levites.

THESE related either to their office, or to their privileges and incomes, for as to their deſcent, the choice of their tribe, and their conſecration, we have had already occaſion to mention all that is material concerning them; only with reſpect to the laſt of theſe, it is obſervable, that this ceremony was begun with ſprinkling them with the waters of ſeparation, which was that which they uſed to purify thoſe who had contracted any legal impurity, with ſhaving their whole body, and waſhing all their cloaths before they were preſented by the people to the high-prieſt [d]. As to their dreſs, it was the ſame with that of the reſt of the Iſraelites, Moſes not having appointed them any particular one. We have likewiſe heretofore given an account of their number, claſſes, incampments, marches, carrying, ſetting up and taking down the tabernacle and all its moveables [e]; of their being ſubject to their brethren of the family of Aaron, and officiating under them in the lower and more laborious branches of the miniſtry, during all the time that the ark was removing from place to place. But after it was once fixed, they were freed from that labour, and their ſervice became eaſier and more delightful [f]. This ſeems to be the reaſon why Moſes ordered at firſt, that they ſhould not be admitted into their office, till they had attained to the age of between five and twenty and thirty, and that they ſhould be diſcharged from it at fifty [g]; their office then being ſuch as required more ſtrength and vigor; but in David's time, when they were eaſed of it, they were then thought fit for it at the age of twenty [h]. And it is more than probable, that they continued in it much longer than to the fiftieth year, as we ſhall ſhow preſently.

BEFORE David did divide them into claſſes, their miniſtry was in common; they took it by turns, from week to week, as the prieſts did, and their buſineſs was, ſome to bring the water, wood, and other things, that were uſed by the prieſts; others to keep the court of the ſanctuary, and all the utenſils that ſtood out of the tabernacle clean and decent,

[c] Exod. xx. ver. ult. [d] Num. viii. 7, & ſeq: [e] Vide ſup. p. 59. [f] Vide Maim. Baſnag. ubi ſup. [g] Comp. Num. iv. 3, & viii. 24. [h] 1 Chron. xxiii. 27.

and others to keep guard at night before the tabernacle. Some were likewiſe appointed to ſing and play upon inſtruments, others to ſtudy and expound the law to the people, and to aſſiſt at the inferior courts of judicature; and theſe provinces were, in all probability, aſſigned to them according to their ſeveral capacities. But after David had once fixed the ark at Jeruſalem, by which time they were become very numerous, and yet not more ſo, than the vaſt project he had premeditated of building the temple, would moſt likely require, that wiſe monarch made ſeveral neceſſary regulations concerning their different employments, which continued till the diſſolution of the Jewiſh polity. We have ſeen above, that they were diſtinguiſhed into three families, namely, Gerſhon, Kohath, and Merari. To each of theſe, which he alſo ſubdivided into twenty four claſſes, which were to ſucceed one another weekly in their turns, he appointed their ſeveral functions, as follows: to the one he aſſigned the aſſiſting of the prieſts at the tabernacle, preparing of flower, cakes, wine, and oil for the ſacrifices, and all other ſervices of that kind. The ſecond was appointed to ſing and play on muſical inſtruments, at proper periods of the divine ſervice; and the third to keep a conſtant guard about the tabernacle, and afterwards about the temple. Over theſe claſſes he appointed from among them proper officers and overſeers of ſeveral ranks, according to their merit or capacities. He choſe likewiſe from among them, men of learning and piety to teach and breed up the younger levites, either to their miniſtry or to expound the law unto the people (G); beſides thoſe whom he appointed to aſſiſt at the courts of judicature of every city. Now it is plain, that in all

(G) The Jews tell us, that the levites paſt through four different degrees. From one month old to the twentieth year they were inſtructed in the law of God. From twenty to twenty five they were taught the functions of their miniſtry; from thence to thirty, they ſerved, as it were an apprenticeſhip to them, and began to exerciſe themſelves in ſome of the lower branches of it, ſuch as cleanſing the courts and veſſels, guarding the gates, ſinging and playing upon inſtruments: laſtly, when they attained the thirtieth year, they were peremptorily inſtalled into their office. Some ſuch degrees we find among veſtal virgins, who were bound to the ſtricteſt chaſtity during thirty years; the firſt ten of which they ſpent in learning the myſteries of their profeſſion the ſecond ten they adminiſtered in holy things, and the laſt te

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all theſe functions there was nothing that could incapacitate a man from performing them after the age of fifty, if we except, as the Jews do, that of ſinging, for which it is poſſible enough for old age to render one incapable, by reaſon of the diſagreeable tremor which that brings to the voice [i].

THESE ſingers king Solomon diſtinguiſhed from their brethren, by their being allowed to wear a kind of linen robe, or ſurplice, when they were upon duty [k], but the reſt did not obtain that privilege till the reign of king Agrippa, about the year of Chriſt 62, and about ſix years before the deſtruction of the laſt temple. Joſephus adds [l], that prieſts did highly reſent it, and obſerves, that ſuch innovations ſeldom went unpuniſhed. It is true, that he calls them ſingers; but 'tis plain he muſt have been either miſtaken or miſcopied; ſeeing there could be no alteration in their caſe, but what was as old as the time of Solomon.

2. Their revenues. We have choſen to ſpeak jointly of thoſe of the prieſts and Levites, becauſe they were intermixed together by God's own appointment, at leaſt in their main branches, thoſe of the tithes, cities, and ſome other perquiſites. As for what either of them had in particular, it

Their revenues.

[i] Vide Obad. Bartenor, Tract. Cholin c. i. § 6. [k] 2 Chron. v. 12. [l] Ant. lib. xx. c. 8.

they beſtowed in bringing up young novices (69). And it is probable, that the apoſtle alluded to this, when he tells Timothy, that they who have performed the office of a deacon well do purchaſe to themſelves καλὸν βαθμὸν, a good degree (73). Moſes indeed ordered (71), that they ſhould be diſcharged at the age of fifty from ſerving any more; but he adds, in the next verſe, that they ſhould miniſter to their brethren in the tabernacle, and keep the charge, but do no ſervice: by which it is plain, that they were only exempted from the harder ſort of ſervice, but continued ſtill in ſome others, ſuch as they were fitteſt for, in which number the breeding up of the young Levites, teaching, judging, and the like, may be reaſonably reckoned (72).

(69) Vide Dion. Halicarn. lib. ii. (70) 1 Tim. iii. 13. (71) Num. viii. 25. (72) Vide Maim. ubi ſup. Abarban. in Baſnag. R. H. tom. iii. lib. ii. c. 2.

it is ſcarce worth mentioning. The reader may recollect, that, according to Jacob's prophecy, the tribe of Levi was to be interſperſed among the other tribes ***, and that they were excluded, by an expreſs law in Deuteronomy [m], from having any ſhare in the diviſion of the land, and had their portion aſſigned to them out of the tithes, offerings of the altar, and the redemption of the firſt-born of Iſrael, in whoſe ſtead they were ſubſtituted. We have already ſpoken of all theſe, but as it was neceſſary, that they ſhould have ſome certain places of abode appointed for them, as ſoon as they were come to the plain of Moab, over-againſt Jericho, God was pleaſed to aſſign them forty eight cities, with their ſuburbs, thirteen of which were to belong to the prieſts, and the other thirty five to the reſt of the tribe of Levi [n] (H). The only difference between them was, that the cities of the prieſts were for the moſt part in the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and conſequently nearer to Jeruſalem; whereas thoſe of the levites were divided unto them by lot out of all the other tribes on either ſide of Jordan. Thus did God turn Jacob's curſe into a bleſſing, and the prieſts and levites, whoſe office it was to preſerve knowledge, became thus ſo diſperſed, that the

*** Vide vol. ii. p. 485. and note (F), & alib. paſſ. [m] Ch. xviii. paſſ. [n] Numb. xxxv. 1, & ſeq. Joſh. xxi. 10, & ſeq.

(H) The right of the Levitical tribe to theſe cities and lands adjacent is not without ſome difficulties, which have ſome made authors doubt whether they had any more than the bare uſe and income of, without the power of alienating, them (73). Thus it is objected, that Hebron was given to the prieſts as a city of refuge, and yet Caleb, who was of the tribe of Judah, had the fields and villages belonging to it aſſigned to him (74). This difficulty may be eaſily removed, by ſuppoſing with our author, that Caleb did yield the city unto them, becauſe the Lord had determined it a city of refuge; but that he reſerved the territories to himſelf, as being out of the caſe. However, as to the prieſts and levites having power to alienate their houſes and lands, or even to purchaſe new ones excluſive of thoſe allotted to them, we have ſufficient proof, as the reader will ſee by what follows above.

(73) Vide Baſnag. ubi ſup. c. 7. (74) Joſh. xxi. 11, & ſeq.

the people might be every where ſupplied with it. What thoſe cities were, is not worth enquiring, ſeeing we know little more of them than their names, and the tribes they were in. All that we ſhall examine at preſent is, what their rights, privileges, immunities, and revenues conſiſted in, and how far they did extend. (As for the ſix cities of refuge which were choſen out of that number, we ſhall ſpeak of them in a ſeparate article. With reſpect then to the privilege of the former, which ſome authors have queſtioned the extent of, further than the bare enjoyment of their revenues, we may obſerve on the contrary, that their owners had power to ſell or mortgage them, as well as the other tribes, only with this advantageous difference on their ſide, that they might redeem them at any time, if they were able, and if not, they devolved to them on the year of Jubilee: whereas, as we obſerved before, thoſe alienated houſes of the laity, which ſtood in walled cities, if not redeemed within the year, were irrecoverably loſt to the firſt owner [o]. Hence it is plain, that their right to their houſes was even ſtronger than that of the people, for which reaſon it is called their inheritance [p]. The caſe was indeed different with reſpect to the grounds that were annexed to thoſe cities, which could not be alienated upon any account [q]; but the reaſon of it was, that they were in the nature of a common to them, to which therefore every one had an equal right, they being the only paſture-ground they had for their cattle; and if they agreed by conſent to incloſe or appropriate any part for fields, orchards, gardens, and the like, the diviſion was made in proportion to the largeneſs of their families, which could not have ſubſiſted, had ſuch an alienation been permitted.

It is likewiſe manifeſt, that their being excluded from any portion in the diſtribution of the land, was ſo far from depriving them of the right of poſſeſſion, or even purchaſe, that we have ſeveral inſtances to the contrary in both caſes, and they authorized by God. With reſpect to the firſt, we find, among other regulations concerning vows, that if a man had vowed his houſe or land unto the Lord, and had not wherewith, or was unwilling, to redeem them, they were then to continue ſacred unto God [r], that is, the prieſts became the right owners of them; accordingly we find,

[o] Levit. xxv. 29, & ſeq. [p] Ibid. ver. 33. [q] Ibid. ver. 34. [r] Levit. xxvii. 14, & ſeq.

find, that the high-prieſt Abiathar had ſome eſtate of his own, into which he was relegated by Solomon [s]; and even in the apoſtle's time, Barnabas, who was a Levite of Cyprus, had ſome land which he ſold for the uſe of the church [t]. To this we may add, if what Maimon tells us be right, that the tribe of Levi had their twelfth ſhare of all the lands, which were got by the ſword [u]. As for their having it in their power to purchaſe eſtates, we need but read the 32d chapter of Jeremiah, who was a prieſt, where we ſhall find a curious account of his purchaſing of a piece of land, with all the formalities that were then uſed in ſuch caſes [w].

EVERY one of theſe cities had ſuburbs, the limits whereof were alſo appointed by God himſelf; but Moſes has expreſſed them in ſuch terms, that it has given more pains to interpreters to reconcile the two numbers mentioned by him, than our readers would care to be troubled with (I); in which

[s] 1 King. ii. 26. [t] Acts iv. 36, 37. [u] Halak. Shemit veyobel. Vide Baſnag. ubi ſup. [w] Ver. 7, & ſeq. [x] Halak. Havoda. Hacokabin Umazaloth, ap Baſnag. R. H. tom. i. lib. i. c. 7.

(I) Moſes expreſſes himſelf in one verſe thus, *and the ſuburbs of the cities of the Levites, from the wall of the city outwards ſhall be*, one thouſand cubits round about, and in the next verſe it is ſaid, *thou ſhalt meaſure from without the city, on the eaſt—weſt —— north —— and ſouth ſides if it*, two thouſand cubits, *and the city ſhall be in the middle*, &c. (75). To reconcile theſe two numbers, Junius (76) has ſuppoſed the latter to be mentioned kat'exegeſin, of the diameter of the ſuburb, the city abſtracted, ſo that which way ſoever one meaſured it, it had two thouſand cubits; but this conſtruction ſeems to us ſomewhat too forced and unnatural; we therefore think with the Jews, that the two numbers may be more properly joined together, namely, the laſt as a further addition to the firſt. The word מִגְרָשׁ, Migraſh, which we tranſlate, Suburbs, doth properly ſignify expulſion, or thruſting out, from גָּרַשׁ, to expel (77); and conſequently in a figurative ſenſe, may ſignify extenſion. Accordingly the Chaldee renders it a ſpace. The ſenſe might therefore, we think, run naturally thus: *the firſt extent of the Levitical cities ſhall be one thouſand cubits from*

(75) Num. xxxv. ver. 4, & 5. (76) In loc. (77) Vide Kimch. Buxtorf. Pagn. in Rad.

which uncertainty we are willing to rely on the Jews, who tell us, that thoſe two numbers were to be taken jointly; ſo that the extent of thoſe ſuburbs, or rather territories, ſhould extend to the diſtance of three thouſand cubits from the out walls [y]. They add, that the firſt thouſand were aſſigned for paſture ground, on which therefore it was not lawful to build, ſow, or plant, but within the limits of the other two thouſand cubits, they might do any of them. One thing further is remarkable, namely, that they were not permitted to bury their dead either within thoſe cities or their ſuburbs, but that they had, according to the Jews, a piece of ground allotted to them by the people for a burying place, which was quite out of the verge of thoſe limits. We ſhall venture no further on the rights and privileges of theſe cities, concerning which the Jews tell us wonders, but without any probability; thoſe that are fond of ſuch fables may find more than they can give credit to in Maimon [z], and other Jewiſh commentators on theſe places of the pentateuch, where mention is made of them [a]. This, however, we may ſafely add concerning the cities themſelves, namely, that they were not taken by equal numbers out of every tribe, but according as they were found more or leſs abounding in each of them. Thus for inſtance, the tribe of Judah, whoſe lot was full of them, did allot nine, whereas that of Benjamin; which had but a few, was obliged to part with four only [b]; as to the nomination and diſtribution of them among the levites, it was done in the ſame manner as they had done the land itſelf, namely, by lot; which was the moſt effectual to prevent all difference; for even this tribe doth not ſeem to have been

[y] Vide Commentat. in Ex. xxi. 13. Num. xxxv. 6. Deut. iv. 21. & xix. 2. [z] Num. xxxv. 45. [a] Rab. Salom. in loc. vide & Moſ. de Cotzi, Munſt. Jun. & al. in loc. [b] Joſh. xxi. paſſ.

from the out wall; after which thou ſhalt meaſure again from without the city another ſpace of two thouſand cubits, and this ſhall be the extent of their outward ſpace or territories. We own, however, that this latter ſenſe is not altogether literal, but we hope, it will be found leſs forced than the former, and to remove the ſeeming contradiction to the full as well.

been so disinterested, that any other method could have satisfied them but this (K).

Laws concerning the six cities of refuge.

Cities of refuge.

THESE were chosen out of those forty two which had been assigned to the tribe of Levi [c]. They differed from the Asyla of the Greeks and Romans, in that they were designed to protect innocent persons only, from the rigor of the law, in cases of unvoluntary homicide, whereas theirs did equally shelter the guilty and innocent from it. There is an express command in Exodus with relation to wilful murder, that the guilty person shall be torn even from God's altar to be put to death [d]; from which one may naturally infer, that the tabernacle was a sanctuary to the innocent, not only during their wandering in the wilderness, but all the time of their abode in the land of Canaan; at least, the instance of Joab's taking refuge there seems to imply as much, though his crime excluded him from the benefit of it [e], And indeed so severe were God's laws against murder, that if it was even committed in a fray, or in correcting of a servant, and other cases, which our milder laws call chance-medley, the guilty person could not go unpunished [f]. And where the fact was accidental and unvoluntary, though his concern for the life of the innocent person was such, that he not only appointed these cities for his protection, but seemed, as it were,

[c] Num. xxxv. 6. [d] Exod. xxi. 14. [e] 1 King. ii. 28. [f] Exod. xxi. 12. 20.

(K) According to those lots, the tribes of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin, furnished the thirteen cities which were allotted to the priests: those of Ephraim, Dan, and half of Manasseh on the other side of Jordan, yielded ten to the Kohathites: the Gershonites received thirteen, namely, two from the other half of Manasseh, three from Nephthali, and eight from Issachar and Asher; and lastly, Reuben, Zebulon, and Gad gave four each, to the Merarites (78).

(78) Vide Josh. xxi. pass.

were, to take the fault upon himſelf (L), yet he condemned him to a kind of baniſhment, till the death of the high-prieſt then in being [g] (M); inſomuch, that if he ventured out of the limits, Joſephus ſays out of the walls, of the city [h], it was lawful for any relations of the deceaſed either to kill him, or to have him put to death by the hand of juſtice.

THESE cities were not only for the Iſraelites, but for all ſtrangers that either lived among them, or came thither occaſionally.

[g] Num. xxxv. 25, & ſeq. [h] Ant. lib. iv. c. 7.

(L) The words are, *if a man lie not in wait, but God deliver him into his hand.* This we purpoſely take notice of, becauſe theſe and ſuch like expreſſions, which occur in ſcripture, whatever ſiniſter ſenſe ſome may put upon them, import no more, according to the genius of the Hebrew idiom, than that, though a man may die contrary to the ſeeming courſe of nature, yet he cannot be taken off without the permiſſion of heaven, whoſe providence directs all ſuch events, either for the puniſhment of the perſon, or for ſome other wiſe purpoſes beyond our reach. However, it is plain, that is it only uſed in this place, to ſhew the injuſtice there would be in puniſhing a man for an act which had been ſo directed by providence, that one perſon loſt his life without the leaſt deſign in the other of hurting him.

(M) We ſhall not trouble the reader with the various reaſons, which interpreters have conjectured, concerning the time of a man's return being fixed to the death of the high-prieſt. Some of the Jews, who affirm, that the death of ſo great a perſon, which was univerſally lamented, was the moſt proper motive to make all reſentment on the part of the proſecutor to ceaſe, ſeem rather to trifle than to be in earneſt (79), and one would wonder, that they ſhould have been followed by any Chriſtians. But the far greater part of theſe look upon this circumſtance to have been typical of the reconciliation which Chriſt, our eternal high-prieſt, made of ſinners to God by his death (80). This is what the apoſtle to the Hebrews, ſeems to intimate (81): however, it muſt be owned, that ſome men have given too great a ſcope to this way of allegoriſing; and that, where ſo little light is to be had from the ſacred writings, it would be more adviſeable to ſay nothing, than to ſay all that a pious fancy ſuggeſts.

(79) Vide Maim. More Nevoch, c. 40. (80) Hieron. Auguſt. & al. vide & Grot. Jun. Corn. a Lap. & al. mult. in loc. (81) Heb. ix. 15.

occaſionally. The Jews do indeed confine the benefit of them to their proſelytes, but this ſenſe ſeems to flow more from their narrowneſs of ſoul, than from the words of the text [i]. We may remember, that Moſes ordered three of them to be aſſigned on either ſide of Jordan [k]. This partition ſeems indeed ſomewhat unequal, becauſe one ſide had but two tribes and half and the other nine and half; the reaſon of which ſome Jews tell us was, becauſe there were a great many more homicides committed in the former by way of ſelf-defence, than in the latter: but this is ridiculous, and that of R. Nachman is by far more probable and judicious, namely, that the extent of the country of the former was at leaſt as large as that of the latter, tho' leſs inhabited; which made it neceſſary for them to have ſo many of thoſe cities. However, as to thoſe tribes on the other ſide, God permitted them to add three more to their number, whenever the largeneſs of their conqueſts ſhould make it neceſſary [l]; but as this depended upon their conſtant obedience, and they, on the contrary, proved continually ſtubborn and diſobedient, they never found occaſion for this addition, for which reaſon they think it will be made in the days of the Meſſiah.

How, where, and by whom, the examination of the manſlayer was made, in order to his being admitted to, or excluded, the benefit of the city of refuge; that is, whether by the next judges of the place where the fact was committed, or by thoſe of the city, where the man fled for ſanctuary, is neither clear from the text, nor agreed by interpreters. However, as a late author juſtly obſerves [m], from an expreſſion in Deuteronomy and Joſhua [n], there ſeems to have been a double trial, one before the judges of the city of refuge, and one before what the text calls there the congregation; by which is underſtood either thoſe of the place where the fact was committed, or perhaps the great council; and this ſeems to us to have been neceſſary only when the avenger of blood appealed from thoſe of the place of refuge. As ſoon therefore as a man had been unfortunately guilty of accidental homicide, his firſt buſineſs was to flee, with all convenient haſte, to the next

[i] Vide Num. xxxv. 15. paſſ.
[k] Ibid. ver. 14. Deut. xix.
[l] Ibid. ver. 9.
[m] Calm. ſub. voc. Refuge.
[n] Deut. xix. 11, 12. comp. with Joſh. xx. 6, 9.

next city of that kind. The ways leading to it were, by God's own appointment, to be kept in good repair (N) that

(N) The text (82) ſays only, *thou ſhalt prepare thee a way and divide the coaſt of the land into three parts, that every ſlayer may flee thither.* But the Talmudiſts and rabbies add a great number of circumſtances for keeping thoſe roads in continual repair, that the perſon might meet with no obſtruction in his flight. Theſe roads, according to them, were to be 32 cubits in breadth, ſmooth, plain, and without aſcent, deſcent, or ditches. At every place where the road parted, a poſt was to be ſet up to direct them, which had the word מקלט, miklat, refuge, engraven upon it. Every brook or river was to have a good bridge; all watery places were to be drained, and the ſurface kept ſmooth and hard. To theſe precepts the words of the Baptiſt, *prepare the ways of the Lord, make his paths ſtrait, every valley ſhall be filled, and every mountain levelled, &c.* are thought to allude. Once a year at leaſt, in the month Adar, which anſwers in part to our February, the magiſtrates of every city were obliged to viſit them, and ſee that they were kept in good order; otherwiſe, in caſe the avenger chanced to overtake and kill the ſlayer, the magiſtracy of the place were judged guilty of his death. As for the cities of refuge, they were to be of a moderate bigneſs, well furniſhed with water, proviſions, artiſts, and all manner of conveniencies, weapons excepted. The reaſon they give for excluding this laſt was, leſt the avenger ſhould, in a fit of anger, make uſe of them againſt the ſlayer, (83). Thus far they agree, in ſome other points they are divided. Some pretend, that the refuged was to be kept at the charge of the city; and others affirm, that he was obliged to follow ſome trade, if he could not maintain himſelf without it. Some ſay, that the houſes in the ſuburbs were to obſtruct the entrance of the proſecutor, till they had taken all proper means to pacify him; and others, that they only ſent ſome grave and reverend deputies to meet him without the gates, to perſuade him to clemency and moderation. Some add, that the tribe of Levi, was excluded the benefit of theſe ſanctuaries; ſo that if any of them happened to kill a man, how accidently ſoever, they were forced to wander from place to place (84). The modern Jews do ſo far keep up this cuſtom, that a manſlayer is baniſhed for three years into ſome city, in which they have a ſynagogue, where by way

(82) Deut. xix. 3. (83) Vide Gemar. Tract. מקלט, præcept. aff. 75, & ſeq. Rab. Salom, Munſter, & al. in Num. xxxv. (84) Targ. Onkel. Fag. in Num. xxxv.

that nothing might retard his ſpeed. As ſoon as he came to the place, he preſented himſelf to the judges of it, and declared the occaſion of his coming, and the manner of his killing the perſon, and according as his account appeared true or falſe, he was admitted to, or excluded, their protection. If the avenger of blood, who was always the neareſt relation to the deceaſed, came to demand juſtice, he and his evidence were heard, and the judges did either confirm their former ſentence in favour of the manſlayer, or delivered him up to be puniſhed, if the fact was proved to be willfully done; but if the former, he was to be conducted to the place where the fact was committed, and there tried a ſecond time, and if he was found innocent, he was reconducted to the place of refuge, with a ſufficient guard, and remained there free from all further proſecutions, and at the death of the high-prieſt he was at liberty to return to his own home. This, at leaſt, is, what the generality of interpreters conclude to have been their proceeding in ſuch caſes. However, as the account we have of it from Moſes is far from being clear in this point, and the cities of refuge were ſometimes at ſuch a diſtance from the place where the fact was committed, that the manſlayer might be eaſily overtaken by the proſecutor, before he could reach it: we think

way of penance, he is forced to ſay aloud, I am a manſlayer, at his entering into the ſynagogue, at every courteous civility that is ſhewed to him (85).

Maimon and ſome other rabbies tell us from antient tradition, that all the forty-two cities of the Levites were places of refuge, with this difference however from the ſix properly ſo called, that the former might refuſe their protection to any man, how innocent ſoever, but the latter were obliged to receive him, and that in the former he lived at his own, and in the latter at the public charge (86). The Miſhna on the contrary, tells, upon the authority of R. Eleazer, that the death either of the high-prieſt, or of him that is anointed for the war, reſtored the ſlayer to his freeedom, and that the mothers of theſe two prelates did find the refugees in food and raiment, that they might not by their prayers accelerate the death of their ſons, in order to their ſpeedy releaſe from their baniſhment (87).

(85) Vide Baſnag. lib. ii. c. 7. (86) Idem ibid. vide & Calm. ſub voc. Refuge. (87) Ap: Hotting. in Goodwin, lib. ii. c. 5. ſub note 9.

think it at leaſt, as reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he went and ſurrendered himſelf to the judges of the neareſt place, and, having cleared himſelf before them from the guilt of wilful murder, was by their order conducted ſafely to the next city of refuge, where the magiſtrates had a further hearing of the cauſe, and either confirmed, or revoked, the ſentence of the former, according to the evidence of it. It is true, that what we quoted out of the rabbies in the laſt note, about the conveniencies of the roads leading to ſuch places, would be needleſs in this caſe, but we look upon their teſtimony to be very dubious, and in ſome caſes plainly wrong. Thus the Talmud tells us [o], that thoſe cities were to be ſituated by ſome rivers, in order to be well ſupplied with water and all kinds of proviſion, that the acceſs to them was to be eaſy and without aſcent; and yet it is plain, that the far greater part were built upon rocks. There are many other particulars which they tell us there, which we purpoſely omit, becauſe they are ſtill more incredible. But the reader is at liberty to chuſe which ſuppoſition he likes beſt.

BESIDES theſe cities of refuge, the tabernacle, as we have partly obſerved above, and afterwards the temple, had likewiſe the privilege of ſanctuaryſhip, eſpecially the altar of burnt-offering [p]. The rabbies do indeed tell us, the latter was only for the prieſts; but we have ſeen the contrary in the inſtance of Joab mentioned above. Thoſe indeed who were guilty of wilful murder ſheltered themſelves there in vain, and were, by God's expreſs command, to be taken away from the very altar, to condign puniſhment. To this end there were proper judges appointed there alſo, whoſe buſineſs it was to make a ſtrict examination of the caſe, and either to deliver up the criminal into the hands of juſtice, or to ſend the innocent under a proper eſcort to one of the cities of refuge [q]. There are ſeveral other material circumſtances relating to thoſe kinds of caſes, which Moſes having left no particular directions about, they may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been left to the diſcretion of the judges. Such as, for inſtance, when the fact was committed juſt before, and the ſentence of the judges not obtained

The altar a place of refuge.

[o] Gemar. Tract. Mackloth. [p] Vide Philo, Legat. ad Cai. [q] Maim. Tract. רשח שמורת נפש, cap. 5. vide Hotting. in Goodw. lib. ii. c. 5. note 2, & Commentators, in Num. xxxv.

obtained in favour of the homicide, till after the death of the high-prieſt; or when it was done in the time of an interregnum; or in caſe the high-prieſt was killed by ſome friends of the exiled perſon; or laſtly, when the high-prieſt himſelf became a manſlayer, which was far from impoſſible: concerning which, and, ſeveral others of the like nature, the Talmudiſts have made very judicious and equitable regulations, but which we ſhall not trouble our readers with.

Nethinims. THE Nethinims are the laſt ſort of perſons dedicated to the worſhip of God (O). Theſe were not of the children of Iſrael, but of the Gibeonites, who obtained a treaty of peace with the former by a ſtratagem, which we have taken notice of before †, and whom Juſhua condemned to the loweſt and moſt laborious offices in the tabernacle under the

† Vide vol. ii. p. 201.

(O) We may however add another ſort, who were called אנשי מעמד, Anſhe Mahmad, Station-men, which were a pious, grave ſort of perſons, choſen, not out of the tribe of Levi alone, but out of all the twelve indifferently, to aſſiſt at the ſacrifices, as repreſentatives of a certain number of people. They were called by that name, becauſe, as we obſerved before, no man was allowed to be in any but a ſtanding poſture during the time of divine ſervice. The law required, that every man ſhould come and make his offerings of what kind ſoever in perſon, and to ſtay there till the ceremony was ended; but becauſe this was not practicable in many caſes, as when an offering was made for the whole nation or in times of great reſort, becauſe the place could not contain them; they choſe theſe repreſentatives to perform that duty for them. Theſe were divided, as the prieſts and levites, into twenty four claſſes, who took their turns weekly as they did. Each claſs having a head or captain, who was called ראש מעמד, Roſh Mahmad, or head of the ſtation (88), We do not indeed read of any ſuch order of men in the ſacred writings, and conſequently do not think it of divine inſtitution; but the Jews do fetch it from the oral law, and believe, that it began long before the captivity; but moſt Chriſtians are rather of opinion, that it began ſoon after their return from it (89), for which reaſon we ſhall ſay no more of it.

(88) Vide Moſ. Kotz. מ. מצות גדול (89) Goodwin's Moſ. & Aar. lib. i. cap. 5. Hotting. Differt. de Viris Stationar.

the levites, ſuch as the drawing of water, the fetching and hewing of wood for the altar, and the like [r]. We do not find, that this name of nethinims was given to them till after the captivity, when a ſmall number returned with Ezra and the reſt of Iſrael from Babylon. That name imports as much as given, and Ezra ſays [s], they were given or appointed by David and other kings to ſerve in the temple under the levites; and in another place, that they were the children of Solomon's ſervants [t]. But by this time the name was not confined to the Gibeonites alone, but was given alſo to Canaanites, whom theſe princes had conquered and converted [u]. We read of ſome ſuch abject perſons alſo in the time of Moſes, who mentions them in his laſt pathetic ſpeech in theſe words: *You all ſtand this day before the Lord——your little ones and your Wives, and the ſtranger that is in your camp, from the hewer of thy wood, to the drawer of thy water* [w]. And probably the lowneſs of their condition might be one main reaſon, why ſo few cared to return from the captivity, where they did perhaps fare better. For we don't read of above two hundred and twenty that came with Ezra [x], and three hundred and ninety-two with Zerobabel [y]; which number was ſo inſufficient for the exigences of the temple, that Joſephus tells us, they did inſtitute a feſtival, which he calls Xylophoria, on which the people were obliged to carry a certain quantity of wood to the temple, to ſupply the altar of burnt-offerings [z]: and not unlikely that alſo of bringing water thither from the pool of Siloah, on the laſt day of the feaſt of tabernacles, the inſtitution of which is attributed to the prophet Zachariah, of which we have made ſome mention before.

II. Of things conſecrated to the ſervice of God.

THESE were, 1. The tabernacle. 2. The ark. 3. The two altars. 4. The candleſtic and other utenſils belonging to it. 5. The table of ſhew bread. And

[r] Joſh. ix. 23, 27. [s] Ezr. viii. 20. [t] Ibid. ii. 58. [u] 1 Kings ix. 20, 21, & alib. [w] Deut. xxix. 11. [x] Ezr. viii. 20. [y] Ibid. ii. 58. [z] Wars of the Jews, lib, ii. c. 17.

And 6. The court, with all the utenſils which were repoſited in it. Concerning all which, whatever can be ſaid with any tolerable certainty is ſo well known to the curious in this kind of learning, and ſo diſregarded by the reſt of the world, that we ſhould gladly content our ſelves with the bare mention of them, did we think, that our readers would be ſatisfied with it, without a further deſcription of them. It may indeed appear ſomewhat ſurpriſing, that Moſes ſhould have beſtowed almoſt as many pages in deſcribing the ſtructure of the tabernacle and its ſumptuous furniture, as he has lines in his account of the creation, and yet that we ſhould be ſo much in the dark about it, and that there ſhould be ſo much room left for conjecture, for want of knowing the proper ſignification of a great number of its parts and materials. But as this is plainly the caſe, we ſhall not expatiate upon them, unleſs we can do it upon ſome ſure grounds, or where they have an apparent relation to the goſpel.

1. The tabernacle was built by the command and directions of God himſelf, that he might dwell in the midſt of his people [a]. Their rebellions and murmurings having provoked him to prolong the term of their wandering in the wilderneſs, and thereby delayed the time of their entering into the poſſeſſion of the promiſed land, it was neceſſary, that this ſacred place where the moſt ſolemn parts of the divine worſhip were to be performed, ſhould be fitted to their frequent marches, and be eaſily ſet up and taken down, as occaſion required. For which reaſon, among other names which it has in the Moſaic writings (P), it is moſt commonly

[a] Vide Exod. xxv. 8, & alib. paſſ.

(P) The tabernacle is called by ſeveral names in ſcripture, the moſt common of which is that of אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, *Obel Mohed, the tent or tabernacle of the congregation or Aſſembly*, becauſe it was made in the faſhion of a magnificent tent or pavilion (90). For this reaſon Joſephus calls it μεταφερομενος ναος, *a portable temple* (91): we find it elſewhere called מִקְדָּשׁ, *Mikdaſh, the holy place* (92), and by the Septuagint αγιασμα, becauſe it was made holy by God's preſence; it is therefore elſewhere

(90) Exod. xxviii. 43, & alib. paſſ. (91) Ant. lib. iii. c. 5. (92) Exod. xxv. 8.

commonly called by that of Ohel, which doth properly ſignify a tent; but ſuch a magnificent one, both in its ſtructure, materials, and utenſils, as might inſpire both the Iſraelites, and all other nations, with an awful reſpect and regard for the ſervice of God. To this end, the moſt coſtly and precious thing, which they had brought with them from Egypt, and from thoſe other kingdoms which they had conquered, were liberally beſtowed by the people, and put into the hands of the ableſt artificers, to be wrought in a manner ſuitable to the deſign of it, and to the richneſs of the materials [b].

Our learned Spencer has here again been at the pains to fetch this tabernacle, the ark, altars, and all their appurtenances from Egypt [c]. He quotes the ſacred and profane writings to prove, that the Heathens had ſuch portable temples, in which they depoſited the moſt valuable utenſils that belonged to their religion. It is indeed eaſy enough to prove, that they had both theſe, and many other things very like thoſe of the Jews; but to infer from thence, that they had them before them, and that God condeſcended ſo far to the genius of the Iſraelites, as to introduce them into his own worſhip, to be a kind of fence againſt their proneneſs to their idolatrous ſuperſtitions, is not only very preſumptuous and unlikely, but doth too evidently, thwart the known deſign of them, and the typical application which the apoſtle to the Hebrews makes of them [d]. And yet this ſophiſtical way of reaſoning is juſtly enough obſerved by a later author *** to run through all his writings on this ſubject; for which reaſoning we ſhall forbear

[b] Vide vol. ii. p. 623. [c] De Leg. Rit. Hæbr. Diſſert. i.
[d] Heb. ix. paſſ. & ver. 8. *** Vide Saurin's Diſcourſe on the Pentateuch, Diſc. liv. paſſ. & alib. paſſ.

where called by way of excellency חמשכן, Hamiſhcan, the habitation, which the Greek renders σκηνη, accordingly (93). Sometimes this laſt is joined with the word העדות, *Habeduth, teſtimony* (94), *the habitation or tabernacle of teſtimony*, becauſe God delivered his oracles from thence; laſtly, it is in other parts of ſcripture called היכל, *Hecal, palace, and the palace of the Lord* (95), which name was afterwards given to the temple.

(93) Ibid. ver. 9. (94) Ibid. xxxviii. 21. (95) 1 Sam. i. 9. iii. 3. 1 Kings xxi. 1, & lib. paſſ.

bear ſaying more about it, having ſo often given our reaſons for diſſenting from him. The reader, however, may ſee this laſt ſuppoſition ſufficiently exploded by the author laſt quoted, and but weakly defended ſince by Le Clerc *†*.

The tabernacle was of an oblong ſquare figure, thirty cubits long, ten cubits broad, and ten in heighth. It had two apartments within, divided by a row of four columns of ſhittim-wood (Q), covered over with maſſive gold, fixed in

† Bibliot. A. M. tom. xii. part 2. § 1. paſſ.

(Q) This wood, tho' ſo famous in ſcripture, is yet ſo unknown, that interpreters have not ventured to tranſlate its name. St. Jerom has retained its Hebrew one, and the Septuagint only calls it imputrible wood; and indeed it is more than probable, that it was called Shittim from the place where it grew, often mentioned in ſcripture †. Our readers therefore may be perhaps willing enough to be let into that little light that can be got about it. The moſt probable account we can meet with is that of St. Jerom, who ſays, that it is a hard, ſmooth wood, free from knots, and of exquiſite beauty and lightneſs; inſomuch, that the rich uſed to make ſkrews of it for their preſſes: that its leaves and colour were not unlike a white thorn, but that it grew to ſuch a height, that one might ſaw it into boards of a conſiderable length, and that it grew no where in the Roman empire, but only in the uncultivated parts of Arabia (96). Hence ſome authors have concluded, that he meant the black Acacia, not only becauſe it has all the ſmoothneſs, hardneſs, length, and beauty, which he ſpeaks of, becauſe but this latter is the only one that is to be found in thoſe parts of Arabia (97). But whoever reads the deſcription, which other authors give us of the Acacia (98), will find, that it cannot be the Shittim of St. Jerom, tho' were told by very many travellers, that it is the only tree that grows in theſe deſarts (99); but be it which of the two it will, 'tis plain, they were both very fit for Moſes's purpoſe.

It is certain at leaſt, that it could not be a kind of cedar, as ſome have imagined; not only becauſe the Hebrew has another name

† Num. xxv. 1. xxxiii. 49. Micah. vi. 5. (96) Hieron. Comm. in Joel iii. ad fin. in Mich. vi, & 5, & alib. (97) Bellon's Obſerv. lib. ii. c. 56, & 80. Ætius, lib. iv. c. 11. (98) Vide Proſp. Alpin. ap. Autor. Notar. in lib. iv. Theophraſt. Thevenot, La Rocque, & al. (99) Vide Le Clerc, Calmet, & al. Comm. in Exod. xxv. 5. Theven. La Roque, Radzivil, Ludolph, & al.

in the ſame number of pedeſtals or ſockets of ſilver; from which probably might come that antient method of ſetting porphyry columns on baſes of white marble. Moſes doth not tell us, whether they were round or ſquare, but it ſeems more likely to have been the latter, not only becauſe they became much in vogue in the inſide of great buildings, under the name of pilaſters, but alſo becauſe they were more proper for the deſign for which they were intended, and more eaſy of carriage, with the boards and other flat pieces, than round ones. To the top, or rather capitals, of theſe, was faſtened by golden hooks, a rich embroidered curtain, which divided the whole breadth of the place, and diſtinguiſhed the outward, called the holy, from the inward apartment, called *the moſt holy, or the holy of holies.* This latter was but ten cubits deep (R), and conſequently

name for that tree, but becauſe there grew none nearer than the Libanus, which was at too great a diſtance from Sinai; and yet the Jews are not aſhamed of entertaining a more ridiculous notion, that Moſes cauſed it to be brought from Egypt, whither Jacob had carried and ſown the firſt ſeeds of it, foreſeeing what uſe his poſterity would have for it (100). But had Moſes known any thing of a tabernacle being to be reared in the wilderneſs before he came thither, 'tis certain, the Jews had ſomething more valuable to load themſelves with than timber, how rare and uſeful ſoever.

(R) This proportion is not mentioned by Moſes, ſo that the reader is at his liberty to fix the partition in any other place, or, according to the rules of architecture, in the middle, and ſo make both apartments of equal length. What has determined the generality of interpreters to fix it where we do is, that in the temple of Solomon the moſt holy place was but half the length of the holy one (1), and is reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been made according to the dimenſions of the tabernacle; the only difference between them being, that the one was a fixed, and the other a moveable temple. To this may be added, that the moſt holy having nothing but the mercy-ſeat in it, and none but the high prieſt being permitted to enter it, leſs room ſufficed than for the outward one, which had the table of ſhew-bread, the altar of incenſe, candleſtic, &c. and was more frequented. Joſephus (2), tho' he agrees with Moſes in the length of the tabernacle, adds two cubits both to it height and breadth, with ſome other particularities, ſome not mentioned by

(100) Vide Baſnag. tom. ii. lib. ii. ch. 3. (1) Vide 1 King. vi. 2. 2 Chron. iii. 3. (2) Ant. lib. iii. c. 6.

ſequently ſquare. The other was twenty cubits, and at the entrance of it, at the weſt end, hung a ſecond curtain to another row of five columns of the ſame fabricature with the former, only the baſes of theſe were of braſs, and this covered the inſide of the holy place from common ſight. The curtain, or, as it is called, the veil, that parted the holy from the moſt holy place, was made of the richeſt ſtuff, both for matter and workmanſhip; and adorned with cherubims, feſtoons, and other ornaments, curiouſly embroidered upon it. The whole was incloſed on the north, weſt, and ſouth ſide, with a flight of boards of the ſame wood, covered alſo with plates of gold, and fixed below and above into ſockets or mortiſes like the columns. Theſe boards were ten cubits in length, and one and a half in breadth; ſo that there were twenty on each ſide, and eight at the weſt end. They were moreover faſtened to one another by a five-fold row of golden rings at equal diſtance one over the other, five to each board, and through theſe were run five bars of gilt ſhittim-wood, which locked or unlocked them on thoſe three ſides. As for the eaſt end, it had no boards, but was ſheltered by a veil, like that which divided the two apartments, except that this outward one had no cherubims imbroidered upon it, as the innermoſt had, for theſe were never expoſed to public ſight, but it was only adorned with flowers, leaves, and ſuch like embelifhments of needle-work [e]. How low this curtain did hang, is neither expreſſed in the text, nor agreed about; ſome thinking, that it came no lower than five cubits, and afforded the people a view of what was done in the holy place [f], others believing, that it touched the ground, and concealed it all [g]; which laſt is the more probable of the two (S). The whole

[e] Exod. xxvi. 36. [f] Joſeph. Ant. lib. iii. c. 6. [g] Philo ap. Baſnag. tom. ii. lib. i. c. 5.

by Moſes, and others differing from him. See the next note. However, it is not improper here to take notice, once for all, that the cubits were ſomething longer than ours, tho' how much is not agreed. The moſt received opinion is, that from twenty to twenty two inches. The Jews add a ſtrange diſtinction between the cubits within and without the tabernacle, making the former longer by one hand, or three inches, than the latter, but we find no warrant for it but their bare word.

(S) Joſephus adds further, that there was another curtain over that which came down to the ground, and was to preſerve it from

whole had four different coverings, the two innermoſt of which were by far the richeſt, being of a beautiful light blue mohair, ſtriped with ſcarlet and purple, or crimſon, and adorned with cherubims [h]. The other two were made, the under one of ram's-ſkins, with the wool on, of ſcarlet dye, and the uppermoſt of all, of badgers-ſkins, of a light blue. Theſe were to preſerve the other two from wind and rain; for which reaſon they they were made to hang down to the ground on the three ſides that were boarded,

[h] Exod. xxvi. 1.

from the weather, being made of ſtuff that was proof againſt rain, but that it was drawn aſide on the ſabbath and other feſtivals, to give the people a view of the inner one, and of its ornaments; if ſo, it muſt at the ſame time expoſe the altar of incenſe, candleſtick, &c. to public ſight. Philo, on the contrary, pretends (3), that no lay-man was ſuffered to ſee the fumigations which were performed within that place, the prieſts being the only perſons who had that privilege. This ſeems at leaſt more likely, but what we read of Zachariah's tarrying longer than uſual in the holy place, and of the people's waiting without not knowing what had happened to him (4). However that be, Moſes calls theſe two curtains or vails by different names, namely, this outward one by the name of מסך, Muſſak which only ſignifies a covering, whereas the inward, which divided the holy from the moſt holy place, he calls פרוכת, Paroketh, from Parak, which ſignifies to ſnatch away, and figuratively, to deliver, becauſe it covered the mercy-ſeat, and kept it from public ſight.

The Talmud adds another particular concerning this laſt veil, namely, that it conſiſted of two curtains, which hang parallel a-croſs the tabernacle, at the diſtance of two cubits from each other; and that when the high-prieſt went into the moſt holy place, he lifted up the firſt curtain at one end of it, and ſo walked between them quite to the other end, and then entered within the ſecond curtain, and marched forward towards the ark (5); if ſo, it was the moſt effectual way to keep that ſacred place from ſight; but we dare not warrant the truth of it. The apoſtle to the Hebrews mentions indeed a ſecond veil *, but whether in alluſion to this double curtain, or, what ſeems more probable, in oppoſition to the Muſſak, or outward veil, we ſhall not determine.

(3) Ap. Baſnag. ubi. ſup. Maim. Kele Hammikdaſh.

(4) Luke i. 21.

(5) Vide

* Hebr. ix. 3.

boarded, whilſt they left the outward veil open to public view on the weſt end, which was the entrance into that ſacred place. The inſide of both theſe apartments were ſtill made more awful by the darkneſs that reigned in them: for we do not find that there was any apertures made for the light; ſo that the moſt holy had none but what the cenſer gave it, when the high-prieſt went into it on expiation-day: as for the holy place, it had the golden candleſtick with a ſufficient number of branches to enlighten it in the night. We ſhall follow the Jewiſh law-giver no further in this ſuccinct account of every minute part that compoſed this portable edifice, much leſs thoſe who have commented upon him, the greateſt part of whom have given ſuch a ſcope to their luxuriant fancies, that they ſeem rather to have viewed it with the utmoſt nicety, than to have taken their deſcription from him: we think it ſufficient for us to ſay, that there was nothing wanting in it, that could make it rich, ſumptuous, and venerable, firm, laſting, and eaſily moved [i].

Of the mercy-ſeat and ark of the teſtimony.

The ark and mercy-ſeat.

THESE were the two chief things that were depoſited in the moſt holy place, and the former was as a lid or cover to the latter; for which reaſon ſome interpreters have fancied, that this was all that was meant by the word Kaphoreth, by which Moſes calls it. But moſt verſions do more properly render it the Propitiatory [k], others the Oracle [l], and ours the Mercy-ſeat (T); becauſe God is ſaid

[i] Ibid. p. tot. [k] LXX. [l] Hieron, Vulgat, & al.

(T) The word כַּפֹּרֶת, Kaphoreth, indeed comes from the verb Caphar, which doth ſignify to expiate, to forgive, in a figurative ſenſe, and in the primitive one, to cover, according to that of the pſalmiſt—*whoſe unrighteouſneſs is forgiven, and whoſe ſin is covered* (6). But it would be abſurd to infer from hence, that the word here ſignifies only a bare covering; eſpecially when the apoſtle to the Hebrews, who in other caſes has followed the verſion of the Septuagint, departs from it here, and calls it ſimply Ἱλαστήριον, the propitiatory, or mercy-ſeat (7), where they had rendered it Ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα, the propitiatory lid or covering.

(6) Pſ. xxxii. 1. (7) Hebr. ix. 5.

ſaid to have heard their prayers, to have delivered his oracles from thence, and to dwell between the cherubims which cover it. Beſides, it is plain, that it had a more than ordinary ſanctity attributed to it, and that it was looked upon as the place of God's immediate preſence; for which reaſon there were ſuch ſevere judgments inflicted on thoſe who preſumed to approach it [m]. Moſes was commanded to make it of pure gold [n]; from which one may conclude, that it was not made of ſhittim-wood overlaid with gold, like the ark, the golden-table, and other ſacred utenſils. The length of it was two cubits and a half, and the breadth of it one cubit and a half; ſo that it exactly fitted the dimenſions of the ark. It was fixed with the cherubims that over-ſhadowed it in a frame or, as Moſes calls it, a crown [o], not of a round, but oblong ſquare figure, which cloſed the upper part of the ark, like a rim or ogee. As to the cherubims, it is certain, that they were made of gold, but whether ſolid, and caſt of the ſame piece, and in the ſame mould with the mercy-ſeat, as ſome Jews and Chriſtians render it [p], or only chaſed and hammered, as the original, which only expreſſes it by hardened gold, ſeems rather to intimate, is not worth diſputing. It would indeed be more material to know ſomething concerning their form, poſture, and attitude; but Moſes has here alſo left us in the dark, except where he ſays, that they ſtretched out their wings on high, and covered the mercy-ſeat with them from each end of it, and faced one another, with their faces turned down towards the mercy-ſeat [q] (V); from which we may reaſonably conclude, that they

[m] Vide Judg. v. paſſ. vi. 29. 2 Sam. vi. 6. & ſeq. [n] Exod. xxv. 17. [o] Ibid. ver. 11. [p] Chald. Paraph. R. Sal. Arr. Montan. Tremel. & al. in loc. ver. 18. [q] Ibid. ver. 20.

(V) We have had occaſion in another place to hint ſomething concerning the form of theſe cherubims; not that either theſe which Moſes ſpeaks of here, or thoſe which were embroidered on the veils and curtains, can help us to form any idea of them, except we have recourſe to other places of ſcripture, where they are ſomewhat more particularly deſcribed. The generality of interpreters, both antient and modern, have ſuppoſed them to have human ſhapes, becauſe Moſes ſays here, that they had their faces turned towards the mercy-ſeat; and elſewhere(8), that *God ſet them*

(8) Gen. iii. ver ult.

they were at leaſt in a kind of bowing poſture. This attitude, tho' not ſo clearly expreſſed by Moſes, may be further evinced,

them with flaming ſwords, in their hands it is ſuppoſed, *to guard the entrance of paradiſe.* But this concludes nothing, becauſe face and hands, if any had here been mentioned, are attributed to beaſts, as well as men, in the Hebrew. The greateſt part of the Jews derive the word from another, which ſignifies, to be like a child, from which they conclude, that they were like young men naked, and covered only for decency with ſome of their wings (9). But it is certain, on the contrary, that the prophet Ezekiel repreſents them quite otherwiſe, and ſpeaks of the face of a cherubim as ſynonymous with that of an ox or calf, (10); according to which, the Apocalypſt calls them ζῶα, beaſts (11), and it is not improbable, that the different deſcriptions we meet with of them, in ſeveral places of ſcripture, made Joſephus ſay, that they were a kind of winged creature, anſwering to the deſcription of that which Moſes ſaw about the throne of God, but to which no man had ever ſeen the like before (12).

However, we think with many learned moderns (13), that the word is derived from Charab, which, in the Syriac, Chaldee, and Arabic, ſignifies, to plow; according to which, Charub, or Cherub, doth often imply a ſtrong man, or beaſt; and as the ox is known to be very proper for agriculture, both on account of his ſtrength and docility, the authors above-quoted have made no difficulty to believe, that the cherubims here ſpoken of reſembled them, if not in the whole, at leaſt in face and ſome other parts of the body. To theſe we may add the authority of an antient father, who believed, that the Egyptian Sphinx and other hieroglyphical beaſts were borrowed from thoſe of Moſes and Ezekiel (14). And indeed Moſes ſeems to hint at leaſt, that the cherub-work, which was embroidered on the veil and curtains within the holy of holies (15), was full of ſuch ſymbolical figures, after the manner of the famous Phrygian tapeſtry. Whether therefore theſe took the hint from Moſes, or he from them, is not very material; either ſuppoſition may be allowed without any harm. If the firſt, Moſes might thereby deſign to intimate the exiſtence and office of thoſe ſpiritual beings; and if the latter, it might ſerve to expoſe the folly of their Gentile worſhippers, ſeeing they were no more than ſervants of the God of Iſrael.

(9) Vide Kimc. & Buxtorf. ſub voc. Cherub. Baſnag. R. H. tom. ii. lib. i. c. 5, 6, & 7. paſſ. (10) Conf. Ezek. i. 10. & x. 14. 11) Apoc. iv. 6. (12) Ant. lib. iii. c. 6. (13) Grot. Bochart, Spencer, Le Clerc, Mede, & al. (14) Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. v. (15) Exod. xxvi. 1.

evinced, not only as it was the moſt decent and reſpectful, but as it ſeems to be alluded to by the pſalmiſt, who having declared that God was ſeated between the cherubims, and expreſſed his majeſty, juſtice, and power in the two or three verſes following, adds, *proſtrate yourſelves before his foot-ſtool* [r]. Neither is it improbable, that what is ſaid of their looking down upon the mercy-ſeat, in a kind of admiring poſture, might give occaſion to that beautiful alluſion of St. Peter, when, ſpeaking of the myſteries of our redemption, he ſays, *which the very angels deſire to look into* [s]. We might likewiſe give a very probable conjecture of their height, if it be allowed, that their wings, which met about the middle of the mercy-ſeat, did bear the uſual proportion to the reſt of their bodies: but theſe enquiries are more curious than uſeful.

THE ark was a ſmall cheſt made of ſhittim-wood, and covered over with beaten gold. We have ſeen the dimenſions of its length and breadth, by thoſe of the mercy-ſeat; its height was equal to its breadth, that is, one cubit and half. It is called the ark of the covenant, and the ark of the teſtimony; the firſt, becauſe it was a ſymbol of the covenant made between God and his people, and contained the two tables of it, a pot of manna, and Aaron's miraculous rod (W), which were depoſited in it, to be as ſo many witneſſes againſt every deviation of theirs. It had on each ſide two golden rings, through which were faſtened the two bars, by which it uſed to be carried on the prieſts ſhoulders. Theſe bars were made of the ſame wood with

[r] Pſ. xcix. 1, & ſeq. [s] 1 Pet. i. 12.

(W) R. Kimchi adds, ſpeaking of theſe two arks, that the one had the pieces of the two tables which Moſes had broke, and the other thoſe which he made afterwards. And even the Talmudiſts, who do not ſeem to have dreamed of a double ark, are yet of opinion, that thoſe precious relics were preſerved in that one in which the new were repoſited. It is indeed ſcarce credible, that he left them ſcattered on the ground; but as he has not told us what he did with them, it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he took them up into the mount, and there buried them out of ſight, than that he depoſited them in the ark, where they could be of no uſe, unleſs it were indeed to put them in mind of their abominable idolatry, which had occaſioned the breaking of them.

with the ark, and like it over-laid with gold; and these were never to be taken off. The ark with its covering stood lengthwise, and not crosswise, as some have imagined, in the midst of the most holy place. Moses doth not tell us, whether or no it had either feet or some pedestal to stand upon; and yet it is hardly to be supposed that it stood upon the bare ground.

Several learned rabbies have a notion, that there were two arks, the one made by Moses, and the other by Bezaleel; because Moses is said in one place to have made an ark of shittim-wood, into which he put the two tables of stone [t]; and in another place, that Bezaleel made an ark and covered it with gold [u]. But they might as well conclude, that Solomon built one temple, and his workmen another; however, they add, that Moses did always carry his own, and the priests the other; and that this latter, which had in it the book of the law, was always carried with them when they went to engage their enemies [w]. Abenezra endeavours to confirm this opinion, by what is said in Joshua of the distance that was to be kept *between the people and it* (the ark) [x]. He pretends, that the particle it is in the plural in the original, and that the words should be translated between you and them, that is, the two arks [y]. But, besides that, his criticism has no foundation, but on a different reading of the Mazorites, and that grounded on the disputed authority of points; we have elsewhere seen, that the plural is sometimes used to express the excellency of a thing; so that we see no reason to suppose two arks from either of these arguments; and yet some Christians have given into that opinion [z] (W).

Besides the ark and mercy-seat, there was still in this most holy place the volume of the law, which Moses gave the levites to deposite by the side of the ark [a]: whether in the in or out-side is not agreed; but most probably without †. St. Paul omits this in the mention he makes of the things that were preserved there [b]; for which no other

[t] Deut. x. 3. [u] Exod. xxvii. 1. [w] Nachman, Kimchi, Zachut, & al. Vide Basnag. ubi sup. [x] Josh. iii. 4. [y] Abenez. in Deut. x. [z] Goodw. & Hotting. ubi sup. Dissert. de Tabernacul. § 13. [a] Deut. iii. 26. † Vide Prid. Connect. part 1. lib. iii. [b] Comp. 1 King. viii. 9. with Heb. ix.

other reaſon can be given, than that it was ſufficiently known, for it is ſaid elſewhere, that there was nothing in the ark but the two tables of ſtone, which Moſes put into it at Horeb [c]; tho' it is plain, that the pot of manna and Aaron's miraculous rod were likewiſe preſerved in it. But we do not think, that either of theſe ſeeming inconſiſtencies, or the depoſiting of the ſacred volume, and the other holy utenſils, are matters of ſuch weight, as to deſerve all the pains which ſome learned authors have given themſelves to little purpoſe [d]. However, as to the book itſelf, we muſt not ſuppoſe, that it was the only copy, ſeeing it would not have been lawful for the high-prieſt to have fetched it out and in but on expiation day; whereas the public reading of it was to be on the feaſt of tabernacles. We may therefore ſuppoſe, with the Jews (X), that there were ſeveral copies of it, and that this prototype was thus carefully preſerved to prevent the reſt from being corrupted laſtly, after the ark was brought back from the Philiſtines, they depoſited the little cheſt with the golden mice and emrods, not in it, but by the ſide of it [e].

THE utenſils in the holy place were, 1. The altar of incenſe. 2. The golden candleſtick, and 3. The table of ſhew-bread.

1. THE

[c] 1 King. viii. 9. [d] Goodw. ubi ſup. § 18, ad 24. 1 Sam. vi. & alib. vide Prid. ubi ſup. [e] 1 Sam. vi. & alib.

(X) They tell us, that there were thirteen copies of it, one for each tribe, and one to be preſerved in the ark. There is nothing improbable in all this; but there is one particularity they add, which is not quite ſo clear, namely, that, after the building of the temple, this laſt was taken out of the ſanctuary, and depoſited in the treaſury of the temple; and that it was this volume which was found there by the high-prieſt Hilkiah, in the reign of Joſiah (16). But if the latter be true, it is more likely, that it was taken out of the ſanctuary, and repoſited in ſome ſuch private place, to prevent its undergoing the ſame fate that all other copies had done, during the wicked reigns of Amon and Manaſſes, than that it was removed thence in Solomon's time, without any neceſſity, or command from God.

(16) 2 King. xxii. 8, & ſeq. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14, & ſeq. Vide Kimch. in loc. & Baſnag. ubi ſup. c. 8.

1. The altr of perfume is sometimes called the golden altar, because, tho' it was made all of shittim-wood, yet it was so well covered over with gold, that it looked like a like a solid piece of it. It is also called the inner altar, to distinguish it from that of burnt offerings, which stood without the tabernacle. Its use was twofold, namely, to burn incense morning and night, as we hinted elsewhere, and to be sprinkled with the blood of the sacrifices, which were offered for sins of ignorance committed either by particular priests, or by all the people in general [f]. It was one cubit square, and two cubits high, so that the smoke had still eight cubits to ascend. Two bars of the same wood covered with gold, and put through four gold rings, served to carry it about, like the ark; only these might be taken off. There was a golden crown or ornament like an ogee round the top of it, and four horns on the four corners (Y), likewise covered with gold. The main difficulty is, how to understand what is meant by the top or roof of it [g], and how it could be ordered so as to bear the heat of the burning coals, without burning the wood through the gold that

[f] Vide Levit. iv. 3, & 7, 13, & 18. [g] Exod. xxx. 3.

(Y) It is scarce worth the while to enquire into the various notions which interpreters are run into about the shape of these horns; some making them to be round, and others square, knobs (17), others little plain, and others like twisted, pyramids (18). What is worth observing to our English readers is, that the word קרן keren, signifies either a horn, or a ray of light, from which perhaps, as Cunæus observes, those rays which shone about Moses's face may easily have been transformed into horns, so that these on the corners of the altars might, for ought appears to the contrary, be nothing else but ornaments resembling in some measure the rays of the sun. However, those who think them to have been in shape like the horns of an ox or ram, may as probably guess right, since any of these forms might answer the purpose for which they seem intended, namely, for the greater ease and steadiness in moving and carrying the altar about, and the tying of the victims to them, according to the allusion of the psalmist (19).

(17) N. de Lyra, post Rabbin. aliq. (18) Villalpand, Arr. Montan. & al. (19) Ps. cxviii. 27.

that overlaid it. This has induced St. Jerom and others to tranſlate it a grate, through which the ſmall coals and aſhes fell to the bottom [h], but the conſtruction of the altar is incompatible with it. Joſephus calls it a golden fire-hearth, which is equally liable to the ſame inconvenience, unleſs we ſuppoſe it to have been of more than common thickneſs. The difficulty is ſtill greater with reſpect to the altar of burnt-offerings, which tho' made of the ſame wood, and only covered with copper, did yet bear a much more intenſe heat, by reaſon of the great number of victims, which were burnt conſtantly upon it. Le Clerc hath offered two ways of ſolving this difficulty, either by ſuppoſing the metal that covered it to be very thick, or that the Shittim was the ſame with the Larix of Vitruvius, which was an incombuſtible wood [i]; and, becauſe he found the firſt ſolution to be inſufficient, he publiſhed a ſhort diſſertation to prove the probability of the latter [k]: but the misfortune is, that we have no ſufficient teſtimony, that any ſuch wood did grow in the neighbourhood of Sinai, or indeed in Arabia. We ſhall ſpeak of the latter altar by and by; as for this of incenſe, Cunæus ſeems to have found out the beſt expedient out of the Jewiſh rabbies, by ſuppoſing, that the burning coals were not ſet upon the altar itſelf, but upon a cenſer like a chafing diſh; which conjecture he backs by a text or two where ſuch cenſers are commanded to be filled with coals, and ſet upon the altar [l]. However, if the readers ſhould ſcruple to admit of theſe, it is but ſuppoſing, that this golden top or roof, with its crown or frame, was ſo fixed, as to be at ſome ſmall diſtance above the altar itſelf and the wood will be out of danger of being burnt, tho' it had not been overlaid with gold, becauſe the heat naturally aſcends. The ſituation of it is not clear in the text, which ſays, that it was to ſtand before the veil [m]. Joſephus, who is univerſally followed, places it between the candleſtick and the table of ſhew-bread [n]. We cannot contradict it, and yet we think, that if the candleſtick were placed in the midſt, which is the propereſt place for it, and the other two, which were near

Altar of perfume.

[h] Chald. Paraphr. Fagius in loc. [i] Comm. in Exod. in loc. [k] Bibliot. Choiſie, tom. xii. p. 57, & ſeq. [l] Comp. Levit. x. 1. xvi. 12. Num. xvi. 6, 7. [m] Exod. xxx. 6. [n] Ant. lib. iii. c. 6. ad fin.

near of the same form, height, and bigness, put on each side, and at a little distance between it and the sides of the tabernacle, it would be more agreeable to the rules of symmetry. The author of the second book of Maccabees tells us, that Jeremiah, seeing the captivity approaching, took this altar and the ark of God to mount Nebo, and hid them in a cave there, and stopt the door so close, that it could not afterwards be found [o]. The Talmudists gave a different account of it, namely, that Josiah, having been admonished by some prophets, that all the precious vessels of the sanctuary would be carried away to Babylon, deposited the holy fire, the ark, the pot of manna, Aaron's rod, and the breast-plate of Urim, and this altar of incense, in a subterranean place which Solomon, from the same forecast, had caused to be built with such extreme care and privacy, that, at the return from the captivity, they could never be found, nor ever will be, if we believe the Jews, till the coming of the Messiah. One thing indeed seems reasonable to suppose, that if they had been carried into Babylon, with the rest of the sacred utensils of the temple, they would have been also restored to them; but we find on the contrary, that they were forced to make them new ones at their return, whatever became of the old [p].

Candlestick. 2. The candlestick was by far the richest piece in the whole sanctuary, seeing it weighed a talent, not the common, but that of the sanctuary; and was made from top to bottom of pure beaten gold, all of a piece, without joint or sauder [q]. Its base or foot, or, as the original words it, its thigh, because it probably resembled an inverted one, had a trunk over it, out of which proceeded six branches, three on each side, and this last made the seventh in the middle. These branches were adorned with cups, knops, and flowers, alternate and equidistant, and on the top of each was fixed a lamp, shaped like an almond, which might be taken on or off, as occasion served [r], and in them were put the oil and the wick or cotton. These had their tongs or snuffers to draw the cotton in or out,

[o] Ch. ii. 1, & seq. R. Jackut. Prid. Conn.
[p] Vide Buxtorf. de Arc. c. 21, 22, part 1. lib. iii. Cunæ. Basnag. & al.
[q] Exod. xxv. 31, & seq. Num. iv. 9.
[r] Comp. Exod. xxv. 37, with

out, and ſnuff-diſhes to receive the ſparks and filth that fell from the lamps. All theſe were of pure gold alſo. It was the prieſt's buſineſs in waiting every evening, at the time of incenſe, to go in and light them, and about the ſame time in the morning to put them out, to clean, and repleniſh them [s] (Z). As to the height of it, Moſes has not mentioned any thing about it; ſo that whilſt ſome have lowered it to the level of the altar of incenſe, which would have caſt but an imperfect light, eſpecially on the table of ſhew-bread, where the loaves ſtood one upon another, others have carried it up to the height of five cubits, which is a worſe extreme, ſince it muſt not only have required a ladder or ſteps to have reached it, but it being the half of the height of the place, the ſmoak of it would ſoon have ſullied and ſpoiled the rich curtains over head: It is therefore more reaſonable to ſuppoſe it of ſuch a height that a man might eaſily reach the top of it, that is, about ſix foot high. We are likewiſe left to gueſs at its ſhape,

[s] Comp. ver. 27, with Exod. xxx. 8. Levit. xxiv. 2. 1 Sam. iii. 3.

(Z) Notwithſtanding thoſe texts we have quoted above, to prove, that the lamps burned only in the night, ſome have ſtuck ſo cloſe to the letter, where it is ſaid elſewhere, that they ſhall burn continually (20), that they have affirmed them to burn all the day alſo. Joſephus, as if he was minded to ſplit the difference, tells us, that three of them burned all day, and the other four were lighted againſt night *. But if we muſt ſuppoſe, without any occaſion, that any burned in the day, it were more reaſonable to think, it was the middle one, which being more capacious than the reſt, may be concluded to have burned ſo much the longer accordingly. However, ſeeing that the ſanctuary opened to the ſun-riſing, we can ſee no occaſion for ſuch a ſuppoſition againſt ſo many plain texts. But as Joſephus has added ſome other particulars, which it would be hard to gueſs where he had them, ſuch as that the knops, cups, flowers, &c. in the candleſtick amounted to 70 in all (21). Whereas thoſe who will be at the pains to tell them after Moſes will find but about 58; that is, 18 cups, 18 flowers, and 18 knops, to the 6 ſide-branches, and 4 to the middle one. Of the ſame kind is what he tells there, that the 7 branches anſwered to the 7 planets; that the candleſtick ſtood ſtooping, and ſuch like, not worth a further enquiry.

(20) Exod. xxvii. 20. & alib.
(21) Ibid. c. 7. ad fin.

* Ant. lib. iii. c. 8.

ſhape, breadth, ſituation, and ſeveral other particulars, in which every other commentator thinks he has hit better than any of his brethren [t]; for which reaſon we ſhall follow them no further in the dark (A); but only add, that after the building of the temple, Solomon, inſtead of one, placed ten candleſticks in the holy place, all of the ſame metal, with their other appurtenances [u]; but whether that of Moſes was one of the number, or made the eleventh, is not certain; the latter ſeems the more probable of the two, becauſe the holy place here being conſiderably larger than that of the tabernacle; and all the veſſels being made ſo accordingly; it is likely, that the candleſticks did bear the ſame proportion; in which caſe the old one would not have been uniform with the reſt. But whether it was new caſt or repoſited in the treaſury of the temple, or what became of it, is uncertain.

3. The table of ſhew-bread. We have ſpoken of the bread elſewhere; as for the table on which it was ſet, it was made of the ſame wood, and covered with gold, like the ark: it was two cubits long, one cubit broad, and one and half high: it had a golden border or crown, which may be ſuppoſed to be a kind of rim round it, like that of

[t] Vide int. al. Joſeph. ubi ſup. Hieron. Arr. Mont. Villalp. Cun. Baſnag. Villet. & al.

[u] 1 Kings vii. 49. 2 Chron. iv. 7.

(A) It may not, however, be amiſs here to ſay ſomething of the oil that entertained theſe lamps; and this, the text tells us, was to be the pureſt virgin oil of olives, with which the land of Canaan abounded very much, as we have ſeen heretofore †; and indeed none but ſuch would have been fit to burn in that place, where the furniture was exquiſitely rich. We may remember, that when Moſes exacted a free-will offering from the people, of all their coſtly ſpoils, oil was one of the things of that number; ſince then there being always a certain quantity required with their other ſacrifices, beſides tythes and the free-offerings of the devouter ſort, there could not be wanting a conſtant ſupply of it for this purpoſe. The Babyloniſh Talmud aſſures us, that, after the extruction of Solomon's temple, there was a place, by the women's apartment, appropriated for the keeping of it (22).

† Vide vol. ii. p. 491. note (N) (22) Tract. Midoth.

of our tea-tables [w]. It was alſo of pure gold, and might have an ogee or ſome ſuch ornament about it. It ſtood upon four feet, which Joſephus ſaid reſembled in part thoſe that were uſed in the Dorian's beds [x]; but what he meant by it is not worth our enquiry. Moſes ſeems to intimate in another verſe [y] ſomething like a ſecond crown or rim, tho' ſome take it to be the ſame with the former, but it is more likely, that it was a lower one, which went round the four feet near the bottom, and kept them ſteady. To the upper rim were faſtened four gold rings, two on each ſide, through which the bars were put that ſerved for its carriage. On the top there were, beſides the two rows of ſhew-loaves, ſome pans, or chafing-diſhes of gold, in which the incenſe uſed to be burnt, with ſeveral other ſmaller utenſils, which ſerved for inferior uſes in this holy place [z], which we ſhall not dwell longer upon, becauſe there are almoſt as many different opinions about the ſignifications of their names, their forms, and uſes, as there are interpreters. This table was afterwards changed for another by Solomon [a]. Joſephus tells us [b], that it was larger than the old one, probably to anſwer the largeneſs of the place. The author of the book of Chronicles add's, that he made ten more, five on the north, and five on the ſouth ſide of the holy place, which ſerved to ſet all the other utenſils upon [c]; and Joſephus ſays, that there were as many more of different makes and ſizes, as ſerved to hold twenty thouſand cups, and other veſſels of gold, and twice that number of ſilver ones [d].

4. THE court of the tabernacle, with its utenſils, is the laſt thing we have to ſpeak of. The court was an oblong ſquare, an hundred cubits long, and fifty broad (B), incloſed Court of the tabernacle.

[w] Exod. xxv. 23. & ſeq. [x] Ibid. ver. 25. [y] Ant. lib. iii. c. 6. [z] Exod. xxv. ver. 29. & alib. paſſ. [a] 1 Kings vii. 48. & ſeq. [b] Ant. lib. viii. ch. 2. [c] 1 Chron. iv. 8. [d] Ubi ſup.

(B) This חָצֵר Chatzer, or court, being mentioned in ſome places, eſpecially by the pſalmiſt (23), in the plural number, has induced ſome interpreters to ſuppoſe, without any reaſon, that there

(23) Vide Pſ. lxv. 4. lxxxiv. 2. c. 4, & alib.

cloſed on all but the eaſt ſide, which had an opening of twenty cubits for the prieſts and Levites, and people to go in and out with their offerings. This incloſure was not deſigned to conceal what was done in the court, ſince the curtains, that ſurrounded it, were made of a kind of net or point-work, through which even the heathens might have a view of it. Theſe curtains, which Moſes therefore calls by a particular name (C), to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of the tabernacle, whoſe uſe was of a different nature, were ſupported by four ſlights of pillars, probably of ſhittim-wood (D), with braſs pedeſtals or ſockets; and adorned with

there were two of them (24), one for the Levites, and the other for the people: but as Moſes doth hint nothing like it, and we have obſerved already that the plural is often uſed to denote the excellency of a thing, we ſee no ground for ſuch a ſuppoſition, nor indeed for looking upon theſe expreſſions as prophetical of the three courts which Solomon made to the temple, viz. one for the Levites, one for the Iſraelites, and the laſt for the Gentiles, as ſome authors have done (25).

(C) The word here uſed is קלע, Kelah, which ſignifies either a ſling, or a net, or open work (26), probably becauſe thoſe ſlings, with which they ſlung their ſtones, had the bottom made of ſome ſuch kind of open work. For this reaſon the Chaldee paraphraſt tranſlates it grate or crib-work, in which he is followed by the generality of Chriſtian interpreters (27). Some indeed pretend, it was a flouriſhing of all ſorts of leaf and flower-work (28), but they all agree, that the ground was open and tranſparent, ſo that theſe hangings might in ſome meaſure reſemble a piece of point or lace.

The Jews tell us, however, that after the tabernacle was fixed in Shiloh, they ſurrounded it with a good ſtrong wall of the ſame dimenſion: but whether this had any apertures or not, doth not appear. Sure it is, that theſe courts were in uſe, and eſteemed as a piece of grandeur, in the earlieſt times, both among the Egyptians and other nations, and that not only their temples, but their palaces, were ſurrounded with one or more of them, either to obſtruct the ſight, or the approach of the people.

(D) As Moſes makes no mention of any wood, but only of ſilver and braſs, Joſephus (29) and the old Latin verſion have ſuppoſed

(24) Vide Calvin in loc. ſup. tom. ii. lib. 1. c. 6. Montan. ſub. voc. קלע. Jun. Oleaſt. & al.

(25) Vide Cun. & Baſnag. ubi

(26) Vide Buxtorf. Theſ. & Arr.

(27) R. Sal. Jack. Vide Munſt.

(28) Kimch. in Rad. & al.

with ſilver pedeſtals or ſockets; and adorned with ſilver fillets, or rather chapiters, for ſuch they were [e]. As for their height, as Moſes has ſaid nothing of it, authors have conjectured it variouſly, from ten to five cubits; but as the deſign of them was only to ſupport the curtains, and to hinder the approach, and not the view of the tabernacle; the laſt ſeems the moſt rational, it being the height that Joſephus aſſigns them, as well as that of the curtains; only we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the ſilver chapiters did riſe above the curtain. We are likewiſe left to gueſs at their figure, only a ſquare one may be reaſonably ſuppoſed fitter, both for carriage and for holding the hangings tight, than a round one. They were fifty ſix in number, twenty on each ſide, ten at the weſt, and ſix at the eaſt end, beſides thoſe which ſupported the blue curtain which covered the entrance of the court, which was of a fine ſky-blue flouriſhed, and was made to draw on either ſide, or to lift up; the text doth not ſay which, but the Jews believe the latter [f].

THUS the whole court had a circuit of three hundred cubits. Thoſe therefore who ſuppoſe, that the curtain that ſurrounded it, was one entire piece, ſeem not to conſider, what

[e] Vide Exod. xxxviii. 28.

[f] Ibid. xxvii. 9, ad fin.

poſed thoſe pillars to have been made of this laſt metal. But beſides that there is no likelihood that they ſhould have added ſuch a monſtrous weight, as fifty ſix ſuch columns muſt have been, to all their other carriage, it is plain, Moſes mentions nothing like it, where he ſpeaks of all the other utenſils made of braſs (30), which he would hardly have omitted. However, leſt this ſhould not prove ſufficient to confute that notion, a late author has been at the pains of computing all the braſs that was uſed in the tabernacle, to prove, that there would not have been a ſufficient quantity for other utenſils, had theſe pillars been made of it (31). There is, however, ſome difficulty in adjuſting the equidiſtance of theſe pillars, ſo as to bring the whole to the length and breadth aſſigned by Moſes; and which cannot be otherwiſe removed, than by ſuppoſing, that thoſe that were at the end of the four ſides did come almoſt cloſe to one another at each angle (32).

(30) Exod. xxxviii. 29, & ſeq. (31) Vide Baſnag. ubi ſup. (32) Baſnag. ibid. Vide Munſt. Jun. Calm. & al. in loc.

what a laborious task it would have been to the Gershonites to have folded or rolled it up; besides that, the text speaking all along of them in the plural number, shows, that there were more than one or two [g]. However, though this court bore the same proportion with the tabernacle, and the four sides ran parallel to it, yet is not the tabernacle to be supposed to have stood in the center of it. There was no necessity for the area on the west end to be of the same extent with that on the east, because we do not read of any considerable utensils placed in that; whereas this latter had the altar of burnt-offerings, the laver, and several other things, of which we are going now to speak; so that though Moses had not left us the dimensions of either, this last is supposed to have been of equal length with its breadth, that is, fifty foot square; and indeed less than that space could hardly suffice for all the work that was done there, and the multitude of utensils that were used in it, since it was the only place in which all the victims were slain, and both they, and all other kind of offerings, were brought and offered up. For this reason it is disputed, both among the Jews and Christians, whether the people, who came thither with the victims, were suffered to enter into it, in order to lay their hands on their heads, and to stay the whole time of the ceremony, as the letter of the law seems to require; or whether they were not met by the priests or levites, at the entrance into the court, and having performed the part of the imposition of hands and confession there, did go to behold the remainder of it from the openings of the inclosure. If the former be admitted, it must be owned, that they must have been very much crowded at some particular times, or been forced to admit no more at one time than the place would conveniently hold. We need not to add, that the brass stakes and cordages which were ranged all around, within as well as without, in order to secure both the court and tabernacle from storms and winds, did still streighten the place considerably. There have been also various conjectures concerning the reason of its situation and facing of the west, which we shall not dwell upon: the best we meet with from the Jews is, that it was done in opposition to the Heathen, who worshipped towards the rising sun. As for the mystical interpretation

[g] Ibid. ver. 9, 10, 12, & seq.

interpretation of ſome Chriſtian divines, they are out of our province.

THE altar of burnt-offerings was placed, as we have obſerved before, at the eaſt end of the court, and one may ſuppoſe it to have ſtood at ſuch a convenient diſtance from the tabernacle, that neither the ſmoak of its conſtant fire, nor that of victims which were burned upon it, might fall upon, or damage, its outward veil. This altar is alſo called the outward, to diſtinguiſh it from that of incenſe, which was within the ſanctuary. We have already taken notice, that it was made of ſhittim-wood, and covered over with braſs. It was five cubits ſquare and three cubits high, and, becauſe it was portable, like the other, it had four braſs-rings, through which the two bars were put, by which it was carried upon the prieſts ſhoulders. It had four horns at the four corners of the ſame wood, and covered with the ſame metal, but whoſe ſhape is equally uncertain with thoſe of the other altar. In the cavity of it, which probably went through, and may be ſuppoſed as capacious as the bigneſs of the altar will admit, was hung, by four braſs rings, a croſs-bar grate, which reached down to the middle of the cavity, and through which the aſhes fell. This was to be placed under that part which is generally rendered the compaſs (E) of the altar [h], but is variouſly underſtood, or rather fancied, in order

Altar of burnt-offerings.

[h] Exod. xxviii. 1, & ſeq.

(E) The word כרכוב, Carcob, is one of thoſe that occur but once in the ſcriptures, and whoſe meaning muſt remain uncertain for want of parallels to fix it. The Jews, inſtead of helping us in ſuch doubtful caſes, do rather embroil them the more. R. Solomon, and, after him, the learned De Lyra believed it to have been only a kind of ornament, that ſurrounded the altar; and other rabbies, who affirm, contrary to the text, that the altar was ten cubits high, and large in proportion, tell us, that it was a kind of gallery, upon which prieſts were forced to mount, in order to lay the wood and victims in due order, and that the three cubits which Moſes aſſigns to the height of the altar, muſt be reckoned from that gallery and upwards. But what quite confutes this wild notion is, that Moſes ſays, this Carcob was to reach to the middle of the altar. If therefore the altar was ten cubits high, there muſt have been five cubits above, as well as five below this imaginary gallery, as Cunæus juſtly ob-

order to save the wood from being consumed within the copper-work. We shall content ourselves with giving our readers the most probable and approved conjecture, which is that of the author of the Dissertations upon the Pentateuch [i]. He supposes the cavity of the altar to have been about seven feet and a half wide, from side to side, and the shittim-wood to have been covered with brass, within as well as without. The cross-bar grate he supposes to have been a vessel, made in the most convenient form to receive and keep up the fire, which was constantly supplied with fresh wood; and to have been hung about a foot deep within the cavity. As for the Carcob, which we render the compass or circuit, he thinks that it was another copper-vessel, whose form he leaves to the discretion of the reader, capacious enough to contain the flesh of the victims, which were to be consumed upon, or in, it. This vessel being likewise suspended by four brass rings over the grate, at a convenient distance, was consequently surrounded by the continual flames from below, and might consume all that was in it in a very little time, without endangering the wood of which the altar was made; and both the Carcob and the grate being thus suspended, might be easily taken on or off, whenever the altar was to be cleared or transported. Thus far our author: the reader may see his reasons for these suppositions in the original. The only thing that can be objected against this supposition is, that there are some express texts, which enjoin the *victims, with the head and the fat, to be laid*, not over, but *upon the wood, or upon the fire, which is upon*, or within, *the altar* [k]. This seems also to have been the practice of the ancient patriarchs before the Mosaic institution. So that this Carcob seems rather to have contained the fire, if it was really a distinct thing from the grate. As for what is said of this latter hanging in the middle, it may more reasonably be understood of the middle with respect to its sides, than its height. Since therefore invention must supply the obscurity of the text, as our author observes, may we not as well suppose this Carcob to have been a kind of cincture to the grate, capacious enough to contain both the wood and the victims, and to have been suspended so near the level of the altar, and at

[i] Saurin's Discours. sur le Pentat. Disc. liv. [k] Levit. i. 8.

serves. Our commentators have therefore justly rejected them, and endeavoured to remove the main difficulty, without departing from the original, or giving into fabulous traditions.

at ſo convenient a diſtance from the inſides of it, as not to heat the braſs of it to a degree ſufficient to burn the wood incloſed in it; whilſt the crib might be a kind of bottom to it, ſerving to give it air from beneath, and to let out the aſhes and other ſmall rubbiſh, which might otherwiſe clog the fire. We may even venture to add, that the whole might be ſo artificially contrived, that the fleſh being thus embraced on all ſides by the fierce and conſtant fire, aad this by a circumambient air, might concenter the heat to ſuch a degree as to conſume every particle, and yet be entirely free from that offenſive ſmell, which ſuch quantities of fleſh and fat muſt have neceſſarily cauſed (F). But this we ſubmit to our readers. The truth is, that a man ought to have ſeen and examined the whole ſtructure of the tabernacle and its apparatus, to be able to remove every difficulty, that may be raiſed by the curious. But do we not find the ſame with reſpect to Greek and Roman antiquities, though we are better acquainted with thoſe languages, and have ſuch multitudes of antient authors to conſult,

(F) As a confirmation of what we have advanced, we beg leave to aſſure our readers, that we have ſeen in France a kind of portable hearth, not unlike a chafing diſh, ſo artfully contrived, that the fire within it, tho' not very fierce to outward appearance, did conſume feathers, brimſtone, and other like fœtid materials, without caſting the leaſt ſmell, or indeed any heat beyond the narrow boundaries of its focus. As this curious piece was expoſed to public view by the owner, for a ſmall piece of money, at Paris and ſeveral other parts of France, we doubt not, but it has been ſeen by many of our curious countrymen, who may confirm the truth of what we ſay. However, if the reader think much of admitting the parallel, we beg leave to add, with reſpect to theſe two altars, that as that of incenſe was over-laid with gold, in order to anſwer the reſt of the rich utenſils of the ſanctuary, ſo this of burnt-offerings was covered with braſs, becauſe all the other materials of the court were made of that metal; rather than barely to preſerve the wood under it from the fire. The ſhittim therefore might be deſigned only as the mould or model of the altars, and to avoid either the exceſſive coſt, or weight of maſſive ones: ſo that whether we ſuppoſe it to have been incombuſtible or not, the end was ſtill anſwered, ſince even upon the latter ſuppoſition, that of gold was out of danger, becauſe the fire was ſet upon it in a ſeparate golden veſſel or cenſer, and this of copper might either be ſo contrived as to ſave the wood, or if that ſhould be burnt to a cole, the metal may be ſuppoſed ſtrong enough to ſtand without it.

conſult, in compariſon of thoſe few that relate to the Jewiſh? It was on this altar, that the ſacred fire, which deſcended from heaven at the conſecration of the tabernacle, was to be continually kept. If it be aſked, how this could be done in their marches, when this and all other utenſils were wrapped up in ſeveral coverings, the uppermoſt of which was of badgers-ſkins, without either burning thoſe coverings, or extinguiſhing the fire, we need not to have recourſe to miracles, as the rabbies do here and every where elſe (G). We may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the Carcob, or veſſel which held the fire, and was to be taken off when they removed, was carried in ſuch a manner, as to preſerve fire enough to kindle a greater one, when occaſion required, as on

(G) It is by the ſame miraculous power that they pretend it was preſerved againſt violent winds and rains, to which the altar was expoſed, by ſtanding in ſuch an open place; but we may more reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they took proper means to ſhelter it from both, ſuch as Moſes might leave to their diſcretion. As for the wood that entertained this fire, they tell us, that it was not to be ſuch as had ſerved to any other purpoſe; that it was not to be canker or worm-eaten, and the like; and that after the nethinims had made it ready for uſe, it was the buſineſs of thoſe prieſts, who were diſabled from officiating at the altar, to examine it after them, and to throw aſide all that they found any ſuch defects in. As for this ſacred fire, we need not to tell our readers how early it was in uſe among the Chaldeans and Perſians, from whom it paſſed to the Greeks, Romans, and other nations. It was called in the old Perſic Oriſmada, which ſome critics pretend to be derived from the Hebrew words, urim eſh yah, light and fire of God, or from or eſh men yah, light and fire from God; and from thence infer, that they had this cuſtom from the Jews †, but that is what we dare not venture to warrant. As for the Jewiſh one, we read in the Maccabees (33), that, at the approach of Nebuchadnezzar towards Jeruſalem, the prophet Jeremiah, with ſome other prieſts, took it from the altar, and went and hid it in the bottom of a dry well, and that at the return from the captivity Nehemiah ſent ſome of their grandchildren to the well, who brought him ſome dirty water inſtead of fire, but upon his pouring it upon the altar, it immediately blazed into a clear flame, which was kept afterwards till the deſtruction of the ſecond temple. This ſtory is likewiſe apocryphal, but the Jews believe it, only they compare this ſecond fire to a dog, whereas the firſt, they ſay, was like a lion (34).

† Baſnag. R. H. tom. ii. lib. i. c. 14. (33) 2 Macc. i. 19. & ſeq. (34) R. Zaccath, ubi ſup.

on the morning and evening ſacrifice. The reader, however, muſt be reminded here, not to confound this Moſaic altar, with that ſpacious one which was afterwards reared by Solomon, of which this is not a proper place to ſpeak. One common caution, however, belonged to theſe and all other altars (H), that the aſcent to them was to be gradual, and not by ſteps, to prevent all indecency in God's worſhip [1].

THE

[1] Exod. xx. ult.

(H) As we are upon the ſubject of the divine laws, by whoſe directions all theſe things were made, we muſt by no means forget that altar which God enjoined to be made to him, either of earth or of rough ſtones, in all places where he ſhall record his name (35). Whoever compares theſe words with the command of building the brazen altar, might be apt to think, that the Iſraelites were left at liberty to offer up their ſacrifices either upon the one or the other, as they liked beſt; and yet we find a ſevere prohibition againſt ſacrificing any where but at this latter, and in the court of the tabernacle (36). To reconcile this ſeeming contravention, ſome having conjectured, that this brazen altar was filled with earth and rough ſtones, but what we have ſaid above doth ſufficiently confute ſuch a ſuppoſition. We paſs by ſeveral others equally crude to come at the moſt rational. There ſeems indeed a manifeſt difference between the laws relating to thoſe two altars; that of the one, viz. the brazen one, confined to the ceremonial part, in which the prieſts alone were allowed to officiate; whereas the other related properly to extraordinary caſes, when ſome holy perſons were commanded by God to offer ſome kind of ſacrifices, without any regard to the tribes they were of; upon all which occaſions they were obliged to rear ſuch a plain altar, as is above deſcribed:

The only thing that can be objected againſt this ſolution is, that the words, *thou ſhalt build me an altar of earth——in every place where I record my name*, &c. ſeem rather to imply a fixed, than ſuch an occaſional, altar. But the Chaldee paraphraſt has given us a truer ſenſe of theſe words, as all who underſtand the original will eaſily own; which is this. In every place where I cauſe my name to be recorded or celebrated, &c. The meaning of which is plainly this, by comparing both places together: it ſhall not be lawful for you to offer your ſacrifices whereſoever your fancy leads you, but only at the court of my tabernacle:

(35) Exod xx. 24. ubi ſup. c. 14.

(36) Levit. xvii. 3, 4. vide Baſnag.

The great laver.

THE brazen laver is the laſt conſiderable utenſil that was in the court of the tabernacle. It was conveniently ſituate between the eaſt end of it and the altar of burnt-offerings. Its ſhape and capaciouſneſs, not being mentioned by Moſes, we can affirm nothing certain about them. Its uſe was two-fold. Firſt, it ſerved for the prieſts to waſh their hands and feet, who were expreſly forbid, under ſevere penalties, to preſume upon any part of their function till they had performed that ceremony [m]. Secondly, to waſh the entrails and legs of the victims [n]. Some Jews fancy, that there was another reſervoir of water for this laſt uſe [o], which is not improbable, not only as it was more decent, but becauſe we find it ſo ordered in Solomon's temple, where the brazen ſea was for the ſole waſhing of the prieſts, whilſt there were ten other lavers beſides for the waſhing of the victims [p]. If this was not the caſe here, we muſt ſuppoſe, that they only took the water out of the laver into ſome other veſſels to waſh thoſe entrails in, for it was not even lawful for a prieſt to waſh his hands and feet in the ſame water. For this reaſon they ſuppoſe, that this laver had a quantity of cocks, at which the water was to run upon their feet firſt, and then upon their hands, and was received into a baſon underneath [q]. This fountain was to be kept continually repleniſhed with water, and this office belonged to the le-

vites

[m] Exod. xxx. 20. Kimch. in loc. Arr. Montan in loc.

[n] Vide Levit. xix.

[p] 2 Chron. iv. 6.

[o] Vide

[q] Miſhn. ap.

tabernacle: nevertheleſs, whenever I cauſe my name to be celebrated upon any particular occaſion, in what place ſoever I command my ſervants to ſacrifice unto me, there ſhall they rear me an altar of earth, &c. and there I will meet and bleſs them; but this ſhall not be done without an expreſs command from me. This natural interpretation was not only verified by the ſequel, as appears from all the inſtances we have of theſe extraordinary ſacrifices; but doth likewiſe account for the reaſon of God's chuſing a plain and artleſs altar upon all ſuch occaſions; about which both Jews and Chriſtians have racked their brains to little purpoſe. For had they been more elaborate and laſting, the Iſraelites, too prone to ſuperſtition, would have been in all probability induced to fancy a more than ordinary ſanctity in them, and ſo have gone a whoring after them, contrary to God's expreſs prohibition; whereas their being reared up juſt to ſerve the preſent exigence, and then being immediately pulled, or falling down in courſe, could not adminiſter any ſuch temptation.

vites [r], unleſs they made perhaps the nethinims bring it to them to the entrance of the court. Moſes tells us in another chapter, that this braſs laver and its foot was made of the looking-glaſſes of the women, that came in crouds to the door of the tabernacle [s], which has given ground for various ſpeculations; and ſome interpreters have even ventured to turn the braſs there mentioned into ſteel [t]: as if thoſe antient mirrours had been made of no other metals. For our part, we take it for granted, that they were made of other metals alſo, ſuch as braſs, tin, ſilver, and the like, and ſome with braſs mixed with tin or ſilver; the laſt of which Pliny tells us [u], were the moſt eſteemed; but we are apt to think, that there is an error crept into the text, or an exchange of one letter for another like it, and that it ſhould be rendered, he made the laver and its foot of a braſs, like unto the looking-glaſſes of the women that croud about the door of the tabernacle, by which is meant, that he made them either of the ſame metal, or that he gave them the ſame degree of brightneſs and ſmoothneſs (I). And if what an antient father tells us be true of the Egyptian women [w], that they uſed to go to the temple with a looking-glaſs in one hand, and a timbrel in the other, it will ſtill give us a greater light into the meaning of the Hebrew women wearing ſuch an ornament when they

[r] Vide N. De Lyra in loc. [s] Exod. xxxviii. 8.
[t] Vide Tremel. in loc. [u] Lib. xxxiii. c. 9. [w] Cyril. Alexand. de adorat. in ſpirit lib. ii. ap. Calm. ſub voc. Miroir.

(I) Thoſe who underſtand the original know that it is far from improbable, that ב beth may have ſlipt in here inſtead of the כ caph, by reaſon of their likeneſs; eſpecially if they remember, that the former is never uſed, that we can recollect, to expreſs the metal or ſtuff of which a thing is made; ſo that this letter is here altogether irregular; whereas the כ, which ſignifies as, like unto, according to, gives a good ſenſe to the phraſe. However, the rabbies, taking it in the other ſenſe, have made it a great piece of merit in thoſe devout women, who, according to them, were filled with ſuch a zeal for the ſervice of God, that they came in ſholes to the tabernacle, to ſacrifice the moſt precious ornament of their toilet to holy uſes, reſolved for the future to neglect all outward adorning, that they might take more care of the inward. Thoſe interpreters who have fancied them to be real glaſſes framed in braſs, and to have been fixed round the laver that the prieſts might ſee themſelves in them, ſeem ſtill more out of the way, ſince they came thither to waſh only their hands and feet, which they could do without the help of a glaſs.

they came to the tabernacle. As for what is ſaid of their repairing thither in crouds, it was no more than what they uſually did, as appears from other places of ſcripture[x].

To theſe we might add a multitude of other furniture ſubſervient to other uſes, ſuch as kettles, pans, frying-pans, ovens, ſhovels, tongs, pickaxes, hatchets, cleavers, knives, forks, tables, tubs, trays, diſhes, and many more; all of which were either made of braſs, or of wood covered with it; but it is ſufficient to have named the moſt conſiderable of them. We ſhall only add, that the charge of all theſe was committed, the moſt ſacred ones to the prieſts, and the reſt to the levites, whoſe buſineſs it was to pack and cover them up with proper cloths and ſkins, made for that purpoſe, whenever they removed. It is obſervable, however, that in all this account we find no mention made of any pavement or flooring, ſo much as for the tabernacle, and yet it is hardly credible, as was obſerved before, that its rich and ſacred utenſils ſhould ſtand on the bare ground. We may therefore ſuppoſe, that Moſes has barely mentioned all that was done before the ſetting up of the tabernacle. And if we conſider their vaſt number and variety, the richneſs and curious workmanſhip of a great part of them, and the little time the whole was finiſhed in, not much above five months[y], we ſhall have cauſe to wonder at their diſpatch, unleſs we ſuppoſe a vaſt number of hands to have been employed in it; but this need not hinder us from ſuppoſing, that Moſes might add many others, as he ſaw needful in proceſs of time, among which this flooring might be one.

These are the principal laws relating to the worſhip of God, as they are commonly called, of the firſt table; but before we paſs on to thoſe of the ſecond, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of thoſe which related to their proſelytes (K). There was an expreſs command of God, that

[x] Vide 1 Sam. iii. 22, & alib.

[y] Ita Judæi vide ſedar. olam Munſt. Cun. Uſſer. ann. p. 16, & al.

(K) The text diſtinguiſhes them only by the words גר, Ger, a traveller, or ſojourner, and נכר, Neker, a ſtranger, or alien. However, we may make a threefold diſtinction of them, namely, of ſuch as continued ſtill in their idolatry and religion of their fathers; ſuch as had renounced it to worſhip the only true God, but remained ſtill uncircumciſed, or bound themſelves, as the Jews pretend, only to the obſervation of the Noachid law; and laſtly, thoſe who by circumciſion were bound to obſerve the law

that if any ſtranger was deſirous to be admitted to eat of the paſſover, he was firſt to be circumciſed, after which he was to be admitted, not only to that grand ſolemnity, but to all the other religious privileges, in common with the Iſraelites [z]. Of this number was a great part of the mixt multitude which came up with them out of Egypt, and of the conquered inhabitants of Canaan. And indeed the condition of thoſe who became circumciſed was ſo preferable to that of thoſe who continued in their old religion, that the number of them increaſed very much; and this is ſuppoſed to have put the ſelfiſh Jews upon the diſtinction between proſelytes of the gate and proſelytes of righteouſneſs, the former of which, continuing uncircumciſed, and being bound to obſerve only the precepts of Noah, were kept in a ſtate not many degrees better than ſlavery. We find no leſs than an hundred and fifty three thouſand and upwards of this kind in Solomon's time, who were all imployed in the moſt ſervile and laborious works [a]. But becauſe this would have proved a moſt effectual way to have made them embrace the Jewiſh religion, in hopes of bettering their condition, the Jews tell us, that they admitted few, if any, into it, eſpecially in the happy reigns of David and Solomon, leſt they ſhould be induced to it only from worldly ends [b] (L) Moſes commanded the Iſraelites to

[z] Exod. xii. 48. Num. ix. 14. [a] 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18.
[b] Maimon. vide Seld. dr Synedr. Buxt. Synagog. & alib.

law of Moſes, and were thereby intitled to the ſame privileges with all the Iſraelites. It is true, they were not to ſuffer any of the firſt ſort to live among them, but it is plain by the ſequel, that they became extreamly remiſs and negligent in this reſpect, and were often reproved for it by the prophets. The ſecond ſort were called גרי השער, Gare-haſhahar, ſtrangers of the gate, from the expreſſion often uſed in the pentateuch, the ſtranger that is within thy gates. But when any of either ſort became circumciſed, they were then diſtinguiſhed by the name of גרי-חברית, Gare-haberith, ſtrangers, or proſelytes of the covenant, and גרי-צדק Gare-zedek, proſelytes of righteouſneſs.

(L) The Talmud compares thoſe proſelytes to the ruſt in iron, or ulcers in the body, and adds, that too much caution could not be taken in the admiſſion of them (37). For this reaſon they add, that they were refuſed three times, but if they perſiſted in their deſire

(37) Vide Seld. de ſyned. lib, ii. c. 2. art 5.

to give the beasts which died of themselves to these strangers [c], which is inconsistent with what the Jews say of their being bound to keep the precepts of Noah, one of which and indeed the only one recorded by Moses, was against eating flesh with the blood thereof [d], we therefore think it more probable, that they were only obliged to renounce their idolatry, and to acknowledge the one true God.

The case was different with respect to the proselytes of righteousness, these becoming incorporated into the family of Israel, and bound to observe the Mosaic law, were to undergo a long and serious examination, wherein they set before them the difficulties of keeping Moses's laws, the danger of breaking them, the contempt, and hatred, and sometimes grievous persecutions, they exposed themselves to, by becoming the servants of the God of Israel, and the like. If they continued stedfast in their purposes, notwithstanding these discouragements, they were then to be circumcised, and as soon as the wound permitted it, they were to be baptized. And because this last ceremony was looked upon as judiciary, it was to be performed before three judges at least, and recorded; so that it was never to be repeated afterwards, even in cases of apostacy; neither were their children, that were born after their father's baptism, to be baptized, but only circumcised, as those of the Israelites. If the proselytes had been of a nation which used circumcision, such as the Ismaelites, Edomites, and others were, they contented themselves with opening the fear of circumision with a launcet, and drawing out some drops of blood, after which they were admitted by baptism; and as for their women, they were only to be baptized, without any other ceremony. Moses made likewise some difference between nation and nation with respect to their admission into what he terms *the congregation*

[c] Deut. xxiv. 21. [d] Gen. ix. 4.

desire of being admitted, they were then to be circumcised, before two or three sufficient witnesses, to be baptized, in order to wash away the filth of heathenism, and lastly to offer up the usual sacrifices for sin, &c. after which they were received as servants of the God of Israel (38).

(38) Vide Basnag. R. H. tom. ii. lib. i. c. 1.

gregation of the Lord [e]. The Edomites were received after the ſecond generation, becauſe they were brethren; and ſo were the Egyptians, becauſe Iſrael had been a ſtranger in Egypt. The Moabites and Ammonites, on the contrary, were not to be admitted till after the tenth generation, as as ſome underſtand the text, or, according to the letter of the original, not even after the tenth generation, becauſe, inſtead of receiving the Iſraelites with a brotherly hoſpitality, they hired Balaam to curſe them (M). Baſtards and all illegitimate iſſue were under the ſame excluſion with them (N). The

[e] Deut. xxiii. 1, & ſeq.

(M) The Jews obſerve, that Moſes expreſſes himſelf only in the maſculine, Ammoni and Moabi, a man Ammonite or Moabite, to intimate, that he did not mean to exclude a woman from being admitted upon ſome extraordinary account. Thus Ruth, tho' a Moabiteſs, was, for her extraordinary piety, married to Boaz, the great grandfather of David (39). But we ſhall ſee in the next note, that this is not the only inſtance of their admitting of perſons expreſly excluded by that law-giver.

(N) The original word is ממזר, Mamzer, by which the Jews generally underſtand, not only all kind of inceſtuous and adulterous iſſue, but likewiſe children begot in fornication, or even in wedlock, when either of the parents were Canaanites, or of any idolatrous nation, and unconverted (40). The Septuagint, Vulgate, and the Canoniſts take it to ſignify only the ſon of a proſtitute. The truth is, the right meaning of it cannot be fixed, becauſe it is uſed only in this place and in Zechariah (41), but in neither is explained in the context. What has induced the Jews to underſtand it of inceſtuous and other unlawful iſſue is, that the Mamzer is mentioned juſt before, and put upon the ſame foot with the Ammonites and Moabites, who were born by inceſt (42); but if that were the caſe, how came the two ſons of Judah, Pharez and Zarah, whom he had by his daughter-in-law Tamar (43), not to

(39) Vide Munſt. in Deut. xxiii. 1, & ſeq. (40) Idem ibid. (41) Ch. ix. 6. (42) Gen. xix. 31, & ſeq. vide vol. ii. p. 99. (43) Gen. xxxviii. 13, & ſeq.

The Amalekites, as well as eunuchs of all kinds (O), were totally excluded; the former, becauſe they were under the divine anathema [f]; and the latter, becauſe their condition was accounted a legal defect [g]. What is meant by not *entering into the congregation of the Lord*, is not agreed; ſome underſtanding by it, their being denied admittance into the Iſraelitiſh commonwealth by circumciſion; and others, their being only excluded from places of authority. This laſt

[f] Exod. xvii. 14, & ſeq. [g] Vide Levit. xxi. 20.

to be reputed ſpurious. If it be ſaid he knew her not, yet 'tis plain ſhe knew him, and the Jews, againſt whom we object this, pretend, that either in inceſt or adultery, tho' neither party be conſcious; as when a woman, believing her huſband long ſince dead, marries another, or vice verſa, yet the iſſue of ſuch a marriage is Mamzer, or ſpurious; ſo that according to this canon of theirs, thoſe two and their poſterity ought to have been excluded.

Again, as to the children of whoredom, it is plain, they have not always been rejected, ſince Jeptha, who was both judge and general in Iſrael, was the ſon of a concubine (44). We muſt therefore ſuppoſe, either that theſe were particular caſes excepted, or, which is moſt probable, that Mamzer ſignified ſomething different from either of theſe, perhaps the children begot by an Hebrew upon a Canaanitiſh or an idolatrous woman, in order to deter them from ſuch unlawful mixtures, by the conſideration, that the iſſue of them muſt be excluded from all the privileges of the Iſraelitiſh commonwealth, both civil and religious; but whatever it meant at firſt, the Jewiſh canoniſts, according to their uſual rigidneſs, have extended it not only to all illegitimate iſſue, but even to that whoſe legitimacy is any wiſe doubted (45).

(O) The original implies a man who has any defect, either in his teſticles, or in his penis, by fracture, compreſſion, or by any other way. We ſhall obſerve here with the Jews, however, that there is no proper name either for thoſe parts in either ſex, or for ſeveral other things which modeſty forbids to utter, in all the ſacred books. This they bring as an argument of the holineſs and chaſtneſs of the Hebrew tongue; but whether it be not ſaid with more zeal than truth, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of in another place.

(44) Judg. xi. 1. (45) Vide Seld. ubi ſup. & de Jur. Nat. & Gen. lib. v. c. 16. & lib. de ſucceſſ. bon. l. iii, & alib. paſſ. Maimoniſt. ubi ſup. & al. it. præc. neg. 117.

laſt is the moſt probable and moſt received among Chriſtian interpreters. The Jews, however, underſtand it of contracting affinities and intermarriages with the Iſraelitiſh women, for it was a received maxim among them, *that the children did follow the quality of the mother*. Every proſelyte of righteouſneſs was obliged to circumciſe all the males, and baptize all the females in his family under the age of thirteen; but thoſe that were above that age might chuſe whether they would ſubmit to it, or remain in their old religion. On the other hand, thoſe under thirteen could not be admitted to proſelytiſm, without the conſent either of their parents, or, in caſe of their refuſal, that of two or three judges. In this caſe their admiſſion was looked upon as a new birth, and their parents were no longer eſteemed as ſuch; inſomuch, that they believed this kind of new converts to receive a new ſoul after baptiſm [h]. Well might therefore our Saviour wonder, that Nicodemus, who was a maſter in Iſrael, ſhould heſitate at his diſcourſe concerning a new birth [i]. We find ſeveral other regulations concerning the prerogatives of theſe proſelytes, in the Talmud and other Jewiſh writings, which we ſhall not dwell upon, becauſe they do not appear to us to be of divine appointment. Such was the law which made the children born after the baptiſm of their father to inherit, in prejudice of thoſe that were born before it; and another which aſſigned the eſtate of a proſelyte, who had no children after his baptiſm, not to thoſe he had before, nor to the king, or to the public; but to the firſt perſon that ſeized upon it. But theſe, and many more ſuch, the reader may ſee in the authors above quoted.

[h] Vide Seld. ubi ſup. & de J. N. & G. & Jac. Alting. Diſput. de proſelyt. R. Moſ. Kotz. R. Moſ. Egypt. Iſſur biath perek. Serrar. Trihœres. lib. ii. c. 2. Druſ. de trib ſect. Fag. in Exod. xxii. 21. & al. in Deut. xxiii. 1. vide & præc. neg. 113, & ſeq. Leo de Moden. pt. v. ch. 3. Calm. ſub. voc. Proſelyte, & al.
[i] John iii. 1, & ſeq.

Laws of the ſecond table: or concerning the Jewiſh government, with the cuſtoms relating to it.

Laws of the ſecond table.

THESE we ſhall mention in the ſame order as they are in the decalogue, and begin with thoſe which relate to parents, whether in a political or natural ſenſe. The patriarchal government being become impracticable, by reaſon of its being branched out into ſo many families, whom God nevertheleſs deſigned to live as one, under one head, one religion, and one body of civil laws; and the precepts of Noah, or rather the laws of nature, being perhaps partly forgot, and partly corrupted, during their Egyptian thraldom; God was pleaſed to prevent all murmurings and oppoſition, which ſuch a change might cauſe in ſo untractable a people, by declaring, that himſelf would be their king, and appoint them his vicegerents from time to time, under whom the heads of families ſhould govern and adminiſter juſtice to thoſe under them, in exact conformity to his laws. Moſes was declared the firſt vicegerent, and accordingly it is ſaid, that he *gave a law, or rather a body of laws, and an inheriance unto the congregation of Jacob, and was king in, or over, Jeſhurun, that is, over Iſrael* (P), *when the heads of the people and the tribes of Iſrael were gathered together*[k]; that is, as we underſtand the original, when the divided power of the heads of tribes and families became concentred under one head. To him ſucceeded Joſhua and the judges, but ſtill by God's appointment; and nothing evinces more the reaſonableneſs, or rather neceſſity, of this change of government, than their conſtant backſlidings into all manner of idolatry and wickedneſs at every interregnum,

[k] Deut. xxxiii. 4, 5.

(P) The word ישרון Jeſhurun is derived from ישר Jaſhar, to be righteous; which name is given them, not ſo much for their righteouſneſs, as for that of their progenitors, Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob; or more likely, perhaps, on account of thoſe righteous laws which God himſelf had dictated to them.

interregnum, when their inferior rulers became ſo remiſs, that as often as we read, that *there was no judge among them*, ſo often we find, that *every one did that which was right in his own eyes, or that they did evil in the ſight of God* [1]: but as every defection brought its puniſhment with it, they at length grew weary of their frequent captivities. But inſtead of having recourſe to God by repentance, they bethought themſelves of that expedient of having a king, who ſhould be always ready at hand to defend them, and God, having condeſcended to their deſire, appointed Saul to be their monarch; and the Jewiſh common-wealth took then the name of a kingdom. This may be the reaſon, why God, whom their ingratitude could not provoke to forſake them, though he reſented this their imprudent deſire of being governed by a king like other nations (Q), gave them ſo few laws to inforce their obedience to him, whilſt he made ſome coercive ones to reſtrain him from oppreſſing them. The univerſal paſſiveneſs of thoſe nations whom they wanted to imitate, as well as their own whenever

Concerning kings.

[1] Vide Judg. ii, & ſeq.

(Q) Maimon tells us, out of the laſt part of the Miſhna, that Moſes gave the Iſraelites three expreſs commands, namely, 1. To chuſe them a king. 2. To deſtroy Amalek, and 3. to build a temple, after they were poſſeſſed of the land of Canaan. The ſame we find likewiſe enjoyned in the 114, 115, and 116 affirmative precepts of their oral law according to which that rabbi obſerves, that they choſe Saul for their king before they declared war againſt the Amalekites. But if this had been the caſe, there could have been no room for God's reſenting, and Samuel's reproving them ſo ſeverely for it. Maimon doth indeed endeavour to wave this objection, by pretending, that what diſpleaſed God, was their coming, in a tumultuous and diſreſpectful manner, to Samuel, and aſking a king, not in obedience to the divine command, but out of an itch to be like their neighbours; but this is neither agreeable to the text (46), nor to Joſephus, who imputes this deſire of a kingly government to the intolerable corruption which had crept into all the courts of juſtice, through the baſeneſs and avarice of Samuel's two ſons, whom he appointed to officiate for him in his old age (47).

(46) Vide 1 Sam. viii. paſſ. (47) Ant, lib. v. c. 6.

whenever they were kept with a rigid hand, made the former unneceſſary; and, on the other hand, the exceſſive power, which was then lodged in the regal dignity, made it extremely dangerous, unleſs limited by wholeſome reſtrictions. We need not a more lively inſtance of this early deſpotic power of kings, and of the people's baſe ſubmiſſion to it, than the horrid ſlaughter which Saul, their firſt king, made of eighty five guiltleſs prieſts, and of all the innocent inhabitants of Nob, even to their very ſucking children and all their cattle †: and if this had not been likewiſe the caſe of other nations, Samuel could not have given ſo pathetic a liſt of the hardſhips they were to expect under an abſolute monarchy. But whether this, or any other, were the reaſon, ſure it is, that we find nothing in the whole body of the Moſaic laws to enforce an obedience to princes, except the command, *honour thy father and thy mother* [m]; which alluded moſt likely to the patriarchal government; and an expreſs prohibition againſt curſing the rulers of the people [n]; whereas there are ſeveral very expreſs ones to reſtrain them from abuſing their power and oppreſſing their ſubjects. Of this nature are thoſe which exclude all ſtrangers from being raiſed to that dignity [o], that forbid a king of Iſrael to multiply horſes, wives (R), riches, and the like [p]; that oblige him to write a copy of God's law, to read and meditate upon, and to govern himſelf by it, without deviating from it to the right or left [q]; that enjoyn him to make choice of perſons of wiſdom and integrity to be judges over the people, and ſuch like [r].

HOWEVER,

† 1 Sam. xxii. 18, 19. [m] Exod. xx. 12, & alib. [n] Ibid. xxii. 28. [o] Deut. xvii. 14, 15. [p] Ibid. ver. 16, 17. [q] Ver. 18, & ſeq. vide & præc. negat. 221. & ſeq, [r] Deut. xvi. 18, & ſeq. vide & præc. affirm. 96, & ſeq.

(R) What the Jews underſtand by multiplying wives, is having above eighteen at a time, that is, two more than David had, who, they ſay, is recorded to have had but ſixteen; and by multiplying horſes, they underſtand having more than ſerved him and his retinue (48); but we ſhall ſhew, that if there was any ſuch oral law, Solomon made very light of it in either caſe, even from the firſt year of his reign.

(48) Vide præc. neg. 222, & ſeq.

HOWEVER, as they were accountable only to God for the breach of theſe laws, ſo none were reſtrained by them, but ſuch as feared him; as for the reſt, it is plain from their hiſtory, that they made no ſcruple of tranſgreſſing them in inſtances of the higheſt nature; and that their power was ſo great that none did dare to controul them, or even reprove them, except ſuch prophets as were commiſſioned by God for ſo doing. Their being anointed, at leaſt in the beginning (S), by ſome celebrated prophets, and appointed ſovereigns of a nation, which the ſcripture calls a royal

(S) The Talmudiſts tell us, that the immediate heir of a king, who had been anointed, was himſelf proclaimed king without unction, eſpecially in the family of David; and that the ceremony was only uſed when a younger ſon was preferred to the eldeſt, as in the caſe of Solomon (49). Maimon tells us, that the confection of this oyl, or royal ointment, was alſo preſcribed by God, and gives us the receipt of it; he adds, that it was hid with that of the prieſts, with the ark, &c. juſt before the captivity, and that it could never be found; but where he had all theſe particulars is hardly worth enquiring (50). The Jews obſerve further, that Saul and Jehu were annointed בפך השמן, Bepak haſhemen, with a viol of oyl, to denote the ſhortneſs of their reign; but that David and his poſterity were anointed בקרן, Bekeren, with a horn of oyl, to ſignify the uninterrupted ſucceſſion of it (51); but there ſeems to be more ſubtilty than truth in that remark. One thing is certain, that the cuſtom of conſecrating any thing to God by this profuſion of oyl is very antient, as appears from the inſtance of Jacob's anointing of the pillar of Bethel (52). How much earlier it began, and how introduced, is impoſſible to gueſs; but it is plain, that it became in uſe during the whole Moſaic diſpenſation, in the dedication both of men and things to the immediate ſervice of God. Of the firſt kind were the kings, prieſts, and prophets; and of the ſecond, all the ſacred utenſils of the tabernacle. But how far this ceremony was typical of Chriſt, who is emphatically called the Meſſiah, or anointed, or of the ſpiritual unction under the goſpel, is out of our province.

(49) 1 King. i. paſſ. (50) Maim. Halak Kele Hammikdaſh. c. 1, & alib. (51) Kimch Comm. in 1 Sam. x. 1. Vide Hotting. in Goodwin's Moſ. & Aar. lib. 1. c. 4. § 2, & 3. Baſnag. in Cun. lib. i. c. 14. (52) Gen. xxviii. 18, ſeq.

royal priesthood [s], gave them a full power, not only in matters purely civil and military, but in ecclesiastical also. This is indeed denied by very many divines, who think, that they never exercised any authority in the latter as kings of Israel, but as prophets and inspired persons, such as were David and Solomon. But the contrary doth plainly appear from the reformations and regulations which Hezekias, Jehoshaphat, Josiah, and others made, who were neither prophets nor inspired persons. We have already taken notice, that they had power to consult the oracle of Urim, and indeed they were commanded so to do upon all emergencies, as well as the grand council or sanhedrin over which they presided, whenever they pleased to assist at it [t]. Thus we find, that David, after he had been anointed king, even in Saul's time, did consult the divine oracle concerning the success of his undertaking *. They had likewise an absolute power of life and death; and tho' according to the law of Moses, no man was to be capitally punished before he had been convicted before proper judges, and upon the evidence of at least two or three witnesses, yet we meet with frequent instances of persons being put to death by the sole will of the prince. The same may be presumed to have been with respect to property, by the instances of Mephibosheth and his servant Ziba [u], and others of the like nature. From that of Naboth † we may likewise conclude, that, in some cases, the estates of persons condemned devolved to the king: but from the laws lately mentioned against oppressing the subjects, it appears, rather to have been a tyrannical usurpation, than a command, or even permission, from God. What profound respect was paid to the regal dignity appears, both from the submissive language with which they were addressed [x], and the humble manner of approaching them; insomuch, that even queens and prophets did prostrate themselves with their faces to the ground before them, as Nathan and Bathsheba did to David [y], though there is no doubt, but his son Solomon raised the grandeur of the throne to a much greater height.

The

[s] Exod. xix. 6, & alib. [t] Haim. Halak Melakim. c. 2. * 1 Sam. xxx. 7, & 8. Vide Basnag. ubi sup. [u] 2 Sam xix. 29, † 1 King. xxi. pass. [x] Vide int. al. 1 Sam. xxv. 23, & seq. & ver. 40. 2 Sam. xiv. pass. xxiv. 3, & alib. [y] 1 King. i. 16, 23.

The Jews affirm, that even the high-prieſt was obliged to ſtand before the king, whereas the latter only ſtood before the high-prieſt, when he was conſulting God by Urim [z]. They add, that he alone was allowed to ſit down in the court of the temple, even in the moſt ſacred part of it, namely, that of the prieſts; provided he was of the lineage of David, whereas their ſenators were only allowed to ſit in that which belonged to the people [a]. The magnificence of their dreſs did not a little contribute to raiſe an awe in their ſubjects. It is true, that there is nothing preſcribed concerning it, either in the Moſaic law, or any other inſpired writer, and that we have no clear deſcription of it in the ſacred books; but it is plain from Jehoſhaphat's going to fight againſt the Syrians in his royal robes, whilſt Ahab changed his own for a common dreſs [b], that there was a manifeſt difference between them, if not in ſhape, at leaſt in beauty and coſtlineſs, ſuch as jewels about their crown (T), the purple mantle, and the like. Joſephus tells us [c], that Solomon did uſually go clad in white, but this was a colour common both to

[z] Maim. ubi ſup. [a] Idem. Halak. Beth Habkir.
[b] 1 Kings xxii. 30. [c] Ant. lib. viii. c. 2.

(T) It is plain, that this ornament was ſo far from being peculiar to crowned heads, that the prieſts and perſons of high rank were allowed to wear them. Nay, it ſeems from Ezekiel's being forbid by God to take his own off his head, in token of mourning (53), that every private man did wear ſomething of the ſame nature. This ornament, which the Hebrew calls פאר, Pheer, is ſuppoſed to have been a kind of ribbon or fillet, which went round the head, and was wore, not only by the Jews, but by other eaſtern nations; from which thoſe of princes, though called by other names, are thought to have differed only in the richneſs of the materials, and of the precious ſtones that adorned them (54). Hence David calls his own עטרת פז, *Hattereth phaz, a crown of the pureſt gold* (55). We read indeed of one which that monarch took from the king of the Ammonites, which is ſaid to have weighed a talent of gold (56). But we ſhall ſhew in its proper place, that it means not that it weighed, but that it was worth ſo much, by reaſon of the precious ſtones that were about it.

(53) Conf. Ezek. xxiv. 17, & 24. (54) Vide Calm. Comm. in Exod. xxiv. 17. & aut. ab eo citat. (55) Pſ. xxi. 3. (56) 2 Sam. xii. 30. 1 Chron. xx. 2.

to the priests and nobles (V); so that the difference must be in the richness, whether of the linen or silk of which they were made. However, as they were not tied by the law to any dress, we need not to doubt, but they followed the fashions of other countries, and were more sumptuously clad upon some particular occasions than ordinary [d]. The psalmist has likewise given us a beautiful description of the dress of queens [e], which was still richer than that of kings; but we shall dwell no longer upon it.

Laws and customs relating to judges and courts of judicature.

Courts of judicature.

WE need not speak here of those judges, emphatically so called, who governed Israel from Joshua to Saul, these, being appointed from time to time by God himself, we find, were entirely governed by his laws, and in doubtful cases by his spirit, with which they were endowed; they had the supreme authority during their life, and differed in nothing from kings, but in title, pomp, and

[d] **Vide** 1 Sam. xxviii. 8. 1 Kings xxii. 10, 30. Joseph: Ant. lib. vi. c. 10, & alib. Rasc. & al. [e] Ps. xlv.

(V) **Hence** came persons of high birth and rank to be called חורים, Chorim, albati, præclari, in opposition to those of obscure birth, who were called חשוכים, Chashukim, tenebrosi, obscuri. To this distinction the apostle St. James seems to allude (57), when he says: *if a man come into your assemblies* ——*in goodly apparel*, or, as the original has it, εν εσθητι λαμπρα, *in a white or splendid robe* —— and a poor man εν εσθητι ρυπαρα, *in a dark and dirty one*. We read indeed in the book of Esther of the royal sceptre, crown, and princely apparel (58). But besides, that these are of a later date, we do not know how far these ornaments were imitated by the Jewish kings. However, it is plain, that even in Ahashuerus's court, neither the golden crown, nor the purple, or any other colour, were peculiar to the kings, since we find Mordecai adorned with them, as a reward of his merit (59); and we have elsewhere shewn, that the crown was the distinguishing ornament of persons in the highest rank, in the courts of all the eastern princes *.

(57) Jacob. ii. 2. (58) Esth. iv. 11. vi. 8. (59) Ibid, c. viii. 15. * Vide vol. ii. p. 493. note (R)

and grandeur, and their dignity not being hereditary; in all other caſes their power was the ſame. They could make peace and war, ſummon the tribes to arms, conſult God by Urim, and the like. They are ſaid to have judged Iſrael, and that the people repaired to them for judgment, and that they took yearly circuits through the land to adminiſter juſtice [f]; but whether this was done by way of appeal from the judgment of inferior courts, as the dernier reſort, or by way of conſulting them in doubtful caſes, is not eaſy to determine (W).

BUT beſides theſe, Moſes, and after him thoſe who were at the head of the Iſraelitiſh common-wealth, were commanded to appoint a number of judges and magiſtrates in all cities, to adminiſter juſtice to the people in every tribe. Theſe were to be men of wiſdom and probity, well verſed in the law of Moſes, free from covetouſneſs and partiality; ſuch as would protect the innocent, the fatherleſs and widow, the helpleſs and ſtranger, and puniſh the guilty

[f] Vide Jud. iv. 5. 1 Sam. iii. 20. iv. 1. vii. 15, & ſeq. & alib.

(W) The latter, however, ſeems moſt probable, from the command of Moſes, that *in all doubtful caſes, whether criminal or civil, wherein the inferior judges could not eaſily determine, they ſhould apply themſelves to the prieſts and to the judge or head of the people then in being, to whoſe judgment they ſhould ſubmit under pain of death* (60). The Jews indeed pretend, that this application was to be made to the great council, or ſanhedrim ***, which they pretend to have ſubſiſted ever ſince the time of Moſes. But we have elſewhere ſhown, that the council which Moſes appointed laſted only during the lives of the elders, and that this ſanhedrim was a new inſtitution of a much latter date †. So that, in all doubtful and diſputed caſes, no perſons could be more proper to be applyed to, than theſe judges, who were endued both with the ſpirit of God, and with the ſupreme authority, ſince even this latter was thought ſufficient afterwards in the time of their kings, as appears from very many inſtances, eſpecially thoſe quoted in the margin (61).

(60) Deut. xvii. 8. & ſeq. *** Præc. affirm. 3.
† Vide ſup. p. 5. note (H). (61) 2 Sam. xiv. paſſ. 1 King. iii. 16, & ſeq. 2 Kings viii. 3, & alib. paſſ.

guilty and wrong-doer [g] (X). We find likewiſe ſeveral denunciations againſt thoſe who ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be bribed to act contrary to the ſtrict laws of juſtice; but as they were appointed by the kings, ſo their virtue did riſe and fall according to the goodneſs or wickedneſs of theſe. We may ſay more: Samuel was himſelf a moſt upright judge, and yet his two ſons, who acted under him, proved moſt unrighteous; David was likewiſe a pious monarch, and yet had there not crept a great deal of corruption in the courts of judicature, his ſon Abſalom could have had no pretence for wiſhing, that he had been a judge, that he might do juſtice to every one that applied to him for it [h].

These

[g] Exod. xxiii. 8, & ſeq. Deut. xvi, 18, & ſeq. xvii. 2. & ſeq. xix. paſſ. xxiv. 16, & ſeq. xxv. 1, & ſeq, & alib. paſſ. Ezek. xliv. 24. præc. affirm. 97. 10. [h] 2 Sam. xv. 2. & ſeq.

(X) To thoſe excellent requiſites in the Iſraelitiſh judges, the Talmud has added a great number of others, ſome of which are impracticable, and others quite ridiculous. Such are thoſe which oblige them to be maſters of ſeventy two languages, that they have no occaſion for an interpreter, in caſes wherein ſtrangers are concerned; that they be well verſed in the magic art, not in order to practiſe it themſelves, but to be able to judge rightly in all caſes of that nature. In this they ſeem even more cautious than Joſephus, who though otherwiſe far from imitating them in their rabbinical fooleries, ſeems nevertheleſs to have a particular fondneſs for that pretended ſcience, making Solomon to have been the greateſt maſter of it, and to have left behind ſeveral noble ſecrets, by which ſome of his own countrymen made themſelves famous even in his days (62). The Talmudiſts moreover exclude from the courts of judicature all childleſs and ſuperannuated perſons, ſtrangers, and eunuchs. The former indeed is agreeable to reaſon, and the two latter are expreſly excluded by Moſes (63); but we dare not warrant the reaſon which they give againſt the laſt of them, viz. that their being eunuchs inclines them to cruelty. In other caſes their directions for the choice of theſe magiſtrates, as well as for their behaviour in that office, are very reaſonable and judicious (64).

(62) Ant. lib. viii. c. 2. (63) Deut. xvii. 15, & xxiii. 1. (64) Vide præc. neg. 194, & ſeq. & affir. 95, & ſeq.

THESE courts were held at the gates of the cities, as we have elſewhere ſhewn †; and became in time very conſiderable, but how they were kept, or how many judges belonged to each; whether their power was equal, or ſome ſubordinate to others, the ſcripture gives us no light into. We read indeed, that Moſes during their abode in the wilderneſs appointed rulers over thouſands, over hundreds, fifties, and tens [i], and theſe were in all likelihood ſubordinate to one another, but how far this model was followed, when they came into the land of Canaan, doth not appear. However, we may ſuppoſe, that theſe courts conſiſted at firſt but of very few perſons, and that every thing was tranſacted in them with the utmoſt plainneſs and ſimplicity; neither were then many kinds of offices or dignities, ſince we read but of four ſorts of officers, even in Joſhua's time; namely, the elders, the heads, the judges, and the officers [k]. It is impoſſible to determine what their offices were, only the laſt were ſuppoſed to have been a kind of beadles or executioners. In the flouriſhing reigns of David and Solomon, they increaſed very much [l], and in proceſs of time became ſo corrupted, that the prophets were obliged from time to time to exclaim againſt them. One of them having been ſent to Jehoſhaphat to denounce God's heavy judgments againſt Iſrael for thoſe abuſes, wrought ſo upon that good king, that he immediately ſet about making a thorough reformation, appointing new judges in every walled city, ſome of whom were of the tribe of Levi, and charging them, in the moſt preſſing terms, to be more watchful and upright than their predeceſſors. He likewiſe appointed two tribunals for the city of Jeruſalem, the one conſiſting chiefly of prieſts and levites, for matters of religion; and the other, which was moſtly made up of the heads of families, for matters of ſtate. In this condition they are ſuppoſed to have continued till the captivity, bating that as the princes became more and more wicked, ſo did the judges under them, till God was provoked to drive them out of the land. This is all we can ſay upon that article, with any tolerable certainty. As for what Joſephus and the Talmudiſts do add concerning magiſtrates and their courts, as their accounts differ from one another, and as we are not ſure, but even the former

† Vide vol. ii. p. 419. note (F), ſeq.

[k] Joſh. xxiv. 1, & ſeq. paſſ.

[i] Exod. xviii. 24, &

[l] Vide 1 Chron. xxiii.

former doth rather deſcribe them as they were after, than before the captivity, we ſhall chuſe to ſubjoin it in the margin (Y). Thus much we know concerning thoſe tribunals;

(Y) Beſides the grand council of ſeventy mentioned above, to which they pretend all other tribunals throughout the land were ſubordinate; the Talmudiſts tell us, there were two other courts, the one conſiſting of three, and the other of three and twenty judges; and theſe, they ſay, were to be in every city and town that had 120 inhabitants, according to ſome; or families according to others. The firſt of theſe courts were only choſen, pro re natâ, one by each party, and the third by the other two. Their cogniſance extended no farther than to ſmall matters, ſuch as ſervants wages, petty larcenies, reſtitution, and the like. Neither could they inflict a heavier puniſhment than whipping. That of twenty three was allowed to judge all capital cauſes, and to condemn criminals to death. And if there aroſe any difference in their judgment, it was carried by the majority, for which reaſon they ſay their number was to be odd. But in caſes of moment, and of a dubious nature, the high-prieſt was to be conſulted. If a man was condemned to death, he was to be immediately led to execution. A cryer was to go before him, and proclaim the crime he was to die for; to the end, that if any perſon knew any thing that could clear him of it, he might be brought back to the judges, and have a ſecond, and if occaſion offered, a third hearing. The ſame indulgence was to be allowed him, if he complained of being unjuſtly condemned, whilſt he went to the place of execution, in which caſe he was to chuſe two wiſe men to plead for him, and, if poſſible to obtain a reverſion of the ſentence; but if in neither caſe he could prove himſelf innocent, he was then to be forthwith executed by the witneſſes; for it is here to be obſerved, that if the crime was ſuch as deſerved hanging, the criminal was firſt to be ſtoned to death, and then hanged. But before execution, he was to be exhorted to confeſs his crime, and to pray, that his death might attone both for it, and for all his other ſins; which if he did, they gave him then a doſe of wine mixed with myrrh or frankincenſe to ſtupify him, after which he was put to death. If he was to be hanged after it, as in caſes of idolatry, blaſphemy, and ſuch like, they ſtayed till about an hour before ſun-ſet, and then tied his hands behind him, and hoiſted him up till juſt before ſun-ſet, at which time he was taken down, and both the halter and the gallows, or tree, were buried with him (65). They except,

(65) Vide præc. aff. 97, 98, & ſeq. ad 111.

bunals; that they took cogniſance of all civil and criminal caſes, even where the offence was of a religious nature; ſuch as idolatry, blaſphemy, witchcraft, ſacrilege, and the like, for

except, however, out of the cogniſance of theſe courts of twenty three, all caſes whether criminal or civil, which related to the high-prieſt, to a whole tribe, and to falſe prophets, which they pretend were only to be tryed by the grand council (66). To this a learned author thinks that expoſtulation of Chriſt to allude (67), *O Jeruſalem! ——thou that killeſt the prophets* (68). We own indeed this to have been the caſe of the ſanhedrim, in our Saviour's time, and even ſome time before, but not before the captivity; but how, or by what court, or judges, theſe extraordinary caſes were to be tryed, is impoſſible to ſay, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that it was done by a general aſſembly of the whole nation, or at leaſt of the heads of them, as we find it in ſeveral inſtances (69).

There are ſeveral other things mentioned in the Talmud, concerning all theſe courts, and the choice of their judges, which we ſhall not dwell upon, ſeeing neither the ſcripture nor Joſephus ſpeak of them; the reader may ſee them quoted in the margin (70). As for Joſephus, his account is different from them, and all that he ſays on this matter is, that Moſes ordered ſeven judges to be choſen in every city, men of known probity and learning, to which they ſhould add two prieſts or Levites, ſo that he reckons but nine judges in every court, viz. ſeven laymen and two levites (71); and his teſtimony is moſt generally followed, becauſe he lived when the Jewiſh common-wealth was ſtill flouriſhing, whereas the Talmudiſts did not live till after the deſtruction of it.

We ſhall, however, conclude this note with an account of the form of the court of the twenty three judges, according to the Jewiſh doctors, becauſe it had a near reſemblance, not only to that of the ſanhedrim, but alſo to thoſe of other polite nations. They ſat in the form of a half-moon. In the center of it was the preſident, whom they call נשיא, Naſſi, or prince having the אב בית דין, Abb-beth din, or father of the ſenate at his right-hand;

(66) Vide Miſhnah, Tract. סנהדרין. c. 1. (67) Cun. Rep. Hæbr. lib. i. c. 12. (68) Luk. xiii. 34. (69) Vide Joſh. xxii. 11. & ſeq. Judg. xx. 1, & ſeq. xxi. paſſ. (70) Vide Miſhn. ubi ſup. Maim. in loc. & alib. Moſ. Kotz Selden, de Synedr. Goodwin's Moſ. & Aar. lib. v. cap. 3, & ſeq. Lamy, Calm. Differt. ſur la police des Hebreus, & al. (71) Ant. lib. iv, c. ult.

for which reaſon the prieſts and levites were appointed to aſſiſt, if not preſide, in them. The next authority to the magiſtrates were natural parents, and theſe were to be honoured and obeyed in a moſt particular manner[m] (Z). St. Paul

[m] Exod. xx. 12. Deut. v. 16, & alib.

hand; the reſt ſat on each ſide, according to their ſeniority or merit. At each end was a clerk or ſecretary, who took the depoſitions in writing. Some add a third, whoſe office was to gather the votes of the court. At the feet of the judges ſat their diſciples, in three rows or forms, whoſe buſineſs was to obſerve every thing that was ſaid or done; and theſe were choſen to ſucceed thoſe on the bench, either at their death, or when they became unqualified by old age or any other impediment. The accuſed perſon was placed upon an eminent place in the court, that he might be eaſily ſeen by all, and the witneſſes ſtood fronting him. Theſe were to be diligently examined, and their character inquired into, and if any flaw was found in it, they were ſet aſide; and if any was found to have given falſe evidence, the Talion law was his portion (72); that is, he was condemned to the ſame puniſhment as his evidence would have brought upon the innocent. The סוטרים, Soterim, that is, the officers, or executioners, were alſo to attend the court conſtantly, with rods and leathern ſcourges in their hands, to execute the ſentence of the judges. The accuſed perſon was likewiſe allowed a counſellor to plead for him, who was called בעל רוב, Bahalrib, the maſter of the proceſs; and he ſtood on his right hand and pleaded for him. Many expreſſions there are in the pſalms, in the prophets, and other places in the old teſtament, that ſeem ſo plainly to allude to one or other of theſe judicial forms, as make it more than probable, that they were in uſe long before the captivity. After a full hearing the votes were gathered and examined, and according to them, the perſon was either abſolved or condemned in words to this purpoſe. Thou Simeon art innocent: Thou Judah art guilty; and if the latter, and his crime was capital, he was immediately put into the executioners hands, and led to execution: but if the crime was ſuch as only deſerved whipping, it was forthwith performed before the whole court (73).

(Z) The Talmudiſts obſerve, that the law lays a greater ſtreſs upon honouring our parents, than upon honouring God, becauſe we

(72) Deut. xix. 18, 19. (73) Vide de his Miſhn. Tract. Sanhedr. c. 5. Maim. M. Kotz, & al. ſup. citat. vide & præc. affirm. ſup. citat.

Paul obſerves, that this is the firſt command with a promiſe [n]; and the puniſhment of diſobedient and wicked children was no leſs ſevere. It was death for any to curſe or ſtrike their parents [o], or even to continue in a ſtubborn diſobedience to their commands. In this laſt caſe they had power to inflict any puniſhment but death upon them: and if that proved ineffectual, they might then bring and accuſe them before the judges, who upon full proof were obliged to condemn them to death [p], without mercy or delay. And now we are upon the ſubject of puniſhments, it will not be improper to conclude this article with an account of thoſe which were either appointed by the Moſaic law, or made uſe of at the prince's will, againſt obnoxious perſons, before the captivity.

Of

[n] Eph. vi. 2. [o] Exod. xxi. 15, 17. Levit. xx. 9.
[p] Deut. xxi. 18, & ſeq.

we are only enjoined to honour the latter with our ſubſtance (74); whereas we are bound to honour the former, whether we have any ſubſtance or not, and to work in order to be able to maintain them (75). This is a duty to which the Egyptians ſeem to have been ſtrangers, if what Herodotus ſays of them to be true, that the ſons were not bound to maintain their parents, unleſs they were willing, but that the daughters were obliged to it, whether willing or not (76). It likewiſe excelled that of the Perſians, Greeks, Romans, and other polite people, in that it included both parents, whereas theſe only, or at moſt principally, the father. This appears by the Perſian law mentioned by Ariſtotle, by the Roman digeſts, and inſtitutions mentioned by Epictetus, Simplicius, Philo de legatione, and others (77). We ſhall obſerve further, that the words of the promiſe annexed to this command runs in the original: that they may prolong thy days, and ſo on; from which the generality of Jewiſh interpreters conclude the word they to relate to the father and mother ſo honoured, namely, that they might prolong by their prayers and bleſſings the life of their dutiful children. The words are indeed capable of either ſenſe, but if the Jews had taken them in this laſt in our Saviour's time, they would not have met with ſo ſevere a reproof from him for eluding that precept.

(74) Prov. iii. 9. (75) Rabb. Simeon. Vide præc. affirm. 112, & 113. (76) Herodot. lib. ii. c. 25. Vide Carlet, Harmon of N. and P. laws c. 6. (77) Idem ibid.

Punishments. Of the first kind were the smaller sort of punishments, which were either 1. Fines by way of compensation for wrongs, theft, and the like: and in this respect the Jews were so strict, that if a man had built a house, in which there was but one single piece of timber or a stone that was stolen, they made no difficulty of pulling down the house, if they could not get it out without it, to restore it to the owner. 2. Selling for slaves those who were not able to pay their debts, or make satisfaction for a wrong. 3. The Talion law, *eye for eye, tooth for tooth, stripe for stripe,* and so on. Lastly, whipping, and this last was not to exceed forty lashes [q] (A). The capital punishments were of four kinds; nanely, stoning, burning, beheading, and strangling [r]. 1. Stoning was the most usual, and when the law condemned a person to death, without naming the kind, this was always understood to be meant by it *. Some modern Jews rather think, that it was strangling, because it was an easier death, and that in cases where the particular kind is not expressed, the most favourable is to be chosen [s]; but it is more probable from the case of adultery, that stoning was the punishment understood; for it is said in Ezekiel [t], *I will judge thee with the judgment of wedlock-breakers,* &c. and two verses after, *they shall stone thee with stones*——— and it is plain, that the Jews understood it in that sense in our Saviour's time, by what they said to him, when they brought the adulteress before him [u]. The crimes which deserved this death were all kind of incest, sodomy, bestiality, ravishing a bethrothed virgin, or her consenting to be defiled by another

[q] Ibid. xxv. 3. [r] Ex. Levit. xxiv. 14. & Num. xv. 35. [s] King. xxi. 13. Vide sup. p. 78. note (F). * Vide Deut. xvii. 7. [s] Vide R. Salom. in Exod. xxi. 16. [t] Ch. xxvi. 38. 40. [u] John viii. 5.

(A) In this last case the Talmudists say, the criminal was to be stripped down as low as his breast, or heart, though they were forced to tear his clothes for it. The executioner was to have a lash made of calves leather, of a convenient breadth, and long enough to go round his middle; and in cases where the utmost severity was to be used towards the criminal, he was to give him 39 strokes with all the strength he had (78).

(78) Vide præc. affirm. 105.

other man; blaſpheming, ſabbath-breaking, witchcraft, idolatry, enticing others to idolatry, rebellious children, offering one's ſeed to Moloch, and ſome others of the like nature. For ſome of theſe laſt, the criminal was likewiſe to be hanged, after he had been ſtoned to death, as we have ſeen in a former note, where we have alſo hinted ſomething concerning the manner of this execution, and to which we have nothing to add, but that it was always done out of the city; as it was out of the camp during their abode in the wilderneſs. Here, after he had confeſſed his fault, the witneſſes came and laid their hands upon his head, and ſaid aloud, *Thy blood be upon thee*, and threw the firſt ſtones, and the reſt of the ſpectators helped to diſpatch him * (B). This, however, muſt be underſtood of regular caſes, for there were others of an irregular nature, wherein it was allowed to ſtone the criminal, ſuch as a blaſphemer, idolater, adulterer, upon the ſpot, without further tryal. But theſe ought rather to be looked upon as zealous mobbings, though encouraged under the ſpecious title of judgment of zeal, founded upon the action of Phineas, mentioned in another part of this hiſtory †.

2. BURNING. This puniſhment was uſed before Moſes, as appears by Judah's condemning his daughter-in-law to the flames [w]. Some interpreters indeed think, that he meant no

* Deut. xvii. 7. † Pag. 30. [w] Gen. xxxviii. 24.

(B) The Talmudiſts mention another kind of ſtoning, by precipitating a man from ſome conſiderable eminence, at leaſt of the height of two men. One of the witneſſes tied his hands behind him, and the other threw him down; and if he did not die by the fall, they threw ſtones upon him till he was dead. The Moſaic law doth not indeed mention this kind of puniſhment, but we find it practiſed in our Saviour's time (78), They add, that when the criminal was within ten cubits of the place of execution, in either way of ſtoning, they exhorted him to confeſs his crime; when within four cubits, they ſtripped him. R. Jehuda ſays, that a man's middle was to be covered before, and a woman's behind; others that the men only were to be ſtripped, and the women to die in their cloaths (79).

(78) Luk. iv. 29. (79) Miſhn. ubi. ſup. c. 6. § 1, & ſeq. Cocceio Interpret.

no more than to have her burnt in the forehead, or ſtigmatiſed her for her incontinency; but without any probability. We ſhall not here repeat what we ſaid on that ſubject ‡. The Moſaic law condemned the daughters of the prieſts to be burnt for incontinency [x]; and Achan was condemned to be ſtoned and burnt for ſacrilege [y]. Theſe are the only two places where that puniſhment is mentioned. The Jews tell us alſo of ſome other crimes which were puniſhed with it, particularly ſome kinds of inceſt [z]. They add, that it was twofold; namely, burning with fire, and with melted lead poured down the criminal's throat (C).

3. Beheading. This, the Jewiſh doctors ſay, was a puniſhment appointed only for murderers, and for towns that were fallen into idolatry. But we find indeed nothing like it to have been practiſed before the captivity, in a judicial way. It is true indeed, that Abimelech, one of Gideon's ſons, cauſed ſeventy of his brothers to be beheaded upon one ſtone at Ophra [a]; that the men of Samaria ſent the heads of the ſame number of Ahab's ſons to the new king of Iſrael [b]; and that forty two of Ahaziah's brethren were put to death, probably in the ſame way, by the ſame Jehu's

‡ Vid. vol. ii. p. 462. note (R). [x] Levit. xxi. 9. [y] Joſh. vii. 25. See before p. 78. note (F). [z] Vide Moſ. Kotz. in Tract. Sanhedr. c. 1. Goodwin's Moſ. and Aar. lib. v. c. 7. § 13. [a] Judg. ix. 5. [b] 2 King. x. 7.

C) The firſt they call burning of the body, and the other burning of the ſoul. This laſt was the moſt frequent among them, and ſome of the rabbies acknowledge no other way but this to have been uſed, though the places mentioned above imply the former. The Talmudiſts do indeed condemn it, and think it unlawful to burn the bodies of their brethren to aſhes. They infer it from what is ſaid of the ſons of Aaron, who, though killed by a ſupernatural fire, yet remained unconſumed, ſince the text ſays (80), that *they were carried dead out of the camp, in their coats*; but rabbi Eleazar is ſaid in the Talmud to have diſallowed the concluſion, affirming, that he had ſeen a prieſt's daughter burnt to aſhes; to which, he is only anſwered, that her judges were ignorant Cutheans; that is, mungrel kind of Samaritans, who knew nothing of the law (81).

(80) Levit. x. 5. (81) Miſhn. Tract. Sanhedr. ubi ſup.

Jehu's orders [c]; but it is plain, that none of theſe were done in a judicial way. We find likewiſe inſtances of perſons being put to death by the ſword. Thus Samuel killed the king of Amalek [d]; in the ſame manner David ordered the meſſenger of Saul's death to be ſlain [e]: and Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei were killed by Solomon's order, one of them at the very foot of the altar [f].

4. STRANGLING. The text makes no explicit mention of this kind of death; but the Talmudiſts reckon ſix ſorts of criminals that were condemned to it; namely, 1. Thoſe that ſtruck their parents. 2. Men-ſtealers. 3. The prieſts that refuſed to conform to the determination of the court. 4. Falſe prophets, or thoſe who propheſied in the name of falſe Gods. 5. He that defiled another man's bed, °And 6. He that had criminal converſation with a prieſt's daughter. Theſe were executed as follows: they were immerged in dung up to the knees, two executioners tied a napkin about their neck, and twiſted it till he was quite ſuffocated. All kinds of criminals were buried apart by themſelves, and on the ſame day, together with the inſtruments of their death, whatever they were, to blot out as much as poſſible the remembrance of it [g] (D).

BUT

[c] Ibid. ver. 13, & ſeq. [d] 1 Sam. xv. 33. [e] 2 Sam. i. 15. [f] 1 King. ii. 25, 30, & 40. [g] Tract. Sanhedr. ubi ſup.

(D) To theſe we may add ſome foreign puniſhments, which were afterwards adopted by their kings; ſuch were thoſe which David cauſed to be inflicted on the Ammonites (82), and that to which Manaſſeh put the prophet Iſaiah, whom he is ſuppoſed, by ſeveral antient fathers (83), to have cauſed to be ſawn in two from the head downward, with a wooden ſaw, from the words of the apoſtle (84), ſome were ſawn aſunder. The difficulty here is about the wooden ſaw, how it could be fit for ſuch a purpoſe. But allowing the thing to be really fact, and a tradition of it to have been preſerved, we need but ſuppoſe the expreſſion to be an Hebraiſm, that is, a wooden ſaw, for a ſaw with which wood uſed to be ſawn, which is a common idiom in that tongue. This expreſſion of cutting in two, and cutting aſunder

(82) 2 Sam. xii. ult. (83) Juſtin Mart. Dialog. con. Tryph. Orig. ex lib. apocr. Hieron in Iſai. & al. (84) Hæbr. xi. 37.

Excommunication.

But the moſt dreadful of all their puniſhments, tho' not a capital one, was excommunication; eſpecially that which they called Shematta (E), anſwering to the Syrian Maranatta aſunder, is indeed frequent in the old teſtament, and in the apocryphal book of Suſanna. We omit ſome other puniſhments of the like nature, which will only fill our readers with horror. As for that of crucifixion, ſuch as Chriſt ſuffered, tho' ſome have fancied it to be implied in the words of Deuteronomy (85), *if a man be hanged on a tree, his body ſhall not remain all night on it, &c.* yet it is generally allowed to have been, not a Jewiſh, but a Roman, puniſhment, and ſo foreign to our purpoſe.

(E) The Jews reckon three kinds, or rather degrees, of excommunication. The firſt they call נדוי Niddui, from נדה, Nadah, to ſeparate, or put from one. So that this word was indifferently uſed, to expreſs thoſe that were ſeparated for any uncleanneſs, or for any crime that came within this degree of excommunication (86). The time of its laſting was limitted to 30 days, and yet the delinquent could either ſhorten it by doing penance, or lengthen it by ſtubborneſs, even to the end of his life, if he perſiſted in it. In this laſt caſe, they refuſed to circumciſe his children, and if he died impenitent, the judge ordered a ſtone to be thrown into his coffin or bier, to ſhew that he deſerved to have been ſtoned.

The ſecond degree they called חרם, Cherem, anathema, and this they pretend was more ſevere than the Niddui, becauſe it excluded the perſon from the ſynagogue, and from all civil commerce, which the other did not. But we have ſhewn elſewhere, that this word ſignified quite another thing, and was applicable to men and things vowed to death or deſtruction (87); and our learned Selden has proved, that there were really but two kinds of excommunication, the leſſer and the greater, and that the terms, Niddui, cherem, and Shematta, were uſed indifferently (88).

The laſt, however, according to them, was this, שמתא, Shematta, which they pretend was proclaimed by the ſound of 400 trumpets, as, they ſay, it was done at the curſing of Meroz by Deborah. A perſon ſo excommunicated was never to be received again into the congregation, and ſome pretend, that it was even lawful to put him to death. For this reaſon they derive the word from שם, Sham, there, and מתה, Mattah, death. To which

(85) Deut. xxi. 22. (86) Vide int. al. Ezek. xviii. 6. (87) Vide Levit. xxvii. 29. Joſh. vii. 11, & ſeq. Vide ſup. p. 245. note (O). (88) De Synedr. vet. Hæbr. lib. i. c. 7, & 8.

atta uſed by St. Paul [h], which ſignifies in both tongues, *the Lord comes, or is at hand.* Enoch, the ſeventh from Adam, is ſuppoſed the author of it, becauſe St. Jude quotes that ſaying of his, *behold the Lord cometh with ten thouſand of his Saints to execute judgment*; and ſo on [i], which muſt have been at leaſt owing to ſome tradition among the Jews. However, theſe fetch the original of it, both from thoſe frequent expreſſions in the Moſaic writings, *that ſoul ſhall be cut off from Iſrael, and thou ſhalt put away evil from the midſt of thee*; and more particularly from the words in Deborah's ſong, *Curſe ye Meroz, ſaid the angel of the Lord, curſe ye bitterly the inhabitants of it* [k]. But without enquiring into the validity of theſe ſubtile etymologies, we find a more expreſs form of it in Ezra and Nehemiah [l], who excommunicated all thoſe that refuſed to repudiate their ſtrange wives; and exacted an oath from the people, to avoid all affinity and commerce with them. The ſame account of it we find in Joſephus, who adds, that the goods of the excommunicated perſon were to be confiſcated to the holy treaſury [m]. It is true, this was done after the captivity; but we need not doubt, but they had preſidents and laws for it before that time; for it is ſaid, that it was performed in

[h] 1 Cor. xvi. 22. [i] Ver. 14. [k] Judg. v. 23.
[l] Ezr. x. 7. & ſeq. Nehem. xiii. 25. [m] Ant. lib. xi. c. 5.

which the expreſſion of St. John is ſuppoſed to allude; there is a ſin unto death; that is, according to them, a ſin that deſerves to be devoted to death (89). But all this is forced, and that which derives it from שם, Shem, the name, (which word they commonly uſe inſtead of any of the names of God, as we have ſeen elſewhere) and אתה, comes, or is at hand; ſeems to us the moſt rational, and anſwers to the Syriac Maran-atta, which bears the ſame ſenſe. As for the crimes to which theſe excommunications were annexed, and the manner of pronouncing them, or of abſolving theſe that had incurred them, we can affirm nothing certain; and ſo ſhall go no further with this point. The reader may conſult Selden and Buxtorf in the places above quoted, or the learned J. James Hottinger (90), and others.

(89) 1 John v. 16. Vide Bertram, de Polit. Jud. cap. 2.
(60) De Bigm. Diſſ. Hiſt. Theol. de pænitent. p. 49, & ſeq.

in a legal way, and purſuant to the laws of God. As for the form and method of pronouncing it, and in what caſes it was to be done, we cannot be certain. Buxtorf hath indeed given us a full account of it from the Talmudiſts [n], but, beſides that we dare not vouch for its antiquity, the form of it is ſo full of the moſt dreadful imprecations, that they cannot be read without horror. Some of them ſeem to have been taken from the 109th pſalm, and improved with all the dire curſes both of this world and the next As excommunication paſſed from the Jews to the Chriſtians, St. Paul makes uſe of ſome other of their expreſſions, beſides that of Maran-atta; particularly that of delivering up to ſatan [o]; but it is plain, by what he ſubjoins immediately after; *for the mortifying of the fleſh, that the ſpirit may be ſaved in the day of the Lord*, that it was not uſed by the primitive church in that damning ſenſe, in which the Jews, and ſome modern churches, underſtand it.

Laws againſt murder.

Murder. MOSES tells us, that, from the time of the flood, murder could not be expiated but by the death of the murderer [p], whatever might be the puniſhment of it before that time. Under the law God ſeems to expreſs a much greater abhorrence againſt it; he not only forbad it in the decalogue [q], but appointed avengers to puniſh the guilty perſon where-ever they found him [r], and permitted him to be torn from the moſt ſacred places of ſanctuaryſhip to condign puniſhment [s], as was lately hinted; and expreſly forbid both the avenger and the judges to make any compoſition, or to accept of any other recompenſe for the crime [t]. Theſe laws extended equally to Iſraelites and to the ſtrangers that dwelt amongſt them [u]. The only caſes therefore in which one man might lawfully kill another were, 1. When the avenger of blood found a manſlayer out of his place of refuge. 2. In a man's own defence. 3. In defence of a brother Iſraelite. And laſtly, an infant might

[n] Buxt. Lex. Talmud. p. 828.
[o] 1 Cor. v. 5.
[p] Gen. ix. 6. See before vol. i. p. 341. Deut. v. 17. Levit. xxiv. 17, & alib.
[q] Exod. xx. 13. xxi. 12.
[r] Num. xxxv. 19.
[s] Exod. xxi. 14.
[t] Num. xxxv. 31, 32.
[u] Levit. xxiv. 22.

might likewiſe be deſtroyed to preſerve the life of the mother, but not vice verſâ (F). To theſe the Jews add that, which they call the right of zeal, hinted under the laſt head, by which it was lawful for any number of men to fall upon a perſon, who was caught in any abominable fact, ſuch as blaſpheming, offering his ſeed to Moloch, and the like, and to kill him upon the ſpot. Thus the levites went out and killed three thouſand of the worſhippers of the golden calf; and Phineas puniſhed an abominable whoredom with death. We may alſo add another inſtitution, extremely proper to inſpire the people with an uncommon horror againſt wilful murder; namely, that for the expiation of an uncertain murder. It was as follows. As ſoon as the judges, who lived near the place where a man was found murdered, were informed of it, they were to examine what town was neareſt to it, and to ſummon the elders of that city, who were thereupon obliged to bring a heifer that had never been yoked, and to drive her into a rough uncultivated valley and there ſtrike her head off. Theſe and the prieſts were then to waſh their hands over her, and to profeſs, that their hands had not ſhed this blood, neither their eyes ſeen it done; after which they were to pray to God not to lay it to their charge [w]. One may ſee by all this ſolemn ceremony, and by all the abovementioned laws, what care was taken to deter them from the guilt of ſhedding innocent blood. It was for this very reaſon alſo, that God gave them ſeveral laws, whoſe only tendency was to divert them from cruelty; ſuch were thoſe that forbad them to ſeeth a lamb or kid in its mother's milk;

Uncertain murder.

[w] Deut. xxi. 1, & ſeq.

(F) The Jews add, that he that ſeeth his brother in danger of his life, as for inſtance, of drowning, of being killed by another, or by a wild beaſt, or of being unjuſtly put to death, when he could ſave his life, is guilty of wilful murder. This they infer from that prohibition of Moſes, *thou ſhalt not ſtand againſt the blood of thy neighbour* (91). The man likewiſe that ſwears falſely againſt another, in order to have him adjudged to death, was alſo to be deemed and puniſhed as a murderer (92),

(91) Levit. xix. 16. Vide Munſt. in loc. & præc. neg. 164 & 165. (92) Vide Deut. xix. 19.

milk; to kill the dam and her young, both in one day; to catch the old birds and their brood together; to muzzle the ox that treadeth the corn; to refuſe to aſſiſt a neighbour's, or even an enemy's, beaſt, that ſunk under its burden; and many more of the like nature, all highly proper to inſpire them with ſentiments of humanity and good nature, which the ſlaughter they were going to make of ſo many nations, juſtly doomed to it for their wickedneſs, might otherwiſe have been apt to extinguiſh in them.

Laws againſt adultery, and all other unlawful commerce of ſexes. The tryal of adultery, or waters of jealouſy; concerning marriage and levirate.

Againſt adultery.

1. IT will ſcarcely be thought needful to enquire how far the words, *thou ſhalt not commit adultery* [x], excluded all other carnal gratifications, which were not confined within the bounds of lawful wedlock (G). It is ſufficient to ſay, that inceſt, rape, ſodomy, and beſtiality, are forbid by other expreſs laws, and made capital as well as

[x] Exod. xx. 14. Deut. v. 18.

(G) This is indeed the received opinion of many Jews and Chriſtians, who by the word נאף, Naph, underſtand all kind of illicit coition and unnatural luſts (93). Yet we beg leave to take notice, that ſome of the antients on both ſides underſtood it of the breach of conjugal faith. Accordingly we find by Philo and Tertullian, that ſome of the Greek copies placed this law againſt adultery, before that againſt murder in the decalogue; and theſe two great orators have taken the pains to prove the former to be the more grievous crime of the two, and to deſcribe the great hurt it doth to human ſociety; the latter concluding it to be the greater crime, becauſe forbidden before murder (94). However, it is certain, that Moſes has no where given ſuch a weighty reaſon againſt that as he does againſt this, when he ſays *for in the image of God created he man* (65).

(93) Vide Abenezer. in Exod. xx. & Comment. fer om. in loc. (94) Tertul. de Pudicit. Vide Carlton, Concord. c. 7. (95) Gen, ix. 6.

as adultery [y]. As for fornication, though it was not made capital in ſome caſes, yet was it forbid by ſeveral laws [z]. The difference was, that any woman, who ventured to marry under the notion of being a virgin, and was proved to be otherwiſe, was to be ſtoned [a]; whereas, if a man deflowred a virgin, he was to pay her fifty ſhekels of ſilver, and to marry her, without having it in his power to put her away, during her life [b]. Adultery was puniſhable with death in both parties, whether they were both married, or only the woman, but we cannot affirm the puniſhment of a married man to have been the ſame who committed adultery with an unmarried woman; for beſides that the crime was not alike, with reſpect to ſociety, it is plain, that Moſes, was forced to indulge them in ſome other particulars, as unjuſtifiable as this, ſuch as polygamy, divorce, and the like, which are juſtly condemned in the goſpel.

HOWEVER, with reſpect to their wives, as there was a neceſſity, that they ſhould be kept under ſtricter ties, to prevent ſtrange mixtures in families, ſo in order to deter them from alll unlawful liberties of that kind, as well as perhaps to prevent thoſe that were innocent, from being unjuſtly ſuſpected, and ill treated by their jealous huſbands; Moſes was commanded to appoint the waters of jealouſy, with the promiſe of a conſtant miracle, by which the guilty ſhould be puniſhed in a very dreadful manner, and the innocent would be cleared with applauſe. The ceremony was to be performed in the following manner [c].

2. WHENEVER a man had conceived a miſtruſt of his wife's incontinency, he was to bring an offering for her, peculiar to this caſe; namely, a cake made of barley meal, without oil or incenſe, and to put it into the hands of the prieſt. At the ſame time he brought his wife alſo, and declared what grounds he had for ſuſpecting her. The prieſt then took the accuſed woman before the Lord, either to the tabernacle or temple, uncovered her head (H), and put the offering Waters of jealouſy.

[y] Vide Levit. xviii. paſſ. ibid. xx. 10, & ſeq. Deut. xxii. 25.
[z] Ibid. xxiii. 17, 18. Levit. xxi. 7. [a] Deut. xxii. 20, 21. [b] Ibid. ver. 28, 29. [c] Num. v. 24, & ſeq.

(H) The Jews underſtand by it ſhaving her hair, or at leaſt cutting the curls off. They add, that they tore her cloaths down to

offering into her hand, whilſt himſelf took ſome holy water, made bitter with ſome ſuch herb as wormwood, into ſome of the duſt of the floor or pavement, together with the words of the curſe written at full length, to this effect: that if ſhe had been guilty of defiling her marriage-bed, thoſe waters ſhould ſwell and burſt her belly, and rot her thigh; but if ſhe was innocent, they ſhould have no power to hurt her. Theſe words he firſt read to her aloud, and if ſhe perſiſted to go on with the tryal (I), ſhe anſwered, Amen. He was then to blot out the words of the curſe in the bitter water, they being, according to the Jews, written with an ink made without vitriol, which would be eaſily waſhed away; after which he gave her the water to drink, whilſt he took the offering or cake of jealouſy to her breaſt, and tied them with a pack-thread, others ſay, that her cloaths were exchanged for a black ſuit, in token of mourning, and in this manner ſhe was expoſed to public view. Theſe circumſtances, they tell us, had ſomething ſo dreadful to the Jewiſh women, eſpecially the chaſte ones, that they ſtudied nothing more, than to keep themſelves free from any ſuſpicion, which might expoſe them to that, which they eſteemed worſe than death. For this reaſon they did not ſuffer a woman to be brought to this tryal upon every ſlight ſuſpicion. The huſband was to bring ſome proofs, that he had forwarned her, more than once or twice, againſt being ſeen in ſuch a man's company, as he was jealous of, notwithſtanding which they had been found together in private, or in ſome remote place at leaſt, as long a time as a man might boil an egg and eat it †.

(I) Here they tells likewiſe, that a great deal of pains was taken to perſuade her to confeſs her fault, if ſhe was guilty, rather than to expoſe herſelf to the dreadful effects of the miraculous water; and that they would even force her to walk ſo long and ſo faſt, till ſhe was quite tired, in order to extort a confeſſion from her, either through wearineſs, or ſhame of being thus expoſed to public view. If ſhe confeſſed the fact, ſhe was not obliged to drink the water, but was immediately divorced from her huſband, loſt her dowry, and went and lived ſingle; but if ſhe ſtill inſiſted upon her being innocent, the prieſt was was then to conduct her to the eaſt-porch of the temple, where he told her aloud, that if ſhe was really ſo, ſhe had nothing to fear; but if guilty, ſhe muſt expect the puniſhment threatened by Moſes to fall immediately upon her.

† Vide Munſt. in Num. v.

louſy off her hand, and waved it to the Lord, and burned part of it upon the altar. The conſequence was that if ſhe was guilty, the water did burſt her belly, and rot her thigh, and ſhe died ſoon after her drinking of it; but if ſhe was innocent, ſhe not only came off unhurt, but, as a token and reward of her continence, ſhe became more healthy and fruitful, and the huſband was to take her home and cheriſh her the more, for having given him ſuch an eminent proof of her chaſtity. This is all that we find in the Moſaic law. The Talmudiſts have added ſeveral other circumſtances relating to this ceremony, which we ſhould be loath to warrant, both becauſe, by their own confeſſion, it had been diſuſed ſeveral centuries, before their time, ſince which adultery became more frequent; and becauſe neither the canonical nor apocryphal books, or indeed any of their writings that we know of, afford us one ſingle inſtance of its ever having been uſed before that time, whereby one might gueſs where they had them; for which reaſon we chuſe to give them in the margin (K). For ought appears therefore, this ceremony might be inſtituted only in terrorem, and yet prove very effectual, both to keep the wives within the bounds of conjugal fidelity, and the huſbands from too lightly ſuſpecting

(K) Accordingly they affirm, that if ſhe was guilty, ſhe had no ſooner drank the water, than ſhe began to look pale and ghaſtly, her eyes ſwelled out of her head, and ſhe loſt the uſe of them: her belly likewiſe ſwelled ſo viſibly, that they made all the haſte imaginable to convey her away, leſt ſhe ſhould defile the place by her death. They add, what is ſtill more remarkable, that the man who had had criminal commerce with her, died at that very inſtant, and much in the ſame manner, how diſtant ſo ever from her, and ignorant of what was done. The time of this miraculous ceremony being ſet aſide is not agreed; ſome affirming, that it was diſuſed after the captivity, and others, that it continued till about a hundred years before the deſtruction of the ſecond temple. All own, however, that the reaſon of its being ſet aſide was, that adulteries became, not only more frequent, which conſequently would have kept the prieſts and judges continually employed, but were likewiſe more public, ſo that the tryal of clandeſtine or doubtful ones became uſeleſs, when men committed them ſo publicly, that all the world was appriſed of them (96).

(96) Vide Seld. Buxt. Munſt. Lamy, Cun. Baſnag. & al. ſup. citat.

ſuſpecting them of a breach of it; eſpecially if another circumſtance, which the Jews tells us, be true, or was believed to be ſo, that theſe waters could have no effect upon the wife, how guilty ſoever, if the huſband had likewiſe been guilty of tranſgreſſing the laws of wedlock [d]. Whether the Iſraelites had ſeen any the like cuſtom in Egypt, or in any other nation, which made it expedient to have ſomething among them in imitation of it, we will not affirm; but it is plain, that almoſt every country ſince had a kind of tryal or ordeal, not only for caſes of incontinency, but almoſt for every crime.

3. Marriage. We find but few laws concerning this inſtitution, beſides thoſe which we have mentioned under the laſt article againſt adultery (L). Moſes contented himſelf with reſtraining the Iſraelites from marrying within certain degrees of conſanguinity which had till then been permitted, to prevent their taking wives from among the idolatrous nations with whom they lived. This was the reaſon which Abraham gave for chuſing a wife for Iſaac from his own kindred [e], and his deſcendants for following his example [f]; but which was now entirely ceaſed, by their being ſo exceedingly multiplied. Theſe are therefore the degrees which that lawgiver forbad as inceſtuous, under

[d] Seld. de Synedr. & Uxor. Hæbr. Buxtorf. Munſt. in Num. v. Baſnag. Rep. Hæbr. lib. i. c. 12. Calm. ſub. voc. Adult. & al mult. poſt rabbin. [e] Gen. xxiv. 3, & ſeq. [f] Ibid. xxvi. 34, 35. xxviii. 1, & alib.

(L) Tho' the Moſaic law doth no where oblige men to marry, yet the Jews have always looked upon it as an indiſpenſible duty implied in the words, *increaſe and multiply* (97); ſo that a man, who did not marry before he was twenty years of age, was counted acceſſary to any irregularity which the young women might be tempted to, for want of being timely married; they had a proverb in the Talmud, who is he that proſtitutes his daughter, but he who keeps her too long unmarried, or gives her to an old man? For this reaſon they uſed to marry them as ſoon as they came to age, which with them was at twelve; but if their fathers married them before, they might, when they came to it be parted from her huſband, if they did not like him.

(97) Gen. i. 28. ix. 1.

under pain of death. 1. To marry ones father or mother. 2. Father or mother-in-law. 4. The brother or ſiſter of ones father or mother. 4. A grand-ſon or grand-daughter. 5. An uncle or aunt. 6. A ſon or daughter-in-law. 7. Two brothers or ſiſters, by which the Jews underſtood thoſe only by the mother's ſide, becauſe they looked upon this conſanguinity to be greater than the paternal ones, perhaps from a belief that the mother contributed moſt to generation of the child †. 8. A brother or ſiſter-in-law. 9. The huſband or wife of an uncle or aunt. 10. The father and ſon, or mother and daughter, either together, or one after the death of the other [g]. As for the other laws relating to matrimony, they ſeem rather to be taken from the practice of the patriarchs. Thus he forbids the firſt-born to be diſinherited, out of favour or affection to another wife, as when a man has two wives, and loves one more than the other. In ſuch a caſe it was not lawful for him to transfer the inheritance to the children of the favourite wife, if that of the other was the firſt-born [h]. This is in imitation of Abraham, who gave portions to all his other children, and the inheritance to Iſaac [i]. The only difference here is, that Moſes orders but a double portion to the eldeſt [k]. Herein is alſo a ſecond law, tacitly implied at leaſt, for a man to have two wives: to which he adds a third, namely, that upon the marriage of a ſecond wife, a man ſhall ſtill be bound to continue to the former her food, her, raiment, and the duty of marriage [l]. This laſt is alſo conformable to what Laban exacted of Jacob, when he married the ſecond ſiſter after the firſt [m]. Theſe laws are an imitation of the practice of ſeveral of the old patriarchs (M).

THE

† Vide Philo de Spec. Leg. Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. [g] Levit. xviii. 6, & ſeq. [h] Deut xxi. 15, & ſeq. [i] Gen. xxv. 5, 6. [k] Deut. xxi. 17. [l] Exod. xxi 10. [m] Gen. xxxi. 50.

(M) The Jews did not content themſelves with this ſmall allowance of two wives, as we may infer from the examples of David and Solomon, and many others. But it muſt be obſerved, that they made a diſtinction betwen the wives of the firſt rank, and thoſe of the ſecond, the firſt were called נָשִׁים, Naſhim, and the others פִּילַגְשִׁים, Pilgaſhim, which laſt, tho' moſt verſions

Levirate.

THE ſame thing may be ſaid of that law which is called the Levirate, which obliged a man, whoſe brother died without iſſue, to marry his widow, and to raiſe up ſeed to his brother [n]; for this is no more than what we find had been the practice in Judah's time [o]. However, Moſes doth here leave it in ſome meaſure to a man's choice, whether he will comply with the law or not; and in caſe of a refuſal, the widow could only ſummon him before the judge of the place, where, if he perſiſted, ſhe untied his ſhoe, and ſpit in his face, and ſaid, *thus ſhall it be done unto the man that refuſes to build up his brother's houſe, or family*; after which he was branded with the appellative of the man whoſe ſhoes was unlooſed (N). In this number we may alſo add another law, which obliged the

[n] Deut. xxv. 5, & ſeq. [o] Vide Gen. xxxviii. 6, & ſeq.

ſions render by the word Concubines, Harlots, and Proſtitutes, yet in none of thoſe places of ſcri ture where that word occurs (which are about 36) is any ſuch ſiniſter ſenſe implied. However, there is a twofold difference between theſe and wives of the firſt rank †; firſt, with reſpect to the manner of taking them, namely, the latter with the uſual ceremonies, and the former without; and ſecondly, with reſpect to their authority, and the honour paid to them and their children. One thing Maimon (98) tells us from the Talmud, that a man might have as many wives as he could maintain, even to an hundred, and that it was not in their power to hinder him, provided he had riches and ſtrength ſufficient for them all; the rule with reſpect to this laſt was, that he would pay them the conjugal debt at leaſt once a week, and not run in arrear above a month with any one. But as to the concubines, they could claim no more than what the man was pleaſed to allow them.

(N) From the words here uſed by Moſes, *if brethren dwell together* (99), one would be apt to conclude, that this law was only intended for ſuch as dwelt ſtill in their father's houſe; which ſeems to have been the caſe of Judah's three ſons, mentioned above. Accordingly the rabbies have underſtood this law in a very reſtrained ſenſe, both in this and ſome other particulars; ſuch as that of the eldeſt only of the ſurvivors was obliged to marry the widow, and not even he, if he was already married, in which caſe, they pretend, that it was left to

† Conf. 1 King. xi. 3. & 2 Chron. xi. 21. (98) Halak. Iſhoth. c. 14. (99) Deut. xxv. 5.

the huſband to pay down a competent dowry for the wife, or, as the Jews termed it in their contracts, to pay the price or equivalent of her virginity [p]. Thus Abraham ſent his ſteward with a conſiderable quantity of riches to preſent his future daughter-in-law and her relations [q]: Jacob purchaſed his two wives at the price of fourteen years ſervitude [r]; and when Hamor came to aſk his daughter for his ſon Shechem, he bid him raiſe the price of her dowry as high as he pleaſed [s]. David likewiſe modeſtly confeſſing his inability to pay a dowry anſwerable to Saul's daughter, the king acquitted him for an hundred prepuces of the Philiſtines, and the prophet Hoſea bought a wife for fifteen pieces of ſilver and a ſmall quantity of barley [*]; ſo that a man might be truly ſaid to have purchaſed as well as to marry a wife. However, if we may believe the rabbies, they tell us, that the father generally accompanied the huſband's preſents with ſome of his own; ſuch as cloaths, and ſome money, not exceeding the ſum of fifty ſuzims, or about five and twenty ſhillings.

FROM theſe and ſuch like inſtances we may likewiſe conclude, what was their way of courtſhip, or rather of contracting and celebrating their marriages; the former was tranſacted by the parents or relations on both ſides, and when the matter was agreed, the bridegroom was introduced to his bride: preſents were exchanged on all ſides, the contract ſigned before witneſſes, and after conſummation, the bride

[p] Vide Naim. in Iſhoth. c. 3. § 1.
[q] Gen xxiv. paſſ.
[r] Ibid. xxix. 18, & ſeq.
[s] Ibid. xxxiv. 12, & ſeq.
[*] 1 Sam xviii. Hoſ. iii. 2.

to his opinion. But if we look into the antient practices, in the times of the judges, we ſhall find, that Boaz, who was neither brother, nor neareſt of kin to the deceaſed, yet did think himſelf obliged to marry Ruth, upon the neareſt kinſman's refuſing to do it (100); from which one would be apt to conclude, that the law rather extended farther, and that where no brothers were left to marry the widow, that duty became incumbent on the neareſt relation in courſe. However, it is plain from the caſe which the Sadduces put to our Saviour, about the ſeven brethren that had had the ſame woman ſucceſſively (1), that this law was not underſtood in that limited ſenſe which the Talmudiſts have ſince done.

(100) Ruth iv. paſſ.
(1) Matt. xxii. 24, & ſeq.

bride tarried ſtill ſome time with her relations, how long or how ſhort, we cannot exactly ſay (O); after which ſhe was ſent away to her huſband's habitation, with ſinging and dances at the ſound of ſeveral inſtruments. This laſt was generally performed in the night, and the parable of the ten virgins plainly alludes to it [t]. It was likewiſe cuſtomary with them to contract theſe marriages whilſt their children were very young, and this was called eſpouſing; after which, both parties continued with their parents, till they were of age to conſummate it. As for the daughters, whether they were eſpouſed or not, they were kept very ſtrict and out of ſight by the Iſraelites, tho' this cuſtom ſeems rather to have been taken up after the misfortune of Jacob's daughter, than borrowed from their neighbours, who made no ſcruple to ſend theirs to feed and water their flocks; as we find it was done by Laban's ſiſter and daughters as well by thoſe of Jethro among the Midianites [u]. From this privacy with which the married damſels were kept, they came to be called Almah's, which ſignifies hidden or cealed (P). We have elſewhere taken notice of

[t] Matt. xxv. 1, & ſeq. [u] Vide Gen. xxiv. 13, & ſeq. xxix. 9 Exod. ii. 16.

(O) This interval is, however, ſuppoſed to have been a week, from the words of Laban to Jacob, fulfil her (Leah's) week, and thou ſhalt have Rachel alſo (2); but this is at beſt but a conjecture. The ſame may be ſaid of what ſome Jews tell us of the ſpace allowed between the betrothing and conſummation, which they will have to be about a year. This they gather from what Rebecca's relations ſaid to Abraham's ſervant, *let her tarry at leaſt ten days*, by which they underſtand ſo many months (3), but neither the original, nor Septuagint, admit of that expoſition; and it is more likely that it was left to the diſcretion of the parents.

(P) From the word עלם, Alam, or rather Ghalam to hide. To this ſeems to allude that ſaying of Agur (4), if rightly tranſlated ——— the way of the man בעלמה, Behalmah: that is, (not with, as our verſion hath it, but) in the maid or virgin. And here we beg leave to obſerve, that an anonymous Engliſh author took upon him, under the name of the famous Monſ. Le Clerc, to quarrel with this text, as trifling and obſcene (5); whereas our

( ) Gen xxix. 27. (3) Vide Onkel. & R. Salom. Vide Muuſt. in Gen. xxiv. 55. Goodwin's Moſ. & Aar. lib. vi. c. 4. § 8. 4) Prov. [illegible] 9. 5) Letters concerning Inſpiration.

of a law which forbad heireſſes to marry out of their own tribe [w], from which the reſt were exempted: but a man was left to his liberty, to marry not only in any of the twelve tribes, but even out of them, provided it was with ſuch nations as uſed circumciſion [x], ſuch as were the Midianites, Iſhmaelites, Edomites, Moabites, and Egyptians (Q) This law ſeems alſo founded upon what the ſubtile ſons

[w] Num. xxxvi. paſſ. Vide ſup. p. 32. [x] Compar. Deut. vii. 3. & xxiii 7, 8.

our verſion being the only one we know of that renders it with a maid, the objection could flow but from an Engliſh pen, and and we may venture to add, one that had but a ſuperficial knowledge of the original, which is not only capable of, but doth manifeſtly carry a much ſublimer ſenſe; we hope therefore the reader will not think amiſs, if we take this opportunity of doing juſtice to the text, and its divine author, by ſetting it in its full light.

Whoever examines the preface in the four or five firſt verſes of this chapter, will eaſily own, that ſuch lofty expreſſions could only be deſigned to uſher in ſome ſublime myſtery; but who can find any ſuch in theſe words, whether we read them in or with the maid? that is, whether we underſtand them of coition or generation? Beſides, where is there, either the analogy or climax implied in the beginning of the verſe, *there are three things* too hard *for me, yea four*, or rather, a fourth, *which I cannot comprehend*; what analogy doth the way of a man, whether in or with a maid, bear to that of an eagle in the air, or a ſhip in the midſt of the ſea, &c. or wherein is the former harder to be underſtood than the latter? but if we underſtand it of the conception of a man in a virgin, as the words ſeem plainly to imply, then both the analogy and climax will be very natural; and the conception of the man, or as the word גבר Gebber, imports, the mighty man in a virgin, continuing ſtill ſuch, will appear moſt fitly compared to the flight of an eagle in the air, &c. which leave no trace behind, and at the ſame time be moſt juſtly eſteemed the hardeſt of all the reſt to be accounted for. This text may therefore juſtly be looked upon as parallel to that of Jeremiah xxxi. 22.——— *The Lord has, or will, create a new thing, a woman ſhall incompaſs Gebber, a man, or the mighty man.*

(Q) Accordingly we find, that Moſes married a Midianite, Boaz a Moabite (6), Maacah, Abſalom's mother, was the daughter of Talmai, king of Geſhur (7); Amaſa was the ſon of Jether, an

(6) Ruth. iv. (7) 2 Sam. xxxiii.

ſons of Jacob ſaid to the Shechemites, *it is not lawful for us to contract affinity with one that is uncircumciſed* [y]. However, this muſt be underſtood of ſuch only as were admitted into the Jewiſh religion; as for thoſe that were not ſo, they were not ſo much as permitted to have any carnal commerce with them, except in the caſe of an Hebrew ſoldier's having taken a Gentile captive, to whom Moſes indulged the liberty of lying once with her, before the marriage was confirmed: this at leaſt ſeems to be the ſenſe of the words [z]; becauſe if he did not like her, he might put her away; only he was to give her liberty as a recompence for her virginity. A maid-ſervant, tho' converted to Judaiſm, was not capable of matrimonial right, whilſt her ſervitude continued; but if her redemption was paid, or ſhe was manumitted, ſhe might become a wife [a]. If a woman was not wholly free, her marriage ſeems to have been neither in force, nor abſolutely void, becauſe in caſes of unchaſtity, ſhe was not to be put to death, as the free women were, but came off with a whipping [b].

THESE are the main laws relating to marriage. As for the manner of its celebration, Moſes has left no direction about it. Some few ceremonials may be gathered from ſcripture, and the reſt from the rabbies. We do not find, that it was accompanied with any religious ceremony, ſuch as going to the tabernacle or temple, offering of ſacrifices, or even that it was performed by or before a prieſt; only from the examples of Iſaac with Rebecca, of Boaz with Ruth, and of Tobias with Sarah, we may conclude, that the parents and the reſt of the company did pray for the proſperity of the new married couple. Theſe nuptials were accompanied with feaſting and mirth, which laſted a whole week: thus Sampſon's wedding is ſaid to have laſted ſeven days

[y] Gen. xxxiv. 14. [z] Deut. xxi. 10, & ſeq. [a] Seld. juſ. Nat. & Gent. lib. v. c. 17. Vide Jos. lib. iv. c. 8. Carlton's concord. pt. i. c. 7. [b] Levit. xix. 20.

an Iſhmaelite, by Abigail, David's ſiſter (8); and Solomon, in the beginning of his reign, married Pharaoh's daughter (9). Whenever therefore we find him and other kings blamed for marrying ſtrange women, we muſt underſtand it of thoſe nations that were idolatrous and uncircumciſed.

(8) 1 Chron. ii. 15 & ſeq. (9) 1 King. iii. 1.

days [c]; and Tobias was deſired by his father-in-law that his might laſt twice that ſpace [d], probably, becauſe they were not likely to ſee one another after that time. What ſplendor did uſually accompany theſe feaſts, where their circumſtances would admit of it, we may conclude from that beautiful compariſon of the pſalmiſt, of the glory of a riſing ſun to a bridegroom coming out of his nuptial chamber [e]. He likewiſe deſcribes in another pſalm the richneſs of the bride's attire, the pomp of her attendance, and the grandeur of the ſolemnity in moſt elegant terms [f]. The paranymph, or friend of the bridegroom (R), and the bride-maids are likewiſe mentioned here and in the Canticles. Beſides theſe the bridegroom and bride had a number of companions, that aſſiſted during the whole feaſt. Sampſon is ſaid to have had thirty at his wedding [g]: however, we muſt not ſuppoſe both ſexes to have aſſiſted promiſcuouſly, the cuſtom of eaſtern countries did not allow of it; and it is much more likely, that they had ſeparate tables, apartments, and diverſions. Theſe laſt were ſinging, dancing, playing upon muſical inſtruments among the women;

[c] Judg. xiv. 17. [d] Tobit viii. 19, 20. [e] Pſal. xix. 5. [f] Pſ. xlv. paſſ. vide & Iſai. xli. 10. [g] Judg. xiv. 11.

(R) His office was to invite, and compliment the gueſts in the name of the new married, to preſide over the ſolemnity, to ſee that nothing was wanting in the feaſt, to prevent confuſion, and ſuch like; for which reaſon he was called the בעל משתה, Bahal miſhtah, ruler or maſter of the feaſt; and is perhaps the ſame with the ἀρχιτρίκλινος, in the goſpel, John ii, 9. But the Jews have added another part to his office, which was to watch over the wedding linen, that there might be no fraud or injuſtice in the tokens of virginity, ſpoken of by Moſes (10); that is, to prevent the huſband's ſuppreſſing them, in order to calumniate his wife, and the bride's ſubſtituting falſe, inſtead of true ones (11); but Moſes ſeems rather in this place to aſſign that office to the parents, eſpecially thoſe of the damſel, whom it concerned moſt, that ſhe ſhould not be falſly accuſed, ſince it not only brought a ſcandal on her family, but, as we obſerved before, ſhe herſelf was to be put to death, if thoſe tokens could not be produced.

(10) Deut. xxii. 13, & ſeq. (11) Vide Gemar. hieroſol. tract. ketuboth, c. 2.

women; and some kind of manly exercises among the men. To these we may add the custom of propounding riddles, and assigning some sort of reward to those that expounded them, as we find it was done at Sampson's nuptials [h]; and which, the Talmudists tell us, was usually practised upon such and the like festivals [i]. They add, that both the bride and bridegroom used to wear a crown during the whole solemnity, until the destruction of the last temple; but that from that time that ornament was set aside in memory of that catastrophe [k]. We read indeed of a nuptial crown made for Solomon, and presented to him by his mother [l]; but nothing of any such ornament for the bride. As for the other particular ceremonies relating to marriages, as we have no other authority for them, but that of the Talmudists, we shall chuse to give them in the margin (S).

Their

[h] Ibid pass. [i] Pirke. Aboth. [k] Ibid. Vide Seld. Ux. Hæbr. lib. ii. c. 15. Buxtorf. Synag. & al. [l] Cant. iii. ver. ult.

(S) They had three ways of betrothing a woman 1. By a written contract. 2. By a verbal one accompanied with a piece of money. And 3. By carnal commerce. The written contract was conceived in words to this effect: such a day, month, and year, A the son of B. has said to D, the daughter of E, be thou my spouse, according to the law of Moses and of the Israelites, and I will give thee as a dowry for thy virginity the sum of 200 suzims, as it is ordered by our law. And the said D. hath promised to become his spouse upon the conditions aforesaid, which the said A. doth promise to perform on the day of marriage. And to this the said A. doth hereby bind himself, and all that he hath, to the very cloak upon his shoulders, engages himself to love, honour, feed, cloath, and protect her, and to perform all that is generally implyed in contracts of marriage, in favour of the Israelitish wives. Witnesses (12).

The verbal contract was made in the presence of sufficient witnesses, the man saying to the woman, take this money as a pledge that I will take thee to be my wife.

The last, by carnal commerce, which the Talmudists pretend to have been allowed by the Mosaic law, from Deut. xxiv. 1. they

(12) Vide Seld. Ux. Hæbr. Berter. ex Talm. Babyl. Buxt. Grammat. Chald. p. 383. Goodw. & al.

THEIR plurality of wives was far from being either a charge

they ſay, was afterwards forbid, as liable to many abuſes; ſo that the other two were the only ones which gave the parties the liberty of ſeeing one another, which was not permitted to them before. When the time agreed upon for the celebrating of the wedding was come, (the day of the week being generally friday for a maid, and thurſday for a widow) the contract of marriage was read and ſigned before at leaſt ten witneſſes, which muſt be free and of age; and the bride, who had taken care to bathe herſelf the night before, appeared in all her ſplendor, but veiled in imitation of Rebecca, who threw a veil over her face as ſoon as ſhe came in ſight of Iſaac). She, being attended with her bride-maids, was given away by the parents, in words to this effect, take her according to the law of Moſes, and received by her ſpouſe with much the ſame words. Some bleſſings were then pronounced to the new couple both by the parents and the company, and the virgins ſung a kind of epithalamium to them. After the moſt ſumptuous repaſt that their circumſtances could afford, the company began a dance, the men round the bridegroom, and the women round the bride. This dance is pretended to have been of divine inſtitution, and an eſſential part of the nuptial ceremony.

But the main ceremony, which, according to the rabbies, did conſummate the marriage, and made the bride a perfect woman, was her being introduced into the nuptial chamber. Without this, all the others left it ſtill imperfect, but this completed it; tho' ſome Levitical impediment (13) ſhould chance to hinder the conſummation of it according to our ſenſe of the word. But before ſhe was introduced thither, there were certain prayers and bleſſings to be ſaid or ſung by ſome proper perſons in favour of the married couple. They were generally couched in very pious terms, ſuch as theſe: bleſſed art thou, O Lord of heaven and earth, who haſt created man in thine own likeneſs, and haſt appointed the woman to be his partner and companion: bleſſed art thou—who filleſt Sion with joy, for the multitude of her children.—Bleſſed art thou—who makeſt the barren womb to bear—who ſendeſt gladneſs to the bridegroom and his bride—who haſt ordained for them love, joy, tenderneſs, peace, and mutual affection—be pleaſed to bleſs, not only this couple, but Judah and Jeruſalem with ſongs of joy and praiſe, for the joy thou haſt given them by the multitude of their ſons and daughters, &c. They add, that the nuptial feaſt for a widow was to laſt but three days, and ſeven for a virgin; and that this laſt was ſo obligatory,

(13) Vide Levit. xx. 18.

charge or incumberance on them, conſidering their ſimple way of living. The domeſtic affairs were their province, whilſt that of the huſband was the buſineſs of the fields and vineyards. Dreſſing of victuals, the care of children, ſpinning, carding, weaving, and the like are often mentioned in the ſacred books, as the womens occupation [m]; whilſt their huſbands choſe the more laborious works. However, at the worſt, Moſes had indulged them with a remedy, namely, that of,

Divorce. 4. Divorce. This was permitted to the Jews for the hardneſs of their heart, as our Saviour juſtly obſerves [n]; neither do we find, that it had ever been practiſed by any of the patriarchs (T), whatever it might have been by other nations

[m] Vide int. al. 1 Sam. ii. 19. 2 Sam. viii. 13. Prov. xxxi. 13, & ſeq. & alib. paſſ. [n] Matt. xix. 8.

that if a man married ſeveral wives in one day, or in the ſame week, he was to allow a feaſt of ſeven days to every one of them (14). We purpoſedly omit many other ceremonies and injunctions of their wiſe men, which are ſuperſtitious and ridiculous; ſuch as the ſituation of the nuptial bed; the choice of the proper hour for conſummation, for coition at all other times, in order to beget a ſon or a daughter, and many others of the like nature (15), which they either learned from other nations, or forged out of their own aſtrological brains. As to that law of Moſes, which interdicts the matrimonial commerce at certain periods, under ſuch ſevere penalties (16), and which has been ſo ſcrupulouſly obſerved by them to this day, it is certain, that decency and cleanneſs were not the only reaſons for it, ſeeing the heat of thoſe climates would have made the breach of it very dangerous in ſeveral other reſpects, which are obvious to almoſt every reader.

(T) The Jews preteud, that Abraham divorced Hagar, and Moſes either Ziphora, or Tarbis, the princeſs of Ethiopia, and that this was the reaſon of the quarrel which he had with Aaron and Miriam (17), and from thence conclude, that divorce was not only of earlier date; but that it was lawful upon many other accounts beſides that of adultery. But as to Hagar, whom they pretend to have been divorced for her inſolence; it is plain, firſt that ſhe was no wife, but a bond woman, ſubſtitute to Sarah; and ſecondly, that her expulſion was not properly a divorce, becauſe

(14) De his vide auct. ſup. citat. (15) Vide Munſt. in Gen. ii. (16) Levit. ubi ſup. (17) Targ. Onkel, & Hieroſ. & Rabbin. mult. in Num. xii. 1, & ſeq.

nations. The words of the law, or rather permiſſion, runs thus °: "When a man hath taken a wife, and mar-
" ried her, and it come to paſs, that ſhe find no favour in
" his eyes, becauſe he has found in her ſome unclean-
" neſs (V); then let him write her a bill of divorcement,
" and give it into her hand, and ſend her out of his houſe.
" And when ſhe is departed——ſhe may go and be another
" man's wife; and if her ſecond huſband hate her, and
" write her a bill of divorce——or if he chance to die——
" her former huſband ſhall not take her again to be his
" wife, after ſhe is defiled; for that is an abomination to
" the Lord.——" The queſtion is here, what is meant by

° Deut. xxiv. 1, & ſeq.

becauſe ſhe was received again after the firſt fault, and that at the ſecond, it was her ſon's behaviour, and not her own that ſent her away (18). And as to the caſe of Ziphorah and Tarbis, they are meer fictions, as we have ſhewn before †; ſo that we do not find one precedent of divorce before the law of Moſes; but afterwards they became ſo frequent, that the prophets often upbraided the Jews with it (19); and Solomon doth as much condemn the divorce of a virtuous woman, as he doth the keeping of an adulterous one (20).

(V) As plain as the import of the text is, yet the famous Hillel has found out a way to evade it, in order, to make divorce lawful even upon the ſlighteſt fault, ſuch as ſpoiling his meat in cooking, or according to Akkiba, another of the ſame looſe principles, if he finds another that pleaſes him better, or is more handſome in his eyes. To make this out, they divide the text thus: 1. If ſhe do not find favour in his ſight. And 2. If he find in her ערות דבר, Harvath dabar, or as the Septuagint render it Ἀσχημον πρημα, he may then divorce her. But the more virtuous ſchool of his co-rival Shammai juſtly condemns ſuch a perverſe reading, tho' he confines this caſe of turpitude, which Moſes aſſigns as the ground of the huſband's diſlike, to the caſe of unchaſtity; whereas that of Hillel extends it to all that he may diſlike in her (21). This laſt has been moſt followed by the Jews, and ſufficiently condemned by Chriſt (22).

(18) Conf. Gen. xvi. 1, & ſeq. & xxi. 9. & ſeq. † Vide vol. ii. p. 525. note (O), & p. 547, note (Y). (19) Mic. ii. 9. Malach. ii. 14, & ſeq. (20) Vide Miſhn. c. 9. § 10. Seld. Ux. Hæbr. lib. iii. c. 18, & 20. (21) Vide Gloſſ. Bartenor, הלכה בית חילל. (22) Matt. v. 32, & alib.

by the words, *if he find any uncleanneſs, turpitude*, or *nakedneſs in her?* We have ſeen in the laſt note, how the Jews are divided in their opinion about it; the Chriſtians are no leſs ſo; ſome confining it to adultery, and others to all enormous crimes, ſuch as idolatry, apoſtacy, and the like, which the ſcriptures often call fornication, and is the word made uſe of by our Saviour for adultery. For our part, we cannot believe any of theſe caſes to be meant by the words of Moſes, becauſe as theſe were all capital crimes, it would have been ridiculous to have ordained a divorce againſt thoſe that were to be put to death. We rather think therefore, that it meant ſome unvoluntary uncleanneſs; whether natural or contracted, which rendered her loathſome in his eyes, or unfit for the nuptial conſorts, which Chriſt therefore diſcommends in the goſpel, not only becauſe it was become too frequent, and permitted upon every trivial occaſion [p]; but alſo to aſſure the people, that the marriage knot was not to be diſſolved, upon any pretence, except that of infidelity (W).

One thing, which ſhews that the nuptial breach was not thought the ground of a divorcement in David's time, is, that that monarch did not repudiate thoſe concubines, or wives of the ſecond rank, whom his ſon Abſalom had publicly debauched; but contented himſelf with ſhutting them up for life [q]; and that the Levite did not divorce his concubine-wife, as the text calls her, after ſhe had played the harlot, and was run away from him; but went to ſeek and bring her home again [r]. The ſame may be ſaid of Sampſon,

[p] Vide Joſeph. Ant. lib. iv. c. 8. & lib. de vit. ſua ad fin. & Phil. de ſpecial. legib. præc. 6, & 7.
[q] 2 Sam. xx. 3.
[r] Judg. xix. 1, & ſeq.

(W) We may add, that the words (being ערות דבר, Harvath dabar, and not דבר ערות, Debar harvath, which laſt doth only ſignify the caſe of turpitude) may be more properly rendered, for any turpitude or immodeſty of words, diſcourſe, or even behaviour. So that this indulgence might have been deſigned to deter the wanton ſort of wives from ſuch immodeſt ſpeeches or behaviour, as might be apt to diſguſt a ſober huſband; and to inſpire them with ſuch chaſte deportment as could alone preſerve a true conjugal affection. According to this ſenſe alſo our Saviour's reflection will be very juſt; that it was their indocible temper that extorted ſuch an indulgence from Moſes, which was manifeſtly contrary to the original deſign and inſtitution of marriage.

Sampſon, who went and demanded his wife, after ſhe had been given to another man [s]. To this we may add, that we do not find any inſtances, through the whole Old Teſtament, of men divorcing their wives, either upon this or any other account, except thoſe who put away the ſtrange women they had brought with them from the captivity [t]. However that be, 'tis plain, the Jews have underſtood it in another and more lax ſenſe. The form of the bill of divorce was to this effect: Such a day, month, and year, I ſuch a one, of ſuch a place, upon or near ſuch a river, do of my own free conſent and choice repudiate thee, ſuch a one, my late wife, baniſh thee from me, and reſtore thee to thy own liberty, and thou mayeſt henceforth go whither, and marry whom thou wilt; and this is thy bill of divorcement, and writing of expulſion, according to the law of Moſes and Iſrael. Signed by two witneſſes; and delivered in the preſence of as many at leaſt [u]. From this time the wife was as much at her liberty as if ſhe had been a widow; only in both caſes ſhe was obliged to ſtay at leaſt ninety days before ſhe was married to another, leſt ſhe ſhould prove pregnant by the laſt (X).

Laws

[s] Ibid. xv. 1, & ſeq. [t] Ezr. x. paſſ. Nehem. xiii. 23, & ſeq. [u] Vide Moſ. Kotz, fol. 133. & Moſ. Ægypt. pt. ii. fol. 59. Seld. Buxt. & Goodw. ubi ſup.

(X) Touching the controverſy, whether women might likewiſe divorce their huſbands, upon the ſame grounds that they might be divorced by them, we can only, that we do not find any ſuch indulgence granted to them by Moſes, unleſs in the caſe of a virgin betrothed by her parents before ſhe was twelve years of age, who might then refuſe to ratify the contract which her parents had made, without giving any other reaſon, than that ſhe did not like the perſon deſigned for her; but this cannot be called a divorcement, becauſe there is no marriage in the caſe. Joſephus therefore thinks, that a divorce was ſo far from being permitted to women, that if the huſband forſook his wife, it was not lawful for her to marry another, till ſhe had firſt obtained a divorce from him. He adds, that Salome, ſiſter to Herod the Great, was the firſt who took upon her to repudiate her huſband, whoſe example was ſoon followed by others, mentioned by the ſame author (23).

We

(23) Ant. lib. xv. c. 11. xviii. 7. xx. 15, & in vit. ſua.

Laws againſt theft.

Theft. UNDER this head we ſhall include not only thoſe which are againſt taking away another man's property, whether privately or by open force; but alſo againſt every act of fraud and injuſtice, which is contrary to the right and common faith of mankind. 1. As to theft, we have already obſerved, that the Jews underſtood the words in the decalogue, *Thou ſhalt not ſteal* [w], of men-ſtealing, and thought, that the other ſort of theft was implied in the laſt precept, *Thou ſhalt not covet* †. But we ſhall include them under the ſame head.

THE ſtealing of a man was the only capital theft under the law of Moſes (Y); and whether the ſtolen perſons had been ſold, or were ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the thief, he was to be put to death [x]. All other theft was puniſhed by reſtitution, and the addition of a fine, according to the nature

[w] Exod. xx. 15.
[x] Exod. xxi. 16.
† Vide vol. ii. p. 607. ſub fin. note X.

We omit ſeveral very prudent regulations made by the Talmudiſts, relating to the drawing up of theſe bills of divorcement, to prevent, as much as poſſible, all abuſes, forgeries, and counterfeits, ſuch as the kind of parchment, letter, and ink, which were to be uſed, how many letters to each line, and the like, beſides a great many other formalities, examinations, and enquiries, deſigned on purpoſe to draw the matter to ſuch a length, that the parties might have time to cool, and, if poſſible, to be reconciled.

(Y) The Jews, however, confine it to theſt ealing of an Iſraelite, and not without ſome ground, becauſe Moſes in another (24) expreſſes it, if a man be found ſtealing any of his brethren of the children of Iſrael, which exception the Targum of Onkelos (25)andSeptuagint have added alſo to the text in Exodus.Ebenezra doth even underſtand it of children that cannot ſpeak. As for the ſtealing of ſtrangers, the offender was not to be put to death according to them, but only to make reſtitution.

(24) Deut. xxiv. 7.
(25) In Exod. xxi. 16.

ture of the theft; only the man that broke into a houſe in the night to rob, might be impunely killed, tho' not in the day time [y]. He that ſtole an ox was to reſtore five oxen; if a ſheep or a goat, four ſheep or four goats [z]; but if he had neither killed nor ſold them, but they were found alive with him, he was only to pay two for one [a]. In caſe the thief had not wherewith to make ſatisfaction according to the law, it was lawful for the proſecutor, if he was an Iſraelite, to ſell him, but not if he was a proſelyte of any kind, neither could the former ſell him to any but an Iſraelite. If he had a wife and children, they might likewiſe be ſold with him, till ſatisfaction was made to the offended; at leaſt it ſeems to have been ſo underſtood and practiſed by the Jews in caſes of debt, though Moſes mentions none here but the thief. This may be gathered from the words of the prophet Eliſha [b] to the widow; and from the parable in the goſpel, where the creditor commands the wife and children, as well the inſolvent debtor, to be ſold, and payment to be made [c]. As ſoon as a ſufficient equivalent had been made by ſervitude, they were to be reſtored to their freedom again, though by another law [d] (Z): but if

[y] Ibid. xxii. 2. [z] Ibid. ver. 1. [a] Ibid. ver. 4.
[b] 2 King. iv. 1. [c] Matt. xviii. 25. [d] Levit. xxi. 3.

(Z) The Talmudiſts have made ſeveral exceptions to this law: they ſay for inſtance, that the thief, that was ſold as inſolvent, was not bound to ſerve till he had repayed the four or fivefold, but only the equivalent of his theft. The overplus was remitted till he was in circumſtances to pay it. Neither could he be ſold, according to them, unleſs the theft was of greater value than the thief. Thus if the latter was judged worth fifty ſhekels, and the theft not above forty, it was not in the plaintiff's power to ſell him. A woman likewiſe that was guilty of theft, they pretend, could not be ſold, but yet they do not tell us what puniſhment was inflicted on her in caſe of inſolvency (26).

There are, however, ſome texts of ſcripture which ſeem to imply a further puniſhment, than theſe we have mentioned. Jacob tells Laban, that upon whomſoever his ſtolen gods were found, he ſhould be put to death (27); and Solomon ſays, that he who is a partner

(26) Ita Rabbin. fer. omn. (27) Gen. xxxi. 32.

if the thief was unmarried, and his maſter gave him a wife during the time of his ſervitude, the children that he had by her were his maſter's property: he could not demand them from him. From this law they hammered another more inhuman, in order to ſhorten a married man's ſervitude, by allowing him to beget a number of ſlaves, for the benefit of his creditor, upon ſome woman whom his maſter gave him; with this pretended proviſo, however, that he ſhould not deprive his own wife of the nuptial due, or that ſhe ſhould conſent to forget it, and that only one maid-ſervant ſhould be conjoined to one ſuch man, not two or more. In caſes of petty larcenies the laws ſeem ſtill more indulgent, and the crime was not looked upon as infamous, according to that of Solomon, *a thief is not deſpiſed that ſtealeth to ſatisfy his hunger*; *but if he be found, he ſhall reſtore ſevenfold, he ſhall give all the ſubſtance of his houſe* [e]; where the word ſevenfold means only more or leſs, according to the theft, as far as his whole ſubſtance would reach. It is plain, however, that the law of Moſes was far enough from countenancing ſuch kind of theft; ſince it allowed a man in caſes of extreme want to ſell himſelf to ſome maſter for any term of years, even to that of the Jubilee [f]. He was even permitted to ſell an unmarried daughter, upon condition, either that the buyer ſhould marry her, or if he did not, that ſhe ſhould be redeemed by the higheſt bidder that would [g].

When

[e] Prov. xxix. 34. [f] Levit. xxv. 29. [g] Exod. xxi. 7, & ſeq.

a partner with a thief hates his own ſoul or life (28). This made Eſtius of opinion, that they were whipped at the ſecond, and put to death after the third, offence. But as to the firſt text, it being before the law of Moſes, it is ſuppoſed by the rabbies, that theft was capital by the laws of Noah, and the puniſhment exchanged for a milder by Moſes. As to the other, the moſt that can be made of the words is, that he is in danger of being killed if he ſteals with them in the night, or elſe of being tempted to forſwear himſelf, if he ſhould be examined upon oath, in which caſe, if he be found out, he will be put to death. So that from the tenor of Moſes's law it is plain, no theft but that of men was puniſhed with death.

(28) Prov. xxix. 24.

When a man was ſuſpected of theft, and the proſecutor had not ſufficient proof againſt him, he might bring him before the judges, and have both him, and thoſe whom he thought his accomplices, examined upon oath. If they ſwore themſelves off, and could be afterwards proved forſworn, they were to be put to death, not for the theft, but for the perjury. The ſame law reached alſo to the receiver, or concealer, of ſtolen goods, knowing them to be ſuch [h]: that is, if he was found out, he was fined as the thief, two, four, or fivefold; and being examined upon ſuſpicion, he denied his having the goods upon oath, he was put to death likewiſe: for ſo they underſtood the words, *he ſhall bear his iniquity*. All theſe kinds of matters were to be tryed before the judges of the place where the fact was done, and it was left to them in many caſes to appoint the fines and puniſhments of the offender, according to the nature and circumſtances of the fact: only the Jews add, that if the thief came and accuſed himſelf, and reſtored the ſtolen goods, he was not to have any further puniſhment, becauſe ſay they, he was condemned not by the judges, but by himſelf [i]. Moſes gave them alſo many other wholeſome laws relating to things committed to another's care, or pledged for a time, ſuch as cattle, houſhold goods, garments, and the like, in caſe they came to be loſt or damaged while they remained in that party's cuſtody; how far in ſuch caſes he was or was not obliged to make ſatisfaction [k]; which we ſhall not dwell upon. Only thus much we may add, that in all caſes, where any ſatisfaction was made, the perſon wronged, or his next heir, was the only perſon intitled to it, but if he died without heirs, then the prieſts might claim it as their due. He likewiſe forbad not only the uſe of falſe weights and meaſures [l], but alſo all kind of frauds, circumvention in contracts, whether written or verbal, both in merchandiſing and all other dealings between man and man [m] (A). Even

Injuſtice.

in

[h] Levit. v. 1. ex. Exod. xxii. 9. xxv. 13, & ſeq.

[i] Vide Maim. Tract. Genubah. lib. 1.

[k] Exod. xxii. 5, & ſeq.

[l] Deut. xxv. 14, & alib.

[m] Levit. xix. 11.

(A) Here the Jews, from a particular fondneſs for their own nation, make a great difference between the ſtrict juſtice which

way.

in bargains, the rule was, that if the price was above one sixth part more or less than the true value of the thing sold, the party wronged might make the other refund the overplus. All kind of usury, whether of money, grain, or of victual, and apparel, was likewise forbid by the law of Moses, in more places than one, from one Israelite to another; in which cases the usurer might be compelled by the judges to refund the ill gotten wealth. They were commanded, on the contrary, whenever a brother was waxed poor, to support and assist him with such things as he needed, without proposing to themselves any other advantage by so doing, than the blessing of God attending it [n]. But of strangers, that is, of the Gentiles, they were permitted to take some usury [o]; yet so as not to oppress them by too great extortion, or indeed in any other way: for in such cases the stranger is put upon the same foot with the fatherless and the widow, whose protector God every where declares himself, with very severe threatenings against those who were wanting in kindness and hospitality towards them [p]. The oppressing of servants and hirelings; defrauding, or even detaining of their wages, tho' but one night [q], denying them necessary food and respite [r]; private mischiefs, such as the misleading of the blind, or even another's cattle [s], removing of land-marks [t]; digging of pits, and leaving of them uncovered [u]; and many more of the like nature were likewise reckoned enormous crimes; which, if found out,

Usury.

All kind of oppression.

[n] Exod. xxii. 25, & seq. Lev. xxv. 36, & seq. Deut. xxiii. 19. [o] Ibid. ver. 20. [p] Exod. xxii. 21. xxxiii. 9. Levit. xix. 33, & seq. & alib. [q] Levit. xix. 15. Deut. xxiv. 14, 15. [r] Ibid. v. 14. xxv. 4. [s] Levit. xix. 14. [t] Deut. xix. 14. [u] Exod. xxi. 33.

was due to an Israelite and to a Gentile, as well as the punishment inflicted on either side for the breach of it (29). But the more honest part of them, founding the interdiction of fraud and injustice on the law of nature, affirmed, that a Gentile ought not in any case to be defrauded or over-reached in negotiations, &c. because, with respect to civil society, he was to be accounted a neighbour, though not with respect to the privileges peculiar to the Israelites (30).

(29) Vide Gemar. Babyl. Tract. Sanhedr. Maim. גנובה and גזילה ואבירה (30) Vide Seld. ubi sup. lib. vi. c. 5, & al.

out, were cogniſable by the judges, who were impowered to cauſe ſuitable ſatisfaction to be made, if not, there were terrible curſes denounced againſt the tranſgreſſors by God, from whoſe all-ſeeing eye they could not be concealed, and from whoſe juſtice they could not eſcape unpuniſhed. The taking of ſuch things in pledge from the needy, of which they ſtood in conſtant need, ſuch as their garments, their bed-cloaths, the nether or upper milſtone, and the like, was no leſs forbidden. The perſon ſo oppreſſed might appeal to the judge, and he cauſe them to be reſtored; but we do not find that any other puniſhment was ordained againſt the delinquent [w]. We omit ſeveral others of the ſame nature, which the reader may ſee among their negative precepts [x].

Laws againſt falſe witneſs.

THE foundation of them is in that of the decalogue, *thou ſhalt not bear falſe witneſs againſt thy neighbour* [y]; wherein we ſhall only obſerve, that the word, which our verſions render ſpeak, ſignifies, according to the original, to anſwer to an interrogation, ſuch as the judges exacted from perſons ſummoned to give evidence in any caſes that came before them, either by oath, or bare examination. The judges were bound to abide by the teſtimony of two or three witneſſes, eſpecially in capital caſes, a ſingle one not being ſufficient to condemn any man [z]. To deter men therefore, as much as poſſible, from giving falſe evidence, the law condemned a falſe witneſs to the ſame puniſhment which he would have inflicted on the innocent [a]; and if examined upon oath, and proved forſworn, he was to be put to death as was hinted before, let the caſe in queſtion be what it would. It required beſides of the judges, that they

Falſe witneſs.

[w] Deut. xxiv. 10. vi. 10, & ſeq. [x] Vide præc. 150, ad 196, & alib. paſſ. [y] Exod. xx. 16. xxiii. 2. Deut. v. 20. [z] Ibid. xvii. 1. [a] Deut. xix. 15, 16, & ſeq.

they ſhould be very ſtrict in examining the witneſſes [b] (B), their character, and the nature of the evidence, in order to prevent, as far as poſſible, the guilty being acquitted, or the innocent being condemned. The Talmudiſts have collected ſeveral laws relating to the duty of judges, which lie diſperſed in the writings of Moſes, and added ſeveral very judicious expoſitions, for which we ſhall refer the reader to the authors themſelves [c].

Laws againſt coveting another's property.

THE tenth precept of the decalogue, *thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbour's houſe, wife*, and ſo on [d], is juſtly eſteemed by the Jewiſh doctors, the prop and foundation of all the other laws of the ſecond table, and he that obſerves this, is in no danger of breaking the reſt. Whether the antient Jews underſtood it in that ſtrict and refined ſenſe which the goſpel doth, or only of ſuch overt acts as tender to the procuring of any thing by unlawful means, is not eaſy to determine. The Talmudiſts, however, do condemn by it the very deſire formed and indulged in the heart, tho' it doth not proceed to action [e].

[b] Ibid. ver. 18. [c] Tract. Sanhedr. Maim. in eund. præc. neg. 194, ad 218. [d] Exod. xx. 17. Deut. v. 21. [e] Vide præc. neg. 158.

(B) The Jews excepted ſeveral perſons from being witneſſes, from a text in Exodus (31), namely, perſons under age, thoſe who had committed any miſdemeanour which deſerved whipping, thieves, even after they had reſtored the ſtolen pelf, uſurers, extortioners, and ſuch like (32).

(31) Ch. xxiii. 1. (32) Præc. neg. 214.

An

An abridgment of ſome other mixt laws relating to food, raiment, planting, ſowing, decency and cleanneſs, and of ſuch diſeaſes as excluded men from common ſociety.

1. OF all the food that is forbidden by the Moſaic law, blood may be reckoned in the firſt place, becauſe its prohibition was as old as the deluge [f]; when God having, immediately after it, given Noah the liberty of eating the fleſh of animals, as is moſt generally ſuppoſed †, forbad the eating of not only the blood itſelf, but of the fleſh alſo mixed with it, that is, of any animal, either ſtrangled or killed by any other way, than by drawing the blood thoroughly from it (C), under very ſevere threatnings. Accordingly we find it no leſs expreſly forbidden by Moſes in ſeveral places not only to the Iſraelites, but to the ſtrangers that lived among them [g]; even under

Againſt eating of blood.

[f] Gen. ix. 4, & ſeq. † Vid. vol. i. p. 317.
[g] Levit. xvii. 10, & ſeq. Deut. xii. 23, & ſeq.

(C) The reaſon given in the text is, that blood is the life of the animal; by which is meant, that no animal can live without it. But it is not improbable, that the end and deſign of this prohibition was, that it might be a kind of acknowledgment, that our priviledge for killing, and eating the fleſh of thoſe living creatures, is not derived to us from the law of nature, which ſeems rather to be againſt it, but from an expreſs permiſſion from the author of nature. And this ſeems to be the reaſon, why it was not only inforced by the Moſaic law, but alſo retained in the goſpel, and enjoyned to its proſelytes from Gentiliſm (33). This law, we are told by a modern traveller (34), is ſtill ſtrictly obſerved by ſome eaſtern churches, not, as our author ſays, by virtue of the law of Moſes, but of the apoſtolic canon, which has been kept ever ſince by the eaſtern, and for ſeveral ages by the weſtern, church, and confirmed by ſeveral councils from time to time.

(33) Vide Acts xv. 29. (34) Ludolph. Hiſt. Æthiop. lib. iii. c. 1. num. 51.

under pain of death. God ſeems even to put it on the level with ſacrificing one's ſeed to Moloch, when he threatens to *ſet his face againſt him that tranſgreſſes* in either caſe, which expreſſion is not uſed in any other prohibition. Only under his typical diſpenſation, God is pleaſed to give a new reaſon for this interdiction, namely, that it is the blood (which is alſo called the life) of the victim that makes attonement for ſin [h] (D); purſuant to which, the tabernacle, with all its utenſils, were at firſt purified with it, the covenant between God and the people was ratified with it, and without blood there would be no remiſſion for ſin [i]; all which the apoſtle fitly applies to that of Chriſt under the goſpel [k].

Unclean meat.

NEXT to the blood, was forbidden likewiſe the fleſh of a conſiderable number of beaſts, fowls, fiſhes, and reptiles, which were therefore to be deemed unclean. This diſtinction, however,

[h] Levit. ubi ſup. ver. 11. [i] Hebr. ix. 22, & alib. paſſ. [k] Ibid. ver. 13, & ſeq.

(D) The learned Maimon, not thinking theſe reaſons ſufficient, has fetched the origin of this prohibition from his old fountain of oppoſition to the Sabians, Amorites, and the other idolatrous nations, who, fancying blood to be the favourite food of demons, contented themſelves with the fleſh of beaſts, and poured their blood into a veſſel, or a hole made in the ground, then ſitting and feaſting round it, imagined, that thoſe demons would come and take their ſhare of the feaſt. From this familiar converſation with their gods, they hoped to procure ſtill a nearer intercourſe with them in their dreams, by which they ſhould gain an inſight into futurity: ſo that according to him, and thoſe that have followed him (35), the main end of this prohibition was to prevent the worſhip of thoſe demons. We need not to take notice how much more effectual the contrary method, that is, the allowing them to eat blood, would have been to have kept them from it; and what we ſhall obſerve here is, that ſuppoſing this ſuperſtitious cuſtom and notion to have been as old as Moſes, it doth not appear to have been as old as the flood, or that any that came out of the ark were addicted to it, and yet it is to them that this prohibition was firſt made, if Moſes may be believed; and who knows how far it might in time contribute to this wild notion of the Sabians and Amorites, by making them fancy, that there was ſomething ſo ſacred in the blood of animals, that it was fit only for the gods?

(35) More Nevoch, p. 3. c. 46. Spenc. de leg. Ritual. Gregor. in Oper. Poſt. vide Carlet. Concord. pt. i. c. 11.

ever, of clean and unclean can hardly be ſuppoſed to have its original from the Moſaic law, and to have been uſed proleptically, when the divine hiſtorian mentions it even before the flood [l]: but we ſhall not repeat what has been ſaid on that ſubject in another place *; neither ſhall we enter into a nice ſcrutiny about thoſe animals thus forbidden, but refer the curious reader to the learned Bochart's elaborate treatiſe on that ſubject [m], and mention only the general rule which Moſes has given to diſtinguiſh the clean from the unclean [n].

Of beaſts whatever did but both chew the cud and divide the hoof was to be reckoned clean, and whatever did not both theſe, as the ſwine, which divideth the hoof but doth not chew the cud; or the camel, hare, rabbit, which chew the cud, and do not part the hoof, was forbidden as unclean. Of fowl all carnivorous birds, ſuch as the eagle, vulture, and the like; all that had four feet and yet flew, as the bat. Of fiſhes all that had fins and ſcales were lawful, and all that wanted either were forbidden. Of inſects all that had wings to raiſe itſelf from the earth might be eaten, but whatever did only crawl on the earth was unclean. Laſtly, the fat of the clean beaſts was forbidden, not becauſe it was unclean, much leſs becauſe it is hard of digeſtion, which is the reaſon which ſome authors give for this, and blood, and ſwine's, and other fleſh, being alſo forbid, ſeeing their laborious life and healthy conſtitution made them more capable to digeſt them, than many, among ours and other nations, who lead an indolent life, and yet can eat them all without any inconvenience. But the reaſon is given in the text, namely, becauſe, in all ſacrifices, the fat was to be burnt on the altar, as appertaining unto God [o] (E). The

[l] Gen. vii. 2. * Vide vol. i. p. 317. [m] Hierozoic. paſſ. [n] Levit. xi. 1, & ſeq. [o] Vide Levit. iii. 14, & ſeq.

(E) Joſephus, however, and the generality of the Jews underſtand this, not of the fat of all clean beaſts, but only of oxen, ſheep, and goats, and this is not only conformable to what is ſaid in another place (36); but as theſe three creatures were the only ones that were ſacrificed to God, the deſign of the prohibition, mentioned above, ſeems naturally to confine it to them only. What ſeems to confirm, that the fat of other clean beaſts was permitted, is that what Moſes ſays elſewhere, that *the fat of a beaſt that dieth of itſelf*,

(36) Levit. vii. 23.

The flesh of beasts torn in pieces, or that died of themselves, was likewise forbidden [p]. All that needs to be further added, with respect to unclean animals, is, that though the touch of them, while alive, was not defiling, yet that of their carcases was; insomuch, that even the vessels and liquors into which it fell, were made unclean by it; the liquors were to be thrown away, the vessels, whatever they were, must be purified, and the person who touched them was to wash himself, and to be unclean until evening. A well, however, a fountain, or any large receptacle of water, were not defiled by it, but only the person who took the unclean creature out of them [q].

Raiment. RAIMENT. Moses hath left no positive laws relating to dress, except that which belonged to the priests, of which we have spoken elsewhere, and where he orders the people to wear blue fringes to the borders of their garments, for a remembrance, that they were now no longer to live after their own will, but after the commands of God [r]. As to these of the negative kind, the two most considerable are, those which forbid the promiscuous habit of both sexes [s], and the weaving of two different stuffs, such as linen and woollen, in the same garment [t]; the first is, supposed to have been designed to prevent the shameful abuses

[p] Exod. xxii. 31. Levit. xvii. 15. [q] Ibid. xi. 32, & seq.
[r] Num. xv. 38, 39. Deut. xxii. 12. [s] Ibid ver. 5. [t] Ibid. ver. 11.

itself, or is torn to death, may be put to any other use, but must not be eaten in any case; (37) which seems to imply, that that of those which were duly killed might be lawfully eaten. Neither is it reasonable to suppose, that this prohibition extended to all the fat, for in such a case a scrupulous Jew would scarce have found one bit in the whole beast that could be safely eaten; but only to that which is separated from the flesh, such as that which covers the kidneys, and the bowels, the caul, &c. After all, we much doubt, whether even the interdict of this last extended farther than to that of victims offered to God. This seems at least probable, from what follows after the forbidding to eat the fat of either ox, sheep, or goat, where Moses adds, *whosoever eateth the fat of the beast, of which men offer a burnt-offering unto the Lord—shall be cut off—(38)*.

(37) Ibid. ver. 24. (38) Ibid. ver. 25. Vide præc. neg. 138.

abuſes which might attend ſuch unnatural diſguiſes (F), and the ſecond to prevent confuſion. To the ſame purpoſe are, thoſe which relate to ſowing divers ſeeds, or planting divers kind of trees in the ſame field; or forbid to plow with a mixture of cattle, ſuch as an ox and an aſs [u]. Cleanneſs and decency, though ſo neceſſary in hot climes, that there needs hardly any law to inforce them, are yet enjoined by Moſes under ſevere penalties, as well as the neglect of thoſe proper ceremonies, which he had enjoined to thoſe who had laboured under any defilemnt, in order to their purification. We have already ſpoken of this under another head, and ſhall only mention the chief of the former; they were ſuch as forbid all matrimonial commerce for a certain time after child-birth, during the monthly periods, or after any accidental weakneſs of that kind; in men nocturnal pollutions, running ſores, ulcers, gonorrheas, and ſuch like; whatever was touched by any perſon ſo defiled, whether chair, bed, table, or any other utenſil, was alſo to be deemed unclean, and to defile thoſe that touched them; and all were to be purified according to the law. In both ſexes likewiſe the touching of a dead body, carcaſs, or any unclean thing, had the ſame effect. But of all diſeaſes the Cleanneſs.

[u] Ibid. ix. 10.

(F) Interpreters fall into various conjectures about the reaſon of this prohibition. Some think, that Moſes had an eye to ſome Heatheniſh ceremonies, uſed at particular feſtivals, in which the people dreſſed themſelves in the habits of the contrary ſex, ſuch were for inſtance the Bacchanalia and the feaſts of Mars and Venus. Such were alſo thoſe of the moon, and of the Cyprian goddeſs, which the men celebrated in women's habits, and the women in thoſe of men(39). Some have thought, that he meant to conceal under that prohibition an unnatural crime, which he was afraid to acquaint the people with, by calling it by its name, becauſe he adds, that *ſuch diſguiſes are an abomination to God* (40); but yet it is plain that he forbad ſodomy and beſtiality in as plain terms, as thoſe crimes could be couched in, and what other more abominable than theſe could be implyed by it we cannot gueſs. Laſtly, a far more conſiderable number after Joſephus underſtand it, not of an exchange of dreſs, but of occupations; that is, that the women ſhonld not play the Amazon, or handle the

(39) Lucian. Maimon. Jul. Firmic. Servius, & al. (40) Alberic. Gent. apud Calm. ſub voc. Habit.

the leproſy (G) was reckoned the moſt defiling for which reaſon thoſe

the ſword and ſpear, which do properly belong to men; and that theſe, on the contrary, ſhould not buſy themſelves with ſuch occupations as were fitter for women (41). The terms of the original, upon which they build this notion, runs literally thus; The כלי Kele, by which they underſtand, weapons of a man, ſhall not be upon a woman, and the man ſhall not put on the habit of a woman. But tho' Kele doth ſometimes ſignify weapons, and, in its primitive ſenſe, any kind of veſſels and inſtruments uſed in any buſineſs whatſoever, yet ſince it doth ſometimes ſignify dreſs and the ornaments of it, who doth not ſee, that the latter is an explication of the former, and conſequently, that it is levelled againſt the promiſcuous dreſs of ſexes;

(G) Moſes diſtinguiſhes three ſorts of leproſy, namely, that of the body, garments, and of houſes. The firſt of theſe is a cuticular diſeaſe, not unlike an inveterate itch or ſcurvy, which cauſes a violent itching, and, whether cauſed by ſome prolific animalcula communicated by the touch, or by corroſive vitrioline ſalts (tho' the former ſeems the moſt probable), will in time corrode the fleſh, even to the bone. We ſhall not diſguſt our readers with repeating the marks which he gives of that diſtemper (42); nor with what other phyſicians have writ concerning it; but only obſerve, that it was of a much more corroſive and dangerous nature in hot climates than in cold ones. They obſerve three kinds or rather degrees, of it. The firſt of theſe, namely, whilſt it is, as it were, in its infancy, may be eaſily cured: the ſecond, when it has communicated itſelf to the blood, cannot be maſtered without great difficulty, and a long regimen of diet and phyſic, the laſt, which is when it is grown inveterate, and has fixed itſelf, and corroded the ſolid parts, is reckoned incurable. However, Monſieur Tournefort, who had ſeen it in the Levant, thinks it rather a kind of a venereal diſeaſe, and that, if taken in time, it might be cured by the ſame method. And, indeed the ſymptoms of this, the leproſy, and of an inveterate ſcurvy are ſo alike, that unleſs a phyſician be very expert and cautious, he may eaſily condemn the innocent and abſolve the guilty. But be that as it will, it is certain, that this leproſy muſt have been ſufficiently known by the Iſraelites in Egypt, ſince Moſes ſpeakes both of the diſeaſe and its marks, as of thoſe things which were plain and obvious.

The leproſy of the garments is ſuppoſed to have been owing to ſome defect in the management of the wool, ſkins, and ſtuffs, of which they were made; thoſe manufactures being then very imperfect, to what they have been ſince. The heat of

(41) Joſeph. Ant. lib. iv. c. 8. Chald. Paraph. Auguſt. Quæſt. 32. N. de Lyra Vatab. Fag. Munſt. Tremel & al. (42) Vide Levit. xiii. per tot.

thoſe who were infected with it were forced to live ſeparate from the reſt, till they had been cured of it; monarchs themſelves were not exempted from this law, as appears from the inſtance of king Azariah, or Uzziah, as he is called in the Chronicles, who, being ſmitten with an incurable leproſy for intruding into the prieſtly office [w], was deprived of his government, and forced to live apart to the day of his death. And indeed, one kind of it was of ſo infectious a nature, that too much caution could not be uſed to prevent its ſpreading; inſomuch, that even thoſe that

[w] Comp. 2 Kings xv. 5, & 2 Chron. xxvi. 8, & ſeq.

of the climate, and perhaps many other things, might contribute ſtill more towards it. Moſes has likewiſe deſcribed the marks of this kind of leproſy; they were ſpots either of a reddiſh or greeniſh hue, which appeared upon the garments, whether of linen, woollen, or of ſkins. In theſe caſes they were to be brought to the prieſts, and according as they appeared to them, they were either to be burnt, or to be waſhed and cleaned, or the ſpots to be cut out, and the reſt declared clean and wholeſome. This garment leproſy is likewiſe ſuppoſed to be a kind of worm which breeds in thoſe ſtuffs, occaſioned by the oils, greaſe, and other ingredients uſed in the dreſſing of them.

The ſame may be ſaid of the leproſy of houſes, in the mortar and ſtones, of which another ſort of vermin was bred, which had four jaws continually working, and eating holes in them. This was one of the tokens of its being infected, there were ſome others beſides, which were a kind of ruſt or ſcurf, that ſpread itſelf along the walls. In all theſe caſes, the prieſts were directed to ſhut up the houſe for a week, and it is probable, they made ſome kind of fumigation, during that time, though no mention is made of it, elſe we cannot ſee how the bare ſhutting it up could contribute to the cure. If upon the opening it again, they found the marks gone, they pronounced it clean, if not, they cauſed them to be ſcraped off every where, and the houſe to be ſhut up another ſeven days, and if it did not work the cure, they ordered it to be demoliſhed, and ſuch materials of it only to be preſerved, as were free from the infection, in order to build it up in ſome other place (43).

(43) Ibid. ver. 47, & ſeq. & xiv. per tot. Vide Journal des Scavants, ann. 1668. Calmet. Diſſert. præfix. at the head of his Comment on Levit.

that died of itwere buried ſeparately from the reſt [x] (H); as for the other, namely, the dry one, it was rather an eye-ſore than an infectious diſeaſe. The prieſts were the proper judges both of the diſeaſe and of the cure; concerning which Moſes gave them ſeveral plain directions, tho' we find not that he preſcribed any remedy againſt it, becauſe, as the Jews think, it was an immediate judgment from God [y]. The ſame they affirm alſo of the leproſy of houſes and garments; which they pretend was peculiar to the Iſraelites and to the land of Judea [z], becauſe God had promiſed to them, that whilſt they continued obedient to his laws, their bodies, houſes, and garments, ſhould be preſerved from that diſeaſe; but when they proved ſtubborn and rebellious, he would ſend it as a puniſhment upon them [a].

When the prieſt had pronounced a man infected with leproſy, he was not only ſecluded from the ſociety of clean perſons, but he was obliged to go bare-headed, with his cloaths rent, and his upper-lip covered with a kind of muffler, to prevent, in all likelihood, his infecting of others by his breath. But one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they had places in which they lived together and made a kind of community among themſelves. Accordingly we read of four of them that went together out of ſome quarter of Samaria into the Aſſyrian camp, when the famine raged in the city [b]; and of ten in the goſpel, who applyed themſelves in a body to Chriſt to be healed by him [c]. Perſons, garments, and houſes, being cured of this diſtemper, were to be further purified by the prieſt. We have already ſpoken of the ſacrifices, which were to be offered upon this occaſion, in its proper place. As for the other ceremonies which were enjoyned by Moſes, we ſhall re-

[x] Ibid. ver. ult. [y] It. Rabbin. fer. omn. & Theodor. Quæſt. 18. in Levit. [z] Moſ. Gerund. Racanat. Abr. Sepharad. & al. [a] Vide Munſt. in Levit. xiii. note (i). [b] 2 Kings vii, 3, 8. [c] Luke xvii. 12.

(H) At leaſt this ſeems to have been the meaning of the text, though the words in the original are not ſo clear and expreſs. It would otherwiſe have been needleſs to have added that reaſon, *becauſe he was a leper*: ſo that one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, with the Septuagint and Vulgate, that they buried him in ſome corner of the ground where his anceſtors were depoſited, though apart from the reſt.

fer our reader to the two afore-quoted chapters of Leviticus, where if he pleaſes, he may ſee a full account of them.

But here we ſhall beg leave to mention a ſtory, which Manetho, and ſeveral other Heathen writers after him [d], have advanced, with great appearance of ſerioufneſs, againſt the Jews; and which, though every one of them tells in his own way, doth in the main amount to this: that the land of Egypt being grievouſly infected with the leproſy, and the king Bochorus, having conſulted the oracle, was adviſed to ſend all the lepers out of his dominions into a deſart place, where they might periſh with want. This was accordingly done, and they being come to the deſolate place, Moſes obſerved by tracing the footſteps of a wild aſs, a ſpot where they might dig for water to refreſh their thirſt, and they, being revived with it, choſe him for their guide, and were by him conducted and ſettled in Canaan in the ſpace of ſeven days; in memory of which he ordered the ſeventh day to be a day of reſt, and forbad the eating of ſwine's fleſh, becauſe that creature is very ſubject to the leproſy. They add, that, in memory of their kind benefactor, the aſs who ſaved their lives, he commanded an aſs's head to be ſet up and worſhipped in their temple. This ſtory, which is falſe in every particular, is likewiſe ridiculous, and as ſuch ſufficiently confuted by Joſephus; and the care, which Moſes took with reſpect to this diſtemper, ſufficiently ſhews, that, at leaſt, the far greater part of the Iſraelites were free from it at their coming out of Egypt, elſe it would have been impoſſible to have ſegregated them from the reſt, and to have forced theſe laws upon them, which excluded them from the commerce of thoſe who were free from it.

This body of laws, out of which we have omitted a conſiderable number of leſs moment, beſides ſeveral others, which we have avoided repeating here, becauſe they have been occaſionally mentioned in other places, is not only ſecured by a clauſe which expreſly forbids the adding or diminiſhing of any thing from it [e]; but their obedience to them is likewiſe enforced by the moſt cogent promiſes and threatenings, interſperſed through the whole, beſides the ſtrict charge to the levites to inſtruct the people, and parents their children

[d] Maneth. ap. Joſeph. cont. Apion. Tacit. Juſt. ex Trog. Plutarch. & al. [e] Deut. iv. 2. xii. 32.

children in it; though all too little to keep them to their duty.

II. Of the cuſtoms, learning, arts, and trade of the Jews.

Ceremonies at circumciſion.

THEIR cuſtoms, both religious and civil, being chiefly founded upon their laws, and the greateſt part of them having been already mentioned under that article, we ſhall have the leſs to ſay here, eſpecially conſidering the barrenneſs of the ſubject, for want of books and authors of a date old enough to be depended upon. We have already mentioned all that could be gathered concerning their cuſtoms at weddings and feſtivals; we ſhall ſay now ſomething of thoſe that were uſed at births and feaſts; to which we ſhall add a ſhort account of ſome of their abominable practices at their high-places, groves, and other places of idolatrous worſhip, of their various kinds of divinations, games, and ceremonies uſed at burials. It may be remembered, that circumciſion was not enjoyned by the Moſaic law, but by vertue of the expreſs command given to Abraham. But neither that nor this hath ordained any thing, either with reſpect to the perſon by whom nor with what inſtrument, nor in what manner, the ceremony was to be performed, but only that the foreſkin ſhould be cut off on the eighth day. So that it was left to the option of the parent, either to perform it himſelf, or to have ſome other perſon, whether a prieſt, ſurgeon, or any expert friend, to do it for him. And in this laſt caſe, it was always looked upon as high compliment to be choſen to that office. The inſtrument was generally a knife or razor made of ſome kind of ſtone, as being leſs dangerous than thoſe of ſteel †; the uſe of which they might have learned from the Egyptians, who opened thoſe bodies with them, which were to be embalmed ‡. They were not obliged to carry the child to the ſynagogue, much leſs to the temple, but had him circumciſed at home. Here the father, or ſome friend deputed by him, held the child in his arms, whilſt the operator took the prepuce either with one hand, or with pincers made for the nonce, and with the other cut off the foreſkin, whilſt another held a porringer filled with ſand,

† Vide ſup. 71.

‡ Herodot. lib. ii. c. 86.

ſand, for him to fling it in, and to receive the blood that dropped. He then applied his mouth to the place, and having ſucked the blood, which generally flowed plentifully, twice or thrice, and ſpit it out into a tumbler of wine, he threw ſome ſtiptic powder upon the wound, and dreſſed it till it was well. As for the form of words that were uſed upon ſuch occaſions, as far as probable conjectures will go, we have had occaſion to mention it under a former article *, to which they added, no doubt, ſome prayers and bleſſings. At preſent, the operator, having dreſſed the wound, puts the cup of wine and blood to the infant's lips, pronouncing theſe words of the prophet, *live in thy blood* [g], repeats the 128th pſalm, and wiſhes his parents joy, and that they may thus aſſiſt at his wedding **. But how old theſe cuſtoms are we cannot warrant; all that can be added is, that this ceremony was uſually accompanied with great rejoicing and feaſting, and it was at that time, that the child uſed to be named by the parents in the preſence of the company [h] (I). Theſe names, how harſh ſoever they may

* Vide vol. ii. p. 550. note (A). [g] Ezek. xvi. 6. ** De his vide Fag, in Deut. x. Mos. Kotz. in tract. de circumciſ. fol. 115. Maim. tract. circumciſ. c. 1, & 1. Buxtorf. ſyn. jud. c. 4, & alib. quandt. de cultris circumciſ. Hæbr. [h] Luke i. 49.

(I) The Jews did afterwards add ſeveral other ſuperſtitious cuſtoms, ſuch as placing three ſtools, one for the circumciſer, the ſecond for the perſon that held the child, and the third for Elijah, who, they ſay, aſſiſted inviſibly at the ceremony (44); writing the words Adam and Eve; Lillith, begone hence, upon pieces of parchment, and ſticking them to the four walls of the room, as alſo the names of three friendly angels, to preſerve the child from the power of Lillith, who, according to them, was Adam's firſt wife, and, being parted from him, uſed to vent her ſpleen againſt women in child-birth, and new born children, eſpecially males (45). They had likewiſe taken it into their heads to circumciſe children after their death, if they had not been ſo before, in order to avoid the curſe pronounced againſt thoſe that neglected it, and which had like to have fallen upon Moſes at the inn (46); but they content themſelves now

(44 Vide Chriſt. Caſt. in malach. iv. (45) Vide Leo de Mod. pt. iv. c. 8. (46) Exod. iv. 24. Vide vol. ii. p. 550. note (A).

may ſound in our ears, were generally ſignificant of ſomething relating to the parents, or the child, or to ſome other circumſtance of time. We have already given ſome inſtances of it in thoſe of the patriarchs. The devouter part uſed to tack the names of God, Jah and El, to that of the child, thus, Abijah ſignifies God my father, and Zechariah the memorial of the Lord: Uzziel and Daniel, the ſtrenth or judgment of God. Some had a quite different meaning, as Iſhboſheth, the man of ſhame; Mephiboſheth, ſhame of the mouth. Others were taken from living creatures; Tzipor, a bird; Rachel, a ſheep; Chamor, an aſs; Nachaſh, a ſerpent; Tamar, a palm-tree, and the like; and Eli's daughter-in-law called her ſon Ichabod, where is the glory, when ſhe heard, that the ark was taken by the Philiſtines ǂ†ǂ. As for daughters, as they were not circumciſed, ſo there was no other ceremony uſed, that we can find, than giving them a name, unleſs it were, that when the mother was purified, the prieſts did beſtow a bleſſing upon the child, as well as upon the parents, as it is uſed to this day [i].

Their

ǂ†ǂ 1 Sam. iv. 21. [i] Leo de Moden. cerem. jud. pt. iv. c. 8. Goodwin's Moſ. & Ar. lib. vi. c. 1.

now with cutting off the prepuce, and flinging it into the coffin or grave with the body. But theſe the wiſer ſort among them have long ſince diſuſed, as ridiculous and ſuperſtitious. The cuſtom of godfathers, or as they call them בעל ברית, Bahalberith, maſter of the covenant, has been of antient uſe (47); his office was to hold the child, during the operation. They think that Uriah the high-prieſt, and Zechariah, the ſon of Jeberchiah ſtood godfathers to Iſaiah's ſon Maher-ſhallat-haſh-baſh (48). As for the operation, Maimon (49) tells us, that all had a right to it, even an uncircumciſed ſervant, or a woman, &c. in the abſence of a man, unleſs ſhe be a Gentile; though even if ſuch a one ſhould perform the operation, it needs not to be repeated. And Moſes Kotz adds out of the Talmud, that in caſe the parents neglected to circumciſe their children, the judges, as ſoon as they were informed of it, were bound to ſee it done; which if they did not, when the perſon came to age, he was to get it performed out of hand, becauſe every day he lived uncircumciſed from that time, he was a tranſgreſſor of the law (50).

(47) Vide Eliah. Thiſbit. in סנרי. (48) Vide Jun. & Trembel, in Iſai. viii. (49) Tract מולה, p. 114. (50) Ibid. fol. 104.

THEIR feaſtings (if we except thoſe that were commanded or permitted by the law, or uſed at births, marriages or ſuch like occaſions (K), were neither many nor ſumptuous, becauſe theſe came ſo often about, and laſted ſo long, that they could hardly have time for more. As for the cuſtoms and ceremonies uſed at them, we ſhall only pick out ſuch as bear an analogy with any paſſages in the goſpel. Theſe were the ſaluting of the gueſts, waſhing of their feet, anointing with oil, the grace or bleſſing of the cup, and breaking of the bread, giving of thanks, and diſmiſſing of the company. The firſt ſalutation was performed to ſuperiors, by bowing down to the ground, as Abraham and Lot did to their heavenly gueſts [k], or by a kiſs or embrace to a familiar (L). In the two former inſtances, we have likewiſe a form of invitation, and the ceremony of waſhing the feet, which Joſeph ordered alſo to be performed to his brethren, when they came to dine with him in Egypt [l]; and thus Abigail in her great modeſty anſwered David's ſervants, who came to propoſe marriage from him, "Let the hand maid of my lord the king be a ſervant to waſh the feet of the kings ſervants [m];" and to this cuſtom no doubt the pſalmiſt alludes, when he calls Moab

Waſhing of the feet.

[k] Gen. xviii 2. xix. 1. [l] Gen. xliii. 24 [m] 1 Sam. xxv. 41.

(K) Their religious feaſtings were called חג, Chagg, from חגג, to celebrate; the others, if ſumptuous and ſplendid, were called משתה Miſhtah, from שתה, Shatah to drink or carouſe, and anſwered to the συμποσειν and συμποσιον of the Greeks, becauſe it was a main part of the banquet (51); but it was only a moderate one, they called it ארוחה, Aruchah, that is, a viaticum, or way-bit, from ארח, Arach, to journey (52.

(L) Theſe two ceremonies were alſo uſed upon upon all other occaſions; thus Nathan and Araunah bowed to David, and Obadiah to Eliſha (53); and thus Eſau embraced and kiſſed his brother Jacob, and Moſes his father-in-law (54). Our Saviour alſo in the goſpel alludes to this and the other two ceremonies of reception, namely, waſhing and anointing, when he reproves the Phariſee for having omitted them towards him (55); and himſelf we find waſhed his diſciples feet at his laſt ſupper (56).

(51) Vide Gen. xliii. 33. (52) Vide Jerem, xl. 5. Prov. xv. 17. (53) 2 Sam. xxiv. 21. 1 King. i. 22. xviii. 7. (54) Gen. xxxiii. 4. Exod. xviii. 8. (55) Luke vii. 44. & ſeq. (56) John xiii. 4, & ſeq.

Moab his wash-pot [n]. As for the ceremony of anointing the head, though it was common in all the east, yet we find no instance of it before the gospel [o], except in that allusion of the psalmist [p], *thou hast prepared a table for me ——thou hast anointed my head with oil.*

Blessing. THESE first ceremonies being over, the master of the house began to crave a blessing, if there was no stranger, nor any person of a superior rank [q], for in this case he complimented him with that office (M). He then took a cup full of wine, and having blessed the creator of the vine, he sipped a little of it, and gave it to the next person, till it had gone round. This was called the ברכת היין, Birkath hajajin, the blessing of the wine. Our saviour is observed by St. Luke, to have began with it, and distributed it among the twelve at his last supper [r]. From thence he passed to the blessing, and breaking of the bread, and distributing it to the guests. This is what Christ likewise did to the Apostles, and it was called the blessing of the bread [s]. As soon as they had done eating, the same person, who had craved the blessing, was obliged to give thanks, to which all the rest joined with him. It was concluded with another cup full of wine, and this was called the blessing of plenty. Our saviour is supposed to have instituted the sacrament in this last cup [t] (N). However, it is likely, that some of these

[n] Psal. cviii. [o] Matt. xxvi. Luke vii. 44. [p] Psal. xxxiii 5. [q] Vide 1 Sam ix. 13. [r] Ibid xxii. 17. [s] Vide Drus. in nov. test. pt. ult. & Goodw. ubi sup. lib. iii. 2. § 15. [t] Vide Fag. in præc Hæbr.

(M) This was not to be refused upon any pretence, for they believed, that he who refused to crave a blessing shortened his own days. But the master of the house was allowed by way of civility to set even an inferior to perform that office (57).

(N) In this cup of thansgiving they blessed God. 1. For the present refreshment. 2. For their deliverance out of Egypt. 3. For the covenant of circumcision: and 4. For the law given by Moses. After this they prayed, that God would be merciful, 1. To his people Israel. 2. To his Jerusalem. 3. To his Sion, the residence of his majesty. 4. To the kingdom of David. 5. That he would send the prophet Elijah. And 6. That he would make them worthy of the kingdom of the Messiah. The

(57) Jos. Karo shulchan haruk, n. 201.

theſe laſt ceremonies were only uſed at ſome of their grand feſtivals, eſpecially that of the paſſover; though the firſt was ſeldom, if ever, omitted. Whether their cuſtom was to ſit at meat, or lie down, is a controverſy of more nicety than moment. However, to us the former ſeems moſt probable, at leaſt before the captivity. We read, that Joſeph made his brethren ſit down to eat with him [u], and David ſaid to Jonathan, *To morrow,* ——— *I ſhould ſit*, or as the original has it, *ſitting*, *I ſhould ſit down at meat with the king* [x]; though we own, that in our Saviour's time the cuſtom was altered into that of lying down (O). That of pulling off their ſhoes or ſandals ſeems implied in the command of eating the paſſover with them on. We ſhall only add, that upon theſe and all ſuch occaſions, hoſpitality and liberality had been ſo ſtrongly recommended to them by their Law-giver, and enforced by the examples of Abraham, Lot, and other patriarchs, and the many bleſſings attending it, that they became very conſpicuous for it, ſeldom, or never, failing,

Sitting down at

[u] Gen. xliii. 33. [x] 1 Sam. xx. 5.

The ceremony ended with a pſalm proper to the occaſion. They have added ſince ſeveral other niceties not worth mentioning (58). It is plain, however, that ſome of theſe ceremonies were added ſince the captivity, and we dare not take upon us to ſay, how many of the others were in uſe before that time; but we hope, the affinity they bear to ſome of the goſpel inſtitutions will be apology ſufficient for our taking notice of them here.

(O) The verb is יָשַׁב, Jaſhab, which is always uſed for ſitting at meat, on a throne, and the like, and is, as we think, incapable of the other meaning, which is always expreſſed by that of שָׁכַב, Shacab As to their tables, they ſeem to have been of a round or oval figure, becauſe it is often joined to the verb סָבַב, Savaf, to ſurround, to ſit or ſtand round. Thus it is ſaid by Samuel (59), לֹא נָסֹב, *we will not ſit down till he come*; and the pſalmiſt ſays, *thy children ſhall be like olive-branches round about thy table* (60). We do not pretend indeed, that this argument is altogether concluſive ſeeing the word סָבִיב, Saviſ, round about, is made uſe of by Moſes, where he ſpeaks of a ſquare table, as when he commands the prieſts to ſprinkle the blood of the victim round about the altar, though it was of a ſquare form (61).

(58) Vide Seb. Munſt, in Mat, xxvi. (59) 1 Sam. xvi. 11.
(60) Pſ. cxxviii. 3. (61) Conf. Levit. i. & Exod. xxvii. 1.

at such times especially, to make the levites, the fatherless, widows, and strangers, partakers of their joy, by inviting them to the feast, or sending them some portions of their good cheer.

High places. THEIR high-places were of two sorts, either those where they only worshipped the true God, by burning incense and offering sacrifices to him; or such in which they served strange gods, and committed the most horrid wickedness in their worship. Both these became so common and universal, that we read but of few kings who had the courage to pull them down; whilst many others, tho' otherwise commended for their piety and zeal, are yet recorded for having left this evil unreformed. The first of these, tho' less criminal, and seemingly countenanced by the examples of Samuel, David, Elisha, and other inspired persons, were nevertheless expresly forbidden by God, unless it were done by his own command, as we have seen elsewhere †: but as to the last, it is certain, nothing could be more expresly forbid, or more severely threatened, we may say punished; notwithstanding which, Joshua had been scarcely dead above twenty years, e'er they began to relapse into it y. This defection began about the times of Othniel and Ehud, and increased so fast, and spread so wide, that it would be endless to enumerate their false deities, and the places dedicated to their worship, as well as the abominable ceremonies which were practised in them. But our design is not to dwell upon this subject, having already spoken of it in the histories of those nations, from whom they adopted them. It will be sufficient to observe upon the whole, that they adopted the false gods of all those nations, in the midst of whom they lived, and set up altars and idols to them upon every hill and high-places, from which they came to be called by that name; that the sun, moon, and stars were of the number of their deities, and that, as the rites of those false deities became more and more shameful, and unfit for common view, they betook themselves to set up tents and booths, and to plant groves, to conceal the abominable things that were done in them; the very women, who were become useless in that hellish commerce, finding out a way of prostituting themselves, as it were, at second hand, by furnishing the infamous votaries with

† See before p. 315. note (H).

y Vide Judg. iii. 5, & seq.

with all kind of conveniencies [z]. Solomon is juſtly branded in ſcripture for having brought this evil to its height, by the multitude of his ſtrange women, and which was never thoroughly rooted out till Joſiah's reign, that is about 360 years after [a].

BESIDES theſe abominable dolatries, or rather in conſe- Divinations. quence of them, they gave themſelves up to all kinds of divinations and witcheries practiſed among the Heathen, tho' as expreſly and diſtinctly forbid by the law of Moſes as the former. Theſe were of various kinds. Moſes expreſſes them in the terms following [b], *There ſhall not be found among you any one that maketh his ſon or his daughter paſs through the fire, or that uſed divinations, or an obſerver of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a conſulter with familiar ſpirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer* (P). To theſe the prophets have added ſome few others, ſuch

[z] 1 King. iii. 2, & ſeq. xii. 13. 28, & ſeq. xiv. 23, 24, & alib. paſſ. [a] Comp. 1 King. xi. & 2 King. xxiii. [b] Deut. xviii. 10, 11.

(P) We need not doubt but there might be many more of the like nature. But the moſt inhuman of all was that of paſſing their children thro' the fire. This rite ſeems to have been peculiar to Molech, who is therefore alſo called עֲנַמֶּלֶךְ, Anamalech, from עָנָה Anah, to anſwer becauſe he gave anſwers to thoſe who conſulted him by this rite, either by his prieſts, or by dreams (62). We ſhall not attempt to deſcribe thoſe various kinds of divination either from the text, or from commentators, but only obſerve in general, that the chief of them were performed, firſt by conſulting the ſtars, clouds, ſigns, tokens, and the like. This ſeems the meaning of the word מְנַחֵשׁ Menacheſh here, which is nevertheleſs ſometimes uſed in a good ſenſe. Thus Laban ſays to Jacob, נִחַשְׁתִּי, Nacaſhti, I have obſerved or experienced, that God has bleſſed me for thy ſake (63); Joſeph makes uſe of the ſame verb, ſpeaking of his divining cup (64); but we much doubt, whether this is capable of ſo favourable a ſenſe. However, as the word נָחָשׁ ſignifies properly a ſerpent; Bochart has alſo given us an account of ſeveral divinations that were performed by means of thoſe creatures †. 2. Another way was by familiar ſpirits,

(62) Vide Maim. & Abarban. in Leg. 170. (63) Gen. xxx. 27. (64) Ibid. xliv. 5, 15. † Hierozoic. lib. i. c. 3. pt. 1.

ſuch as conſulting by Teraphims, and by the flight of arrows, by the liver of beaſts [c], by ſtocks, and ſtaves [d], and ſuch like; ſeveral of which were even forbid under pain of death. But ſuch was their invincible itch of prying into futurity, that they left none of them untryed: at leaſt the prophets do generally upbraid them with reſorting to thoſe who practiſed them.

Games. GAMES may, for ought appears, be ſaid to have been the only cuſtom, in which they did not imitate their neighbours,

[c] Ezek. xxi. 21. [d] Hoſ. iv. 12.

rits, which the Hebrew calls אובות, Oboth, ſuch as the witch of Endor it is ſaid to have had, 3. דורש אל המתים, interogating the dead, which the Septuagint render επερωτων τους νεκρους. This is what the ſame witch did for Saul, from which one would be apt to conclude theſe two to be much the ſame. 4. The מכשף, Mekaſheph, may be properly enough rendered by Leger-de-main, one who deceives the ſight, and impoſes upon the beholders; ſuch are reaſonably ſuppoſed thoſe whom Pharaoh ſet againſt Moſes (65), who are there called מכשפים, Makſhaphim, and are ſaid to have imitated ſome of his wonders בלהטיהם, Belahatehem, which word ſeems derived from להט which ſignifies a flame, or the glittering of a ſpear, or lance, becauſe it dazzles the ſight. The Septuagint, however, have tranſlated it φαρμακους, Apothecaries, from whence the Latin, Venefica, Poiſoner. 5. The חובר Chover may alſo be properly rendered a Mutterer, from חבר, to gather, couple, or aſſociate, becauſe he ſpeaks with his lips joined (66), and is therefore rendered רטין by Onkelos. Bodinus doth indeed think it rather becauſe ſuch a one aſſociates himſelf with evil ſpirits by compact (67), and he tells us accordingly in another place, that an infant, by pronouncing a certain verſe out of the Pſalms, ſhall prevent a woman's churning her butter, and, by repeating the ſame verſe backward, ſhall cauſe it to come immediately (68). The learned Maimon (69) tells us of a great many other wonderful pranks that are done by theſe חברים, Mutterers, of whom, however, the pſalmiſt ſays, that they cannot charm the deaf adder, though never ſo ſkilled in their art (70). The other kinds of preſtigiators, being ſtill more more obſcure and inconſiderable, we purpoſedly omit.

(65) Exod. vii. 11. & alib. paſſ. (66) Beker. Monde enchante. (67) Demon Magic. lib. i. c. 6. (68) Lib ii. c. 1. (69) עבירה נרה, c. xi. § 10, 11. (70) Pſ lviii. 5.

bours, at leaſt, which they did not introduce into their common-wealth. They had not ſo much as a name for them, but what doth properly ſignify to laugh [e], play [f], toy [g], and ſuch like innocent amuſements. Even Solomon himſelf, who had imitated, or rather out-done, the grandeur of other kingdoms, and had indulged himſelf in all other vanities, or what he calls the delights of the ſons of men [h], ſome of which were near of kin to theſe, as his ſingers and muſicians of both ſexes; doth yet make no mention of any kind of games, either of hazard, or of the theatre; the ſcriptures do no where ſpeak of them (Q). It ſeems rather, that their ſolemn feſtivals ſerved them inſtead of all ſuch kind of ſpectacles and diverſions; and indeed, if we conſider the frequency and magnificence of them, eſpecially after the building of the temple, we ſhall not need wonder at their preferring them to any others. Add to this, that all that we meet with in the writings of the antient fathers, ſuch as Tertullian [i] and St. Cyprian, both in his ſecond epiſtle to Donatus, and in his book De Spectaculis, if that piece be really his, which is ſomewhat doubtful by

 reaſon

[e] Vide Gen. xviii. 12, & alib. paſſ. [f] Exod. xxxii. 6. Judg. xvi. 25, & alib. [g] Gen. xxvi. 8. [h] Eccleſiaſt. ii. 8.
[i] Lib. de Spectac. & apolog. c. 38.

(Q) If we may believe the Talmudiſts and other Jewiſh commentators, all kinds of games, ſpectacles, &c. were not only forbid, but abhorred by all good Iſraelites, by reaſon of the miſchiefs which had befallen thoſe who had ventured to be preſent at thoſe of their neighbouring nations. The Talmud utterly condemns being preſent at any theatrical repreſentations (71); they give ſeveral reaſons, which we ſhall omit becauſe they are not over modeſt; and R. Simeon Ben-paki is there affirmed to have rendered the firſt words of the firſt pſalm, Bleſſed is the man who hath hath not ſet his foot in a theatre, &c. The comment on the book of Ruth introduces old Nahomi, diſſwading her daughter-in-law from returning into the land of Iſrael, becauſe it was not the cuſtom of the daughters of it to go to the theatres and other ſpectacles of the Gentiles (72); and the large comment on the Lamentations introduces the Jewiſh church expoſtulating with God, that it had never entered into any ſuch profane places (73).

(71) Tract. עבודה זרה, fol. 18. (72) Middr. in Ruth. c. 1. (73) איכה רב, fol. 5, col. 4.

reaſon of the difference of ſtile; all agree in this, that the Iſraelites never admitted any ſuch games among them. It even appears from Mr. Selden, that games of hazard, ſuch as dice-tables and the like, were looked upon as a kind of theft, no gain being thought lawful, that reſulted from a contract which depended upon chance. The ſame they likewiſe affirmed of ſuch who made a gain of expoſing beaſts or fowls to fight one with another [k].

As to their diverſions, they ſeem to have conſiſted chiefly in eating, drinking, dancing, and muſic. At leaſt they are thoſe which good old Barzillai ſeems to bewail his incapacity for [l], and for the exceſs of which they were often blamed by the prophets [m]. The ſcriptures do often expreſs the ſimplicity of their happy lives, by ſitting, and eating, and drinking, every one under his vine, and under his fig-tree. But even theſe diverſions could not be very frequent, unleſs it were upon ſuch ſolemn occaſions as we have mentioned before, or at their ſheep-ſhearing, harveſt, and vintage; becauſe they would elſe have had but little time to have minded their country-affairs. Whether they uſed hunting, fowling, fiſhing, and ſuch like, by way of diverſion, or rather to furniſh their tables now and then with an uncommon diſh, and to preſerve their fields, orchards, and vineyards, from being ſpoiled by thoſe creatures, we will not pretend to ſay, but we find frequent mention made of nets, gins, traps, fowlers, hunters, and ſuch like.

Their diet, except on feſtivals, ſeems to have been very plain. Boaz, a mighty man, complimented Ruth with *drinking of the ſame water, eating of the ſame bread, and dipping her morſel in the vinegar with him* [n]. Even the preſent of victuals which were brought to David and his men, whilſt he was in a kind of exile, were chiefly ſeveral kinds of pulſe, ſome parched corn, bread, and flower, ſome dried raiſins and figs, honey, butter, cheeſe, oil, and a few fatted beaſts [o]. Their bread was made either of barley or wheat, baked into thin cakes, ſome in oyens, ſome upon the hearth, and others in a frying-pan, ſome with, and ſome without, oil; they often uſed parched corn inſtead of bread. Honey was commended for its deliciouſneſs [p], and the

[k] Jus. Nat. &. Gent. lib. vi. c. 11.
[l] 2 Sam. xix. 35
[m] Iſai. v. 11, 12. Amos vi. 3, & ſeq.
[n] Ruth ii. 9, 14
[o] 1 Sam. xxv. 18. 2. Sam. xvi. 1. xvii. 28, 29. & alib.
[p] Vid. Pſ. xix. 10, & alib. paſſ.

the fleece of the flocks and the milk of the goats were thought by the wiſe man ſufficient for food and raiment, both for the maſter and his family [q].

Titles.

HIGH titles were unknown amongſt them, unleſs thoſe which implied ſome office, ſuch as general, treaſurer, recorder, and the like. They valued themſelves more upon their genealogies, which is the reaſon why one man's name had five or ſix of his anceſtors, and ſometimes more tacked to it. Some regard was likewiſe had to the diſtinction of tribes or families; as for inſtance, to thoſe of the prieſts and levites, upon a religious account, to that of Judah, by reaſon of the ſcepter being promiſed to it, and to that of Ephraim, out of reſpect to Joſeph's memory. The ſame reſpect was likewiſe paid in every tribe to thoſe who were the heads or fathers of it, and to all the elder branches in general. Next to theſe, old men, of what tribe or branch ſoever, were had in great veneration. The name of old-man or elder, as our verſion renders it, ſeems all along to imply ſome thing of dignity in the Moſaic writings, and their experience and gravity ſeems to have intitled them to be the proper perſons to take cogniſance, and to judge of all important matters, in the places where they dwelt, as well as to the reſpect of the younger ſort upon that account. But this reſpect did not conſiſt in giving them, or indeed to any man, how great ſoever, the king excepted, any pompous title; but in a ſubmiſſive approach and behaviour, and in a reſpectful phraſe peculiar to the Hebrew; in which, though the ſecond perſon was always uſed even to a prince, yet the ſpeaker always expreſſed himſelf in the third, with the addition of ſervant or handmaid: let thy ſervant ſpeak a word, inſtead of, let me ſpeak——behold thy ſervant or handmaid, for here am I. The women, whether becauſe they were more baſhful and timerous, or perhaps greater flatterers, were ſtill more remarkable for the modeſt turn of their expreſſions, and the humbleneſs of their behaviour **.

THEIR laborious and frugal lives, and the healthfulneſs of the country, were effectual means to prevent a vaſt number of thoſe diſeaſes, which have been ſince uſhered into the world by luxury and ſloth. It is for this reaſon, that we

[q] Prov. xxvii. 26, 27. 16. xxv. 23, & ſeq. & alib.

** Vide Ruth ii. 13. 1 Sam. i. 15.

read of so few, if any, diseases among them, much less of physicians, except such as are now known by the name of surgeons, whom the antient Greeks, as well as the Hebrews, called physicians or healers. Thus the Mosaic law condemned the man who wounded another to pay, amongst other things, the salary of the physician. Such were those whom king Asa is blamed for his too great confidence in, when he labour'd with a distemper in his feet, which the generality of interpreters take to have been a kind of gout; and whose skill extended no further than outward applications; for we read nothing in the sacred books of purges, sweats, vomits, diet-drinks, and other such evacuating medicines, though often of plaisters, ointments, bandages, and such like. This seems indeed the reason of their living so long, as well as of their being so healthy and fruitful, even to the end of their lives.

Mourning. Their mourning was either for the death of their near relations, or for any misfortunes, either public or private; and was expressed in both cases much after the same manner; not with such formalities as are used among us, which hardly reach beyond the outside; but by such as expressed all the tokens of an inward grief, or at least would be apt to cause a real one in those, who were obliged to go through such a series of mournful ceremonies. The first sallies of it were followed by rending their cloaths, uncovering their heads, smiting their breasts, tearing their hair and beards, putting ashes and dirt upon their heads, instead of perfumes (which were quite laid aside all the time of mourning), going barefoot, putting on sackcloath next the skin, lying upon the bare ground, and the like [r]. The neighbouring nations had still more violent ways of expressing their grief, by pricking, cutting, and scarifying themselves; but these were expresly forbid by the law of Moses [s]. As soon as these first fits of grief were ended, they changed their cloaths for others, that were streighter, coarser, dirtier, and more ragged. They covered their faces with their upper-garment to hide their tears; they fasted till sun-set, and then contented themselves with the plainest diet; they kept a profound silence, which they never broke, but to utter some groans or complaints, or at most some doleful lamentation

[r] 2 Sam. i. 11, 12. xii. 16. xiii. 31, & seq. Ezek. xxiv. 16, 17.
[s] Levit. xix. 28. Deut. xiv. 1. Vide Fag. in loc.

mentation [t]. Some did even chuſe to lie in the aſhes, or on a dung-hill, and to avoid the ſight of any light. This mourning laſted longer or ſhorter, according to the occaſion; and when it happened for the death of a conſiderable perſon even a whole month, as was done for Moſes and Aaron [u]; but when it was for any ordinary perſon, or near relation, it laſted but about a week (R). In public mournings, the people were wont to get up to the top of their houſes, there to give the greater vent to their grief; at leaſt it ſeems probable, that there was ſome ſuch cuſtom by what the prophet ſays, ſpeaking to Jeruſalem, *what aileth thee now, that thou art gone up wholly to the houſe-tops*, and ſo on [w]: and ſpeaking elſewhere of the Moabites, he ſays [x], *on the tops of their houſes, and in their ſtreets, every one ſhall howl and weep abundantly.*

THEIR funeral ceremonies were no leſs mournful. As ſoon as a perſon was dead, all the near relations came to the houſe in their mourning habit, and ſat down upon the ground, with a mournful ſilence, whilſt another part of the houſe echoed with the voices of mourners, and the ſounds of Funerals.

[t] 2 Sam. i. 17, & ſeq [u] Num. xx. ult. Deut. xxxi. 8.
[w] Iſai. xxii. 1. [x] Ibid. xv. 3.

(R) The Talmudiſts, however, have abated much of theſe ſeverities, as being too often attended with great inconveniencies (74); for which reaſon they allow the mourners their full ſwing of crying and all other expreſſions of the deepeſt ſorrow; but expect, that it ſhould abate every day after, eſpecially if it is to laſt a whole month, which, Joſephus thinks, is as long as a wiſe man would deſire to mourn for the loſs of the neareſt relation, or of the deareſt friend (75).

And here we cannot but take notice of an obſervation of a celebrated author, that the Iſraelites, and other antient nations, were more plain and undiſguiſed than we. Their joy, ſays he, was accompanied with ſongs and dances, and their grief with loud complaints: their fear expreſſed itſelf with cries, and their anger with ill language (76). The remark in fact is certainly juſt, and with reſpect to the Iſraelites, very charitable; an excellent pattern for thoſe of his church to copy after.

(74) Tract. בבא בתרה, Maim. Tract. אבל, c. 4. (75) Ant. lib. iv. c. 8. (76) Fleury Mæurs des Iſraelit. c. 18.

of instruments suitable to the occasion, and hired for the purpose [y] (S). These lasted till the funeral was over, when the neareſt relations resumed their melancholy posture, and continued in it all the time of the mourning, eating, sitting, and lying upon the ground, and never speaking to any, unless spoken to. Their very food was unclean and defiled by those that eat of it [z]. They neither made their beds, washed themselves, or pared their nails. In a word, they abstained from every thing that could yeild them any delight. They made indeed, a kind of banquet for the rest of the mourners, called by the prophets, *the bread of men, and wine, or cup, of consolation* [a]; but even then their tables were only covered with wooden, or common earthen platters and trenchers; and for the same reason they were not allowed to drink above ten glasses of wine at it, namely, three before, three at meat, and four after it, lest any should get drunk, and betray any token of mirth [b].

In the mean time, there were proper persons appointed to make ready the corps for the burial. It was looked as a duty incumbent on the neareſt relation present to close the eyes of the deceased. This custom is taken from God's promise to Jacob, that his son Joseph should perform that,

y Jerem. ix. 17. xxxiv. 17. Jerem. xvi. 7.

z Vide Hosea ix. 4.

a Ezek.

b In Tract. Abel c. 4.

(S) As to the musical instruments, we have no instance of their being used upon these occasions in the old testament; only we find it practised in our Saviour's time (77); and the Talmudists assures us, that it was not only an antient custom, but that it was even obligatory, and that the pooreſt husband could have no less than two of them for his wife (78). These instruments, according to them, were a kind of mournful flute; hence that proverb of theirs, flutes serve either for a bride or for the dead (79). As for hired singers, their office was to sing some mournful ditty, proper to fill the company with the deepeſt sorrow. One of them is elegantly compriſed in few words by one of their rabbies, Mourn for the mourners, and not for the dead, for he is at rest, and we in tears (80).

(77) Matt. ix. 23.

(78) Mishn. Tr. כתובות, c. 4. Gemar. Babyl. in eund. titut.

79) Tract. בבא מציעא, c. 6.

(80) Bar. Abbin. ap. Hott. in Goodw. lib. vi. c. 5. note 12.

that office to him [c]. If the perſon was of a conſiderable rank, they embalmed him, if otherwiſe, they contented themſelves with waſhing him (T). Sometimes they added a mixture of ſweet drugs and ſpices; in which they either wrapped the body, or which they burnt about it. This laſt is what we find was done at the funeral of Aſa, king of Judah, whoſe corps the text ſays, was laid upon a ſtately bed, which he had cauſed to be filled with coſtly perfumes made with great art, and with which they made a very great burning for him [d] (V). Neither was this ceremony peculiar to that prince, but common to the kings of Judah, and as ſuch promiſed by the prophet to Zedekiah [e], and

[c] Gen. xlvi. 4. [d] 2 Chron. xvi. ult. [e] Jerem. xxxiv. 5.

(T) This ceremony of waſhing was at leaſt practiſed in our Saviour's time (81), but how long before, is not eaſy to gueſs. The Jews, indeed, think it both antient and neceſſary; and add, that it was no ſooner performed, but they immediately ſtopped the main emunctories of the body, that no defilement might iſſue forth (82). As to what is added above, about wrapping the body in ſpices, it is inferred from what is ſaid of Jacob, that ויחנטוהו ——, Vajicanthuhu (83), the verb חנט, ſignifying, according to the Talmudiſts, to anoint with a mixture made up of ſpices and other ſweet drugs. This we find was done to our Saviour (74), and Maimon mentions it as a conſtant practice uſed among the Jews (85).

(V) From theſe places, and another ſtill more obſcure in Amos, ſome have taken up a notion, that burning of the dead had been adopted by the Jews (86). But neither the texts above quoted, nor any inſtance we can meet with in their hiſtory, doth countenance ſuch an opinion, which all the Jewiſh doctors do diſown; affirming, that nothing was burned at thoſe funeral obſequies, but thoſe ſweet perfumes above-mentioned. We may add, that Joſiah's burning the bones of the prieſts of Baalim upon their idolatrous altars (87) implies, at leaſt, a kind of abhorrence againſt ſuch a practice, unleſs when it was done by way of puniſhment. Only R. Solomon adds, that they burned over thoſe royal bodies מטה וכלי תשמישן, their beds, and other ſupellectilia veneris, ſive quicquid veneri inſervierat (88).

(81) Act. ix. 37. (82) Maim. in Tract. אבל, c. 4. (83) Gen. l. ver. ult. (84) John xix. 40. (85) Ubi ſup. (86) Ch. vi. 10. (87) 2 Chron. xxxiv. 5. (88) Vide Munſt. in Jerem. xxxiv. ſub. note a.

and refuſed unto Jehoram [f]. How they dreſſed the corps, or how they conveyed him to the grave, we dare not affirm, the law having ordained nothing concerning theſe, or any other, circumſtances relating to funerals; it is probable, that cuſtom and the circumſtances of perſons made them more or leſs ſumptuous (W). The accompanying of the corps to the burying place was rather an office of civility than obligation, and yet not only relations, neighbours, and acquaintance aſſiſted at it, but even thoſe who met the proceſſion thought it incumbent upon them to join with the company; only the prieſts were not to be preſent at it, unleſs it were a very near relation, as we have ſeen elſewhere. The funeral of Abner, one of David's generals [g], doth give us an idea of the remainder of the ceremony. The king's ſervants, with Joab at their head, were commanded to march before the corps in deep mourning, with their cloaths rent, and girded with ſackcloth, whilſt himſelf followed the bier to Heſhbon, Abner's burying place. As ſoon as they were come to it, the king himſelf made a funeral oration in his praiſe, which was accompanied with the mournful voices of all the company, whilſt they were depoſiting the body into the grave. It appears moreover, that the day could not be far ſpent when they buried that great general, becauſe, when, upon their return home, David was entreated by his ſervants to take ſome refreſhment,

[f] 2 Chron. xxi. 19. [g] 2 Sam. iii. 31, & ſeq.

(W) The goſpel doth indeed, give us ſome account of the manner of burying at that time, both by what we read concerning that of Lazarus, of the widow's ſon at Naim, and alſo by the ceremonies which were performed at that of our Saviour; but we cannot thence infer, that they are the ſame that were uſed before the captivity. Maimon tells us, that the richeſt perſons, even princes, were allowed but one Zuz, or winding ſheet, leſt it ſhould caſt a ſhame on the poorer ſort, who could afford no more. Neither was it allowed to be made of rich, or embroidered ſtuffs, becauſe ſuch pride did more become infidels, than the people of God. He adds, that they alſo covered the face of the dead, that it might not be diſcovered, when any died through poverty and want (89).

(89) Ubi ſup.

ment, he anſwered with an oath, that he would neither eat nor drink, till the ſun was down [h] (X).

Sepulchres. THEY had ſuch an extream abhorrence againſt having their own, or their friends, bodies expoſed after death, that they denied ſepulture to none, but ſuch as were guilty of ſelf-murder, and not even to theſe, but till after ſun-ſet. They had burying places for ſtrangers, and for ſuch as were put to death for capital crimes. The provident care of the patriarchs to make ſure of a ſepulchre for their poſterity, and ſeveral expreſs threatenings in the ſacred writings, made them eſteem it as a ſevere curſe from God, to be deprived of burial [i], and a bleſſing to be interred among their anceſtors. For this reaſon, thoſe who had inherited a burying-place were extreamly careful of preſerving it to their poſterity; and thoſe who had not were no leſs ſollicitous to provide one for themſelves and their families: and as the law had ordained nothing concerning them, ſo they thought it indifferent where they had them, whether in a garden, an orchard, a field, a mountain, or in a rock, ſo they could but ſecure the poſſeſſion of it. We do not read indeed of any epitaphs or monumental inſcriptions being uſed among them, yet we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that every family at leaſt ſet ſome particular mark upon their burying-place: they were even under an obligation to diſtinguiſh them from other places, by ſome peculiar mark, that people might not be defiled by going over them. But there was ſomething ſtill more particular to diſtinguiſh the graves of eminent perſons, as we may infer from the inſtance

[h] Ibid. ver. 35. Eccleſ. vi. 3, & alib.

[i] Vide Jerem. viii. 2. xxii. 19.

(X) It appears from the examples of Tobit and the Maccabees, that they uſed moreover to lay ſome kind of victuals over the ſepulchres of the dead, that the poor might receive the benefit of them, and pray for the ſoul of the deceaſed, for whom they uſed alſo to offer ſacrifices, that they might be abſolved from their ſins, and be at peace (90). But theſe, eſpecially the laſt, ſeem rather to have been works of ſupererogation, being no where commanded or countenanced by any thing we meet with in the canonical books, and, in all likelihood, never practiſed till after the captivity.

(90) Vide Tobit. iv. 17. vide & Eccleſ. xxx. 18. 2 Maccab. xii, 42, & ſeq.

ſtance of the man of God, who had foretold the deſtruction of the altar of Bethel, and whoſe grave was known by ſome inſcription or mark above 300 years after, when Joſiah was fulfilling his prediction [k]. The ſepulchres of the kings of Judah were in that part of Jeruſalem where the temple ſtood [l]. Ezekiel ſeems to hint, that they were cut in the rock under it, when he ſays, that the Lord's holy hill ſhould be no more defiled by the carcaſſes of their kings [m]. All his deſcendants are ſaid to have been buried in the ſame place, except Manaſſeth, who was buried in the garden of Uzzah, adjoining to his own houſe [n]. Whether the ſepulchre of David was built, or only begun by him, and finiſhed by Solomon, or any of his ſucceſſors, is not certain, but it is ſtill to be ſeen at this day, without the walls of the preſent Jeruſalem, though ſome think it more likely, that it ſtood at firſt within the walls of the old. It is a moſt ſtately piece of work, and perhaps the only genuine monument of that antient city. We have given a deſcription of that ſurpriſing fabric in another ſection †, to which we have nothing to add on that head.

A late modern Jewiſh traveller [o] has added ſeveral other particulars relating to this royal tomb, but which we dare not inſert, nor give credit to. However, it was in this place, that Joſephus tells us [p], Solomon did lay up an immenſe treaſure, which was not diſcovered, or at leaſt broke in upon, till thirteen hundred years after, when, the city being ſtreightly beſieged by Antiochus, Hyrcan the high-prieſt had recourſe to the tomb, and drew three thouſand talents out, and bought off his enemy with a good part of it. He adds, that Herod did likewiſe find a way into another hidden cell, out of which he got a prodigious treaſure, but that neither he nor any one elſe could ever diſcover the bones of David, his tomb being ſo artfully contrived, and ſo deep in the ground, as to elude the moſt curious ſearch. Something like this Mr. Jay has given us in his polyglot, out of an antient Arabic manuſcript, but whether either of theſe had the account from any authentic records, or from a bare tradition they do not tell us. The burying

[k] Comp. 1 King. xiii. 1, & ſeq. & 2 King. xxiii. 17. [l] 1 Kings ii. 10. xi. 43, & alib. paſſ. [m] Ch. xliii. 7, 9. [n] 2 King. xxi. 18, 26. † See before p. 150. [o] Benj. Tudel, & al. [p] Ant. lib. vii. c. 12.

burying places of the kings of Iſrael, after Jeroboam's revolt, were in Samaria; but we cannot ſuppoſe them to have equalled thoſe of Judah, both becauſe they were inferior to them in riches, and becauſe the crown never ſtayed in one family above three or four generations. Thoſe of private families were in all likelihood more or leſs ſumptuous, according to their quality and opulence; they were, however, curious to have them, if poſſible, cut into the rock, which was no difficult matter in ſuch a rocky and mountainous country. They were to be, according to the rules laid down in the Talmud [q], which probably took them from the form of the antient ſepulchres that were built before the captivity, ſix cubits long, four in breadth, and ſeven in height. Round theſe there were likewiſe to be little niches or cells for the repoſiting of the dead bodies, to the number of eight according to ſome, or thirteen according to others. The mouth of it was covered with a large ſtone, which they called Gallal, from rolling it upon the cave. This ſtone, if there were no other ornaments over the grave, was to be often whited, that paſſengers might ſee it at a diſtance, and the ſame was done at leaſt to thoſe monuments which were erected for conſiderable perſons. How they beautified them in our Saviour's time, his comparing the hypocritical Phariſees to them [r] ſufficiently ſhows; and if thoſe that are ſtill extant under the names of the tombs of Abraham, Rachel, Abſalom, Eliſha, and others, be really theirs, which is much to be queſtioned, it muſt have required no ſmall pains and coſt to keep them ſo long in repair (Y).

FROM

[q] Tract. Bava. Batra, c. vi. 2. Vide Gloſſ. Barten. ad Tract. Mohed. Katon. c. i.

[r] Matt. xxiii. 27.

(Y) The Jews called theſe burying-places the houſes of the living. The Talmudiſts pretend, that Jeruſalem had this peculiar privilege above other cities, that it had but two tombs, namely, that of David, and that of the propheteſs Huldah, which they pretend had been built by the old prophets; and that when a corps was to be tranſported from one place to another, it was not lawful to go through the city, tho' it was in their way, leſt it ſhould be defiled by it, (91). We find a ſtrange opinion among the

(91) Vide Baſnag. R. H. lib. i. c. 7.

From these houses of the dead, we gladly pass to those of the living; and here we observe in the first place, that they were plain, low, and flat, suitable to the climate, with rails round the tops, to keep people from falling. Their furniture was much after the same stile, chimnies, sashes, and casements were needless, where they were forced to study coolness and freshness; for the same reason tapestry was of no use but upon the floor, to sit, eat, or sleep upon; and if they used any bed-curtains, they were made of some fine gause, to keep off gnats and other insects, whence comes the name of canopy. Their beds seem to have been at some considerable height from the ground, from their common phrase of climbing up to them †‡†. The prophet Amos, c. vi. 4. doth upbraid the effeminate with lying upon beds of ivory, and upon their soft couches; and the harlot in the Proverbs, vii. 16. speaks of

†‡† Ps. cxxxii. 3. 2 King. i. 16.

the Jews, how old it is we cannot affirm, that those who die out of the land of Canaan shall be excluded the resurrection, unless God be pleased to afford them a subterranean way, by which their souls, after a long tumbling, or volving about, may at length happily reach it. This notion is partly owing to the extreme sollicitude, which the old patriarchs, especially Jacob and Joseph, shewed to have their bodies buried there, and partly to an excessive fondness themselves have for the land, not only upon account of its fancied holiness and excellence above all others, but more particularly, because they think, that it will prove the scene of the resurrection. This last they infer from a mistaken place in Ezekiel (92), which, if rightly understood, rather implies, that God would raise his people out of their graves, and bring them from the lands in which they died, into their own land, (that of Canaan); as one of their own rabbies has plainly shewn against them (93). However, this is one of the three reasons which the others give for Joseph's exacting an oath of his brethren to carry his body into Canaan. The second is, that he foresaw that the dust of Egypt would be turned into lice, which would have been a discredit to his ashes; and the third, lest the too great veneration of the Egyptians for his memory, should insensibly have drawn them into the worship of his relics (94).

(92) Ezek. xxxvii. 11, 12. (93) Kimchi in loc. (94) Vide R. Sal. Jarc. in Gen. xlvii. 20.

of the fine furniture and perfumes with which ſhe has decked her own; and no doubt, a great deal of luxury had been introduced by Solomon's wives, and was imitated by the ſofter; but it is plain, that lying hard muſt have been more ſuitable to the heat of the country, as well as the ſimplicity of their forefathers, and upon both accounts preferred by the wiſer, ſort. If we might gueſs of the reſt of their furniture by that which the Shunamite put into the prophet's chamber, we muſt ſuppoſe, that they did not value themſelves upon the richneſs or ſuperfluity of it. And we may here obſerve in general, that there is more frequent mention made in the ſacred books of veſſels of wood and earth, than of thoſe of more coſtly ſtuff.

FROM this prophet's chamber and furniture, we beg leave to make two remarks; the firſt is, that bed-chambers were raiſed at ſome diſtance from the ground, becauſe they are called by a name that implies an aſcent, and might be as properly rendered an upper room. Perhaps the reaſon of their being thus raiſed was, to avoid the dampneſs of the earth, which may be reaſonably ſuppoſed greater and more dangerous, eſpecially to thoſe who did lie upon the ground, within than without doors. The other is, that tho' they did not turn ſo much of the night into day as we do, yet they made uſe of artificial light, which was that of an oil-lamp, and this had more or fewer branches, according to the work that was done by it. Thus Solomon's houſe-wife is repreſented in the Proverbs, riſing whilſt it is yet dark, and diſtributing her work among her ſervants; where there is alſo a beautiful deſcription of a well-regulated family. As to the largeneſs of their houſes, and number of their apartments, we may ſuppoſe them to be anſwerable to the richneſs and numerouſneſs of the family. The women had their ſeparate apartments, both for privacy, in which they were like other eaſtern nations, and for legal infirmities, which ſecluded them from the reſt of the family for a time; during which none muſt make uſe of their beds, chairs, tables, or any other part of their furniture or utenſils. All the females of a houſe were obliged to be exceedingly careful in this particular, from which the pooreſt ſort were not exempted, tho' it could not fail putting ſuch to great inconvenience. Upon this account, as well as ſome others, they were likewiſe forced to have places for bathing in every houſe. Their laborious life, the heat, and drineſs of the country made waſhing likewiſe neceſſary,

and as it is apt to dry the ſkin too much, they uſed to anoint themſelves, either with oil, or with ſome other ointments, more or leſs coſtly according to their circumſtances, but generally perfumed.

Their arts and trades.

The arts in which the Iſraelites did chiefly diſtinguiſh themſelves were thoſe of war, huſbandry, poetry, and muſic. The firſt of theſe was in a manner natural to them. We ſhall not venture to ſay how much they, eſpecially Moſes their leader, had learned of it in Egypt; but whoever obſerves the regular order of their encampments, intrenching, fighting, retiring, and ſuch like, of which we have had occaſion to ſpeak in another place †, muſt allow him to have been as experienced a general as any of his time; and his people as well trained up in it as any of their neighbours. We need not to remind our reader here,

War.

in how ſhort a time, not above ſix years, they conquered the greateſt part of Canaan, in ſpight of all the natural and artificial ſtrength of that country, and the united oppoſition of its warlike inhabitants. Neither was it poſſible for them to forget it any time afterwards, becauſe they were continually engaged in ſome war or other with their neighbours, from the days of Joſhua to the reign of Solomon; inſomuch, that it is recorded in one place as a kind of wonder, that the land had reſt forty years [s]. A late author [t] has moreover been at the pains to prove the antient Jews to have been a warlike nation, not only from the many inſtances of their proweſs mentioned in holy writ, but likewiſe from the great number of warlike terms which he has collected out of thoſe books, which manifeſtly ſhow them to have been very well verſed in the military art. We ſhall refer our readers to the author himſelf for thoſe curious remarks, and only obſerve here, that the writers from whom he took them were neither given to flattery, or partial fondneſs for their own nation, but related theſe facts with the candor and ſimplicity which became inſpired penmen. As to their generals, whether judges or princes, or officers who acted under them, their warlike deeds will be mentioned in their proper place, in the ſequel of this hiſtory, and as to the people, tho' their courage was not always proof, but wanted often to be ſupported by art, yet we may ſay, that their men were all trained up to war, at leaſt till David's reign,

† Vide ſup. p. 42, & ſeq. [s] Judg. v. ult. [t] Folard, Diſſert. ſur la Tactique des Hebreux.

reign, for we do not read of any regular troops till that time. Till then, as ſoon as their rulers had reſolved upon a war, whether offenſive or defenſive, the ſummons were ſent to every tribe, upon which, all that were fit to bear arms were obliged to repair to the place of rendezvous, with their arms and proviſion for a month; and there a certain number was drawn out according to the preſent exigence, and the reſt ſent back to their own home, and as ſoon as they had atchieved what they went upon, they returned every one to his own home [u]. This did happen very often on the very day on which they ſet out; the country being ſmall, and their enemies at their elbow, it was a common thing for them to ſally out, engage the enemy, beat or be beaten, and be at home on the ſame, or at moſt on the next, night. It was eaſy for their army to be ſubſiſted, when their greateſt marches did not exceed two or three days journey: the whole people of Iſrael may therefore be looked upon as a body of militia trained up in war, and in time of peace inured to a laborious life, that of agriculture. Their generals, from Joſhua to Saul, were either appointed over them by God, as Othniel, Gideon, Sampſon [w], and others, or choſen by the people, as Jeptha [x], or by treachery and cruelty, as Abimelech [y]. Theſe, however, eſpecially the two laſt, were not univerſally obeyed, but by thoſe only who had choſen them, which occaſioned ſuch commotions amongſt them, that they found themſelves under a neceſſity of having a king to prevent all further diſputes, and to be ready upon all occaſions againſt their enemies,

THEIR arms were, like thoſe of other antient nations, either offenſive or defenſive; the former were ſwords, ſpears, javelins, bows and arrows, and ſlings. Their ſwords were ſhort, crooked, broad, and ſharp, which they girded upon their thigh [z]; we read alſo of two edged ſwords [a]; as for their javelins, they ſeem rather to have been a kind of ſhort pikes, ſuch as that which Saul drew at David [b]. They were likewiſe very expert at ſlinging of ſtones, witneſs David's killing of Goliah, and the inhabitants of Gibeah, who are recorded to have hit within a hair's breadth [c]. Arms.

The

[u] 1 Sam. xi. paſſ. xiii. 2, & alib. [w] Judg. iii, iv, & vi. paſſ.
[x] Ibid. xi. 6, & ſeq. [y] Ibid. ix, paſſ. [z] Vide Exod. xxxii. 27. Pſ. xlv. 3. lv. 4.
[a] Pſ. cxlix. 6. [b] 1 Sam. xviii. 11.
[c] Judg. xx. 16.

The expreſſion often uſed, *gird every man his ſword*, and even by David in his fugitive ſtate [d], when he was expoſed to continual dangers, ſhows the cuſtom of wearing ſwords, at any time but that of action, not to have been known, even to the Jewiſh warriors. Saul is the only perſon who is obſerved to have had his javelin or ſpear always about him [e], and this perhaps not till his ſuſpicion and rage againſt David made him think himſelf unſafe without it. Their defenſive arms were, the helmet, ſhield, breaſt-plate, coat of mail, and target: ſome wore even greaves, to ſave their legs. We find a deſcription of a complete armour in that of Goliah [f]; but it is probable, that all theſe were more common among their neighbours than among the Iſraelites, at leaſt before David's reign; for we find, that in Deborah's time there were found neither ſhield nor ſpear among the forty thouſand that fought againſt Siſera [g]; and that when David came to be dreſſed cap-a-pie in Saul's armour, he was ſo little uſed to that kind of incumbrance, that he could not ſtir in it, and was forced to pull it off [h]. This might probably be owing to the policy of their neighbours, by whom they were often conquered, and not only ſtripped of all their old weapons, but likewiſe hindered from making new ones; inſomuch, that the text tells us, that on the day of battle there was neither ſword nor ſpear found among Saul's army, except thoſe which himſelf and his ſon Jonathan had [i]. This indeed is very ſurpriſing, conſidering that the preceding chapter mentions one ſignal victory, which that new monarch had got over the Ammonites, in which they might have furniſhed themſelves with the arms of the ſlain, and of thoſe that run away; to ſay nothing of the impoſſibility of their cutting that army in pieces from morning till noon, unleſs they had had a conſiderable quantity of their own: ſo that unleſs we ſuppoſe, that there is an accidental tranſpoſition of the chapters and facts, or that the words muſt not be underſtood to mean more, than that there was a greater ſcarcity of them than the army would require, we ſhall be at a loſs to gueſs, how the Philiſtines could, in ſo ſhort a time, ſtrip them of all their arms. But however that be, it is certain, that they became more common, after they had

[d] 1 Sam. xxv. 13. [e] Ibid. xviii, 11. xxvi. 7. [f] 1 Sam. xvii. 5, & ſeq. [g] Judg. v. 8. [h] 1 Sam, xvii, 38, & ſeq. [i] Vide ibid. xiii. 19, & ſeq.

had recovered their liberty under David and Solomon; and in proceſs of time, Uzziah is ſaid to have provided a ſufficient quantity of all theſe kinds, to furniſh his army with, tho' it conſiſted of upwards of three hundred thouſand men [k]. Theſe arms were commonly made of braſs, ſometimes alſo of iron, ſteel, and other materials [l] (Z). Job ſpeaks of weapons of iron and bows of braſs [m], and this laſt is likewiſe mentioned by the pſalmiſt [n], though our verſion tranſlates

[k] 2 Chron. xxvi. 13, 14. [l] Vide Calm. Diſſert. ſur. la Milic. des Hebr. [m] Job. xx. 24. [n] Pſ. xviii. 3.

(Z) Some interpreters, both Jewiſh and Chriſtian, think, that the coat of mail which Saul died in, was made of ſome kind of linen, ſo woven as to be impenetrable (95). They render the words, which the young Amalekites makes Saul to ſay, I am intangled in this coat of linen (96) inſtead of anguiſh or terror is come upon me, as ours, and other verſions have it. The truth is, the word שבץ, Shebetz, here in queſtion, doth properly ſignify a ſling, or a kind of net-work, ſuch as we ſhewed the curtains of the court of the tabernacle to have been made of †, and the ſame word is uſed by the pſalmiſt, when he ſpeaks of the queen's veſture (97). Our verſion renders it barely of wrought gold; but might be more properly rendered veſte ocellata, a garment full of eylet-holes: if there had therefore been any truth in what the Amalekite told David, the words אחזני שבץ, Achazani ſhebetz, would be more properly, rendered, I am entangled, but it might be ſtill as well underſtood by his enemies, as by his armour. However, there appears nothing like ſuch an impenetrable coat, ſince, in fact, Saul, having in vain deſired his armour-bearer to run him through with his ſword, did put an end to his life, by falling upon his own (98).

We may obſerve here alſo, that the original has no leſs than four different names for what ours, and other verſions render a ſhield, namely, מגן, Magen, צנה, Zinnah, סוחרה, Socherah, and כדון, Kiddon, but whether they all ſignified the ſame kind of defenſive weapon, and only diſtinguiſhed their various ſhapes and the materials they were made of, or otherwiſe, we dare not ſay.

(95) Rabb. Levi, Munſt. & al. in 2 Sam. i. 9. Calm. ſub. voc. Arms. Buxtorf, ſub. voc. שבץ, (96) 2 Sam. ibid. † Vide ſup. p. 307. (97) Pſ. xlv. 3. (68) 1 Sam. xxxi. 4.

tranſlates it bows of ſteel in both places, the original being capable of both meanings. We read likewiſe of ſhields of gold and of braſs, but theſe can only be ſuppoſed to have been plated over with it, and that they were underneath of ſome light ſort of wood, elſe they muſt have been rather a burden than a help to thoſe that wore them. From the prophet's expreſſion of anointing the ſhield [o], ſome authors have thought, that they had got the art of covering them with leather or raw hides [p], but thoſe that were covered with braſs might want oiling, as much as to keep them bright, as thoſe of leather, if any ſuch there were, to preſerve them from cracking. Upon the whole, their fighting being rather a kind of ſkirmiſhing, than cloſe and regular engagements, we find, that they chiefly aimed at excelling in the uſe of thoſe weapons which hurt at a diſtance, ſuch as were the bow, the ſling, and the javelin.

The heat, narrowneſs, and mountainouſneſs of their country rendered cavalry altogether needleſs and uſeleſs, for which reaſon they never incumbered themſelves with any, that being only neceſſary in cold and ſpacious countries, where marches are long, and the ways leſs difficult. Abſalom was the firſt we read of, that made uſe of them in his revolt againſt David [q], but his ill ſucceſs and loſs of the battle ſhew, that they were of no other ſervice to him, than to facilitate his flight [r]. Solomon did indeed ſend for a conſiderable number of horſes from Egypt, with a proportionable number of chariots [s]; but ſome think, that he did it rather for grandeur than uſe: and indeed the expence did ſo far outweigh their ſervice, that his ſucceſſors contented themſelves with hiring them of the Egyptians, upon any exigence; inſomuch, that Rabſhaketh made their want of them a pretence for taunting king Hezekiah, that if he ſhould lend him two thouſand horſes, none of his ſubjects were capable of riding them [t]. From all which it appears, that the Iſraelites did not much regard either chariots or horſes. And yet, as to the former, it is certain, they had not only ſeen them in Egypt, where they were in great plenty; but that the Canaanites, againſt whom they were at continual wars, brought an almoſt incredible quantity of them

[o] Iſai. xxi 5. [p] Calm. & Folard. ubi ſup. [q] 2 Sam. xv. 1. [r] Ibid. xviii. 5, & ſeq. [s] 1 King. x. 26, & ſeq. 2 Chron. i. 14. [t] 2 King xviii. 23.

them to the field. Siſera we read had nine hundred of them in his army [u]; but what is ſtill more ſurpriſing is, that thoſe which the Philiſtines made uſe of againſt Saul are ſaid to have amounted to about thirty thouſand [w]: a prodigious number indeed, if there is not crept ſome error into the text; and ſuch as one would ſcarce think their ſcanty country would have been large enough to turn them in. They were indeed ſmall, being juſt fit to contain one or two men at moſt; ſome of them had four, and others but two wheels, and they were generally drawn by two horſes [x]. The text calls them chariots of iron, becauſe their poles, wheels, and axles, &c. were armed with ſharp ſcythes. We are told, that they hindered, at firſt, the tribe of Judah from conquering thoſe cities that were in the plains [y], becauſe they do moſt execution there. Beſides the terror they were apt to inject on the enemy, by being placed along the front of the line of battle, they never failed of breaking the ranks, and ſometimes of putting the adverſary to a total rout; ſo that there was no way of preventing it, but by either ſtopping their carreer, by killing the horſes before their too near approach, or, if that failed, by opening a paſſage to them. It is likely, the Iſraelites were very well ſkilled in both, ſeeing they ſo often engaged them, and ſtill came off with victory, without oppoſing the ſame kind of deſtructive engines.

Standing army.

We hinted before, that they kept no regular forces before Saul's time; and he is mentioned to have had but few ſtanding troops, ſcarce a handful, in compariſon to that prodigious number which David did raiſe them up to, namely, to above two hundred and eighty thouſand (A), beſides the Cherethites and Pelethites, which were ſtrangers,

[u] Judg. iv. 3, 13.
[w] Vide Stewch. in Veget. de Re Militar.
[y] Judg. i. 19.

(A) The book of the Chronicles tells us, that he had 24,000, which came regularly upon their duty every month throughout the year under their reſpective officers (99), which being thereforee multiplied by 12, amounts to 288,000.

(99) 1 Chron. xxvii. 1, & ſeq.

and kept also in pay by him [z]. All these were not only continued on foot by his son Solomon, but an addition was made to those forces, of a prodigious number of horses and chariots; insomuch, that he is recorded to have had forty thousand stalls for his chariot horses, besides twelve thousand horses for his cavalry, or life-guard [a], and fourteen hundred chariots of war [b]: It is certain also, that the history of his successors doth frequently mention such numerous armies as would scarce be credited in a prophane author. Such were those of Abijah, king of Judah, and of Jeroboam, the the king of Israel; the former of which consisted of four hundred thousand men, and the latter of double that number, and of which five hundred thousand were killed on the spot, by the army of Judah [d]. Such was also that of his son Asa, which consisted of almost six hundred thousand, with which he discomfited that of Zerah, king of Ethiopia, which consisted of a million of men [e]. But the greatest standing army of any of the Jewish kings, that we read of, was that of Jehoshaphat, which is said to have amounted to eleven hundred and sixty thousand, all men of valour, and prepared for the war, besides those which he kept in his garisons throughout the kingdom [f]. To these we may add, that Uzziah introduced in Jerusalem a new invention of engines, which being set upon the walls and towers of it, did cast arrows, and other offensive weapons, and great stones at a considerable distance [g].

Art of war. We find nothing in the sacred books that can give us an idea of their forming such numerous bodies into order of battle; yet if we may make a judgment from some scripture phrases, such as *joining in battle*, *setting the battle in array*, *engaging army against army*, and the like; or from their exact and regular division; 1. Into twelve main bodies, according to their tribes; 2. Each of these into thousands, or regiments; 3. Into hundreds, or companies; 4. Into tens, and even into threes, every one having a proper officer set over them; but above all, from their admirable method of marching and encamping, mentioned elsewhere †, we may venture to affirm, that they observed no

[z] 1 Chron. xvii. ult. xxvii. 1, & seq. [a] 1 King. iv. 26 x. 26. [b] Ibid. x. 26. [c] 2 Chron. xiii. 3. [d] Ibid. ver. 17. [e] Ibid. xiv. 8, & seq. [f] Ibid. xvii. 14, & seq. [g] Ibid. xxvi. 15. † See before, p. 58, & seq.

no leſs regularity in their diſpoſition of the order of battle, in their onſets, fighting, evolutions, retiring, and other military motions. If we may believe the Jewiſh authors, they ranged their army into one ſingle line of a conſiderable depth, ſometimes between twenty and thirty deep. On the front of theſe, they placed their light armed men, that is, their moſt expert archers, ſpearmen, and ſlingers, who began the onſet with a warlike ſhout, and with ſending thick ſhowers of arrows and ſtones upon their enemies front, in order to inject terror and confuſion, and to ſtop the ruſhing in of their chariots upon them, by wounding both the horſe and the driver. This is indeed probable enough, ſeeing that method was common to all the Aſiatic nations. We read, that David entertained a conſiderable number of theſe troops, who are ſaid to have been ambidexter, exceeding fierce of aſpect, and ſwift of foot [h]. But what they add ſeems more peculiar to their nation, namely, that they placed behind the ranks, ſome of the ſtouteſt ſubalterns, armed with ſcythes and axes, to cut in pieces thoſe that offered to give ground. We are ſtill to ſeek how they diſpoſed of their cavalry, after it became in uſe among them: probably after the manner of the Egyptians, from whom they had it; that is in large ſquadrons of ſix or eight hundred horſe, placed on the two wings [i]. One thing is certain, that, whether they had any of their own or not, they never dreaded it in an enemy, but endeavoured at once to open themſelves a ſwift paſſage through it, as the ſureſt way to gain the victory: and this is the reaſon why we find them ſo ſeldom diſcomfited, and ſo often victorious over their enemies, tho' ſuperior to them in this and many other reſpects.

THE method of attacking the enemy in ſeparate bodies was as antient, we find, as Abraham, who divided his little army of 318 domeſtics, and diſcomfited that of the four confederate kings [k]. It was afterwards followed by Abimelech againſt the Shechemites [l], and by Saul againſt the inhabitants of Jabeſh-gilead [m], with good ſucceſs. We ſhall paſs by ſome other warlike cuſtoms which they had in common with other nations, ſuch as the uſe of the trumpets in their marches and engagements, their uſual harangues before

[h] 2 Chron. xii. 1, & ſeq. [i] Vide Folard. ubi ſup.
[k] Gen. xiv. 13, & ſeq. [l] Judg. ix. 34. [m] 1 Sam. xi. 11.

fore they entered into action, and some others, which have been hinted at already under some former heads.

Wars. THEIR wars were of two kinds, either such as God had obliged them to, as those against the Amalekites and the seven nations of Canaan, or such as they undertook by their chiefs and princes, upon any other occasion, whether offensive or defensive. The Mosaic law had left these to their discretion; so that they were at liberty to engage in them upon any just grounds. We have already taken notice of their manner of entering upon an offensive war, by offering certain articles of peace, the refusal of which was interpreted as a declaration of war [n]. When it was resolved upon for the recovery of any lost territories, they generally made a demand of them, and when they were attacked by enemies, they likewise sent to expostulate with them [*]. However, this was not always the case, and a war was sometimes resolved upon, without any visible ground, and the chartel sent in these few words, *Let us look one another in the face*, and returned in terms equivalent [•]. The challenge of the king of Assyria to that of Judah was still more haughty; *Thy silver and thy gold, thy wives and children, and all thou hast are mine* [p]. The text observes in both cases, that these proud messages proved fatal to the senders. It was the constant custom of the Hebrew kings to command their armies in person, if they were able; and the people were so used to it, that when Ahab was mortally wounded by the Syrians, some of his servants were forced to stay him up in his chariot, to prevent his army being routed by the news of his death; and as soon as it was discovered by the bloodiness of his chariot, there went immediately a proclamation through his host, to dismiss every man to his city and country; tho' Jehoshaphat king of Judah, his confederate in that war, did likewise command there in person [q]. In the beginning of the Jewish monarchy their kings used to fight on foot, as the judges had done before them; at least we do not read of any horses or chariots used by them till a long time after; and it is very probable, that they took their rise from those alliances which the kings both of Israel and Judah were often forced to make with

Alliances.

[n] Deut. xx. 10, & seq. Vide sup. p. 20. note (P). [*] Jud. xi. 12, & seq. [o] 2 Kings xiv. 8. [p] 1 Kings xx. 2, & seq. [q] 1 Kings xxii. 34, & seq.

the Egyptians, Syrians, and other nations, and which put them under a neceſſity of appearing at the head of their army, with a grandeur anſwerable to that of their allies. The officers of war under them were, 1. The head, or general of the army (B); 2. The princes, or generals of each tribe. 3. The commanders of thouſands. 4. Of hundreds. 5. Of fifties. 6. Of tens. 7. Of threes. (C). 8. Their ſcribes, or muſter-maſters, who kept exact rolls of all that bore arms under their diſtricts. 9. Laſtly, Their Soterim, or inſpectors, or, as others think, a kind of provoſts or miniſters to inflict puniſhents upon all delinquents. Officers.

THE Moſaic law was certainly the beſt calculated to make a people happy, by making every man live by his labour, without luxury or ambition, and at once free from the danger of being totally ruined, and from the temptation of becoming exceſſively rich by thoſe two vices, or from too great deſire after change and novelty. Every man cultivated his own vine, field, orchard, and could indifferently handle the plough and flail, or the ſword and bow, as occaſion required, but preferred ſtill a quiet life under his vine and fig-tree. This is what their lawgiver inforced, not only by the example of the old patriarchs, but much more by the bleſſings which were promiſed to their obedience; theſe were to be neither gold, ſilver, nor precious ſtones, ſtately houſes, or ſumptuous furnture, but the former or latter rain, regular ſeaſons, plentyi of corn, wine and oil, increaſe of cattle, multitude of children, with a quiet and peaceful enjoyment of them, and victory over their enemies; all which, joined to the natural fertility of their ſoil, proved ſuch powerful encouragements to agriculture, that there is ſcarce any known people that gave itſelf more entirely and univerſally to it than the Jews. Accordingly, from the moſt opulent families of the tribe of Judah, to the moſt indigent of that of Benjamin, from the Agricultur

(B) This officer was called שר צבא, Sar tzaba, or prince of the hoſt, ſuch as Abner was under Saul (100), Joab under David (1), and Benajah under Solomon.

(C) Theſe are called שלישים, Shaliſhim, and mentioned after the decurions, from which it is concluded, that they were inferior to them; but what their office was, is not eaſy to gueſs.

(100) 2 Sam. ii. 8. (1) Ibid. xxiv. 2. (2) 1 Kings ii. 35.

the oldeſt to the youngeſt, we find them either ploughing, or ſowing, or reaping, at the threſhing floor, or feeding their numerous herds (D); at leaſt till Solomon introduced commerce and luxury, and with it a multitude of manufactures and trades from other nations (E).

THUS then every one was bound to cultivate that portion of land which the lot had aſſigned to his anceſtors at its firſt diſtribution, and to maintain himſelf and family out of the product of it. It was his patrimony, which he could not change for another or alienate without injury to his children and diſgrace to himſelf. The judges ande th very kings themſelves, did both practice it themſelves, and encourage it in others; all the difference there was between them and private men was, that they had more lands and more numerous herds. Thus David, tho' he heaped immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver, yet in the liſt of his riches, mention is made of his arable and paſture grounds, of his ſtore-houſes for corn, wine, and oil, of his plantations

(D) Thus we find Gideon threſhing when he received his commiſſion, and Boaz at his harveſt when Ruth came thither to glean. Saul, tho' anointed king, was at his plough when he received the news of the diſtreſſed Gileadites, and David returned to feed his flocks after Samuel had anointed him king: and when he was come to the height of his grandeur, his ſons uſed to feaſt one another at their ſheep-ſhearing (3). We omit many more examples of the like nature with which the ſacred hiſtory abounds.

(E) Whoever conſiders, how many curious manufactures were employed in the fabricature of the tabernacle and all its ſumptuous utenſils, and that thoſe arts were rather ſubſervient to luxury than to the neceſſities of life, ſuch as were the caſting of metals, engraving and cutting of precious ſtones, weaving of tapeſtry, embroidery, and many more, will be apt to conclude, that other more uſeful trades and manufactures were already in much greater perfection among the Iſraelites, and conſequently, that they could not chuſe but bring and cultivate them in the land of Canaan; but whether they, eſpecially their maſter-artificers, had learned all thoſe fine arts in Egypt, or were miraculouſly endowed with them, as the text doth rather intimate, yet it doth not appear, that any of them were afterwards uſed among them till Solomon's time; and even he was forced to ſend for his artificers from abroad; probably, becauſe the Philiſtines in Saul's time had deprived them of their workmen in iron (4), without which few trades could be carried on.

(3) 2 Sam. xiii. 23. & ſeq. (4) 1 Sam. xiii. 19, & ſeq.

tations of fig, olive, and other fruit-trees, of his numerous herds of oxen, camels, ſheep, and aſſes [r]. His ſon Solomon not only multiplied them in proportion to the great conſumption which the vaſt number of his wives, concubines, and ſervants required; but tells us likewiſe, what pains he took to outdo all that had gone before him, in the number and elegancy of them [s]; where it is to be obſerved, that his fine gardens and orchards were chefly ſtored with ſuch fruit-trees, plants, and herbs as were more for uſe than ſhew. How he commends the diligence of the huſbandman, and expoſes the ſtupidity of the ſlothful; every chapter almoſt of his proverbs is a witneſs: however, he came afterwards to depart from his own maxims, which were build upon the moſt ſolid reaſon and trueſt policy.

For whoever conſiders the ſmall extent of Canaan and the numerouſneſs of its inhabitants, will be rather apt to wonder how it could be able to maintain ſuch incredible multitudes, tho' cultivated with all the care and induſtry they were capable of (F), eſpecially conſidering that it was to reſt every ſeventh year; and yet it is plain, that it had more than ſufficed them, ſeeing they exported great quantities of corn, oyl, honey, and other proviſions to the city of Tyre, both for the ſervice of the king [t], and for the merchants who came thither for it from other parts [u]. Beſides theſe, they had great quantities of rye, barley, and other grains, variety of herbs and roots, and eſpecially of fruits fit for food; ſuch were their olives, dates, figs, pomegranates, and many more. Their very vines, which were very

[r] 1 Chron. xxvii. 25, & ſeq. [s] Eccleſ. ii. 5, & ſeq.
[t] 1 Kings v. 11. [u] Ezek. xxvii. 17.

(F) The reader may eaſily form a judgment of their numerouſneſs, by the computation we made of thoſe that came out of Egypt, whom we ſhew'd to have amounted to near three millions †; and by that which David cauſed to be made a little before his death, the ſum of which was thirteen hundred thouſand fighting men, which being above double the number of thoſe who came out of Egypt, we muſt conſequently allow, with the ſame proportion of young and old men, wives, ſervants, and ſlaves, to have been at leaſt ſix millions; a prodigious number ſeemingly to be all fed out of the product of ſo ſmall a country, tho' far enough from impoſſible, if we conſider it, not as it is now, laid waſte and depopulated by the Turks, but as it was at that time, fertile, populous, cultivated, and improved *.

† Vide vol. ii. p. 509. & p. 585 note. (P). * Vol. iii. p. 132.

very numerous, and of whoſe extraordinary fertility the ſpies brought ſuch a noble ſpecimen [w], did afford them food as well as drink. For, as wine was not drank in ſuch plenty, as it has been ſince, their dried grapes were not only in great plenty, but were juſtly eſteemed an excellent food. To all theſe we may add the multitude of cattle, which they not only bred themſelves, but which they had from other neighbouring countries. For we have ſeen before, that Meſha king of Moab payed a tribute to Ahab king of Iſrael of a hundred thouſand lambs, and as many rams with their wool [x]. Jehoſhaphat drew likewiſe a conſtant ſupply of ſmall cattle from the Arabians [y]; from which they may conclude, that all thoſe nations, that were tributary to the Jews, paid their tribute in ſuch commodities as their country abounded moſt with, whether for food or raiment. It muſt be likewiſe remembered, that the country had no woods, parks, or any waſte grounds. The antient Canaanites were already too populous and ſtrengthen'd to leave any part of the land uncultivated. Their houſes were not more ſpacious than their families required, and their gardens and orchards did equally afford them nouriſhment with their fields and vineyards; ſo that tho' the Jews had doubtleſs loſt, in a great meaſure, their ſkill in agriculture, as well in Egypt, where they were otherwiſe employed, and where the lands were manured in a manner peculiar to itſelf, as during their abode in the wilderneſs; yet coming into a country ſo well and ſo thoroughly cultivated, neceſſity alone would have obliged them to imitate the diligence and induſtry of its old inhabitants (G). After

[w] Num. xiii. 13, & ſeq. [x] 2 Kings iii. 4, vid vol. ii. p. 112. [y] 2 Chron. xvii. 11.

(G) There will be nothing ſurprizing in all this, if we remember what has been obſerved concerning the populouſneſs of Egypt, eſpecially the upper one called Thebais, and of its metropolis, which could ſend out 10000 men and 200 chariots out at each of its gates at one and the ſame time ‡; and of what Tacitus tells us of that province, that it furniſhed 700,000 fighting men (5), tho' the ſoldiery were here ſcarce a fourth part of its men, where there were ſo many trades and manufactures which excluded them by the laws from bearing arms; whereas, in Judea, the ſoldiery made near one half of its male inhabitants. Livy,

‡ Vid. vol. i. p. 487, 541 paſſ. & alib. 5) Annal. lib. 2.

Trades and Manufactures.

AFTER what has been obſerved, here in the former note, we muſt not expect to find any trades or manufactures among them before David or Solomon's time, except ſuch as were abſolutely neceſſary; and even theſe were carried on in a different way from other great nations: they built their own houſes, their wives and ſervants ſpun, wove, and made their cloaths, baked their bread, dreſſed their meat, and, in a word, ſupplied the buſineſs of cloth-workers, taylors, ſhoe-makers, cooks, bakers, confectioners, and many more. The plainneſs of their food, their cloathing and houſhold furniture, ſome few utenſils excepted, rendered thoſe trades unneceſſary, till a more luxurious way of living

Livy tells us, that Rome, 188 years after its foundation, had 800,000 citizens fit to bear arms (6); and yet as a judicious author obſerves (7), they could only ſubſiſt from the territories that were about it, which are now altogether barren and uncultivated, and extended at moſt but about half a degree, or 30 miles. We may add, that when it was at the beſt, it was not half ſo fertile as Paleſtine, whoſe extent was five degrees, that is ten times as much every way, as is plain by the geography we have given of it; ſo that even allowing them to be both equally fertile, populous, and cultivated, the latter muſt produce 99 times as much proviſion as the former, and conſequently be able to maintain 99 times the number of people. Suppoſing then theſe Roman citizens to have made up one third part of the inhabitants, which is the moſt that can be ſuppoſed, the whole will amount to 240,000, which being multiplied by 99, the ſum of thoſe of Judea will be 23,760,000 ſouls, which is above three times as many as we need ſuppoſe to have been in Iſrael, from the largeſt account that the holy writ gives us of them. However, leſt this ſhould not ſatisfy every reader, unleſs it can be proved that the land was capable of maintaining ſuch a number, the author above quoted has taken the pains to compute what portion of land will maintain one man, and from the extent of the whole country, to make an eſtimate of the number of people that might conveniently ſubſiſt in it. We ſhall follow our author, or the ſubject no farther: every reader that underſtands figures, may eaſily convince himſelf, by comparing the number of acres, which a country five degrees ſquare may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to contain, with the largeſt number of its inhabitants, that we may find upon record at any time.

(6) lib. i. c. 24. (7) Fleury Mœurs des Iſraelit. c. 7.

living got footing among them. We have already ſpoken of all the other particulars except their cloathing, and this was plain and artleſs enough, both in its materials and make, to be done within doors. It muſt not, however, be expected here, that we ſhould give an exact deſcription of their dreſs, becauſe we have no paintings or ſtatues of them, as we have of the Greeks and Romans; but from what we find in the ſacred books, it appears, that they had a long looſe tunic and drawers, made of linen, next to their body, and a looſe garment, ſomewhat like a cloak, of light woollen cloth, which they threw over their bodies when they went abroad (H). The beauty of them

Dreſs.

(H) The ſcripture, at leaſt, mentions only theſe two, the one under the name of כתונת Ketoneth, or coat, and the other under that of מעיל, Mehil, or upper garment. The former, being next to the ſkin, is reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been made of linen, as the propereſt wear for hot countries, and for a people inured to labour. It was long and looſe, and when they went about any buſineſs, they tyed it about, whence that expreſſion of girding oneſelf is ſynonymous to getting oneſelf in readineſs. The latter was only a large piece of cloth cut off the whole piece, without ſhaping or ſeam: as for the breeches, they were indeed ordered to be worn by the prieſts, but are probably enough ſuppoſed to have been worn by the reſt for decency ſake; tho' if we were allowed to gueſs at the reaſon of their wearing of fringes at the bottom of their garments, abſtracted from that given in the text, we ſhould be apt to think, that they were deſigned to keep the garment cloſe to the legs by their weight, to prevent the wind or any violent motion throwing them up. As to the coat of many colours ſpoken of immediately after, we have followed our own and the generality of interpreters, though it is much diſputed whether the original word פסים, Phaſſim, doth really ſignify any ſuch thing. Some think it was a robe with a long train; but tho' that might have fitted young princeſſes, yet it is ſcarce credible, that Jacob would have ſent his ſon Joſeph on ſuch a journey with ſuch a cumberſome garb. Others think the word to ſignify a wide kind of ſleeve, narrow towards the ſhoulder, and widening towards the wriſt, ſuch as the Arabians uſed to wear. There is no being certain which of theſe three verſions is right, only ours is confirmed by the Targums, the ſeptuagint, and vulgate, which may eaſily outweigh all that is urged on the other ſide, were the ſubject of more moment than it is.

What we have advanced of the Iſraelites being able to ſupply their own wants without the help of artificers, during ſo many centuries,

them conſiſted either in the fineneſs of the cloth, or the richneſs of the dye, ſuch as purple, ſcarlet, blue, and yellow; but the plaineſt and moſt commonly worn was the white, becauſe it was the natural colour of the linen and wool, and could be more eaſily waſhed; upon which account it is much recommended by Solomon [z], it being highly neceſſary in hot countries to ſhift frequently. Accordingly we find it was uſual among them to make preſents of changes of raiment [a]; tho' probably ſome of them might be richer than others, both as to the ſtuff, the dye, and other ornaments; and theſe might be reſerved to be worn on their ſolemn feſtivals and other public occaſions. As to the youth of both ſexes, it is probable, they did wear their ſtuffs ſtriped or flowered with various colours, ſuch as was that of Joſeph, ſuch as we find was alſo that of Tamar, and of all David's other unmarried daughters [b]. We do not read of any other ornaments to the mens dreſs, except that of the fringes, which were faſtened to a blue ribbon, and ſewed round the border of their garments; and even theſe were ordained only as a memorandum, that their happineſs depended upon their obedience [c]. Some covering they wore upon their head, but the faſhion is not to be gueſſed at; they wore likewiſe ſhoes abroad, and

[z] Gen. xxxvii. 3.
[a] Gen. xlv. 22. 2 Kings v. 5. 23.
[b] 2 Sam. xiii. 18.
[c] Num. xv. 37.

centuries, will not appear a matter of wonder to thoſe, who are acquainted with Homer's writings, and remember, that he makes Eumeus make his own ſhoes, and build himſelf ſtately cots for his numerous herds (8), and Ulyſſes to build his own fine houſe and ſhip, whilſt his wife's loom ſupplied the houſe with hangings and carpets, and the family with cloaths (9). So that the Hebrews were not the only people who affected this ſimple way of living, and thought it an inſtance of great wiſdom to be able to ſupply their own wants without the help of other hands. Neither need we go to Plato's common-wealth for parallels of this patriarchal life, ſince there is ſcarce a polite nation in antiquity which did not live up to it as much as the Jews; witneſs the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Phœnicians, Perſians, Greeks, Romans, Carthaginians, Sicilians, &c. witneſs alſo Homer, Magon, Cato, Virgil, Cicero, and other authors, who have either writ upon, or in commendation of, it.

(8) Odyſſ. xiv. & xxiii.
(9) Odyſſ. v.

and perhaps a kind of ſtockings, but how, and what they were made of, we are equally to ſeek; only their ſhoes, or rather ſandals, ſeem to have been a ſole, whether of wood, ſkin, or ſome other material, tyed to the top of the foot, without any other covering; which made the waſhing of the feet ſo frequent among them. All theſe might be eaſily made without artificers.

The dreſs of the women, eſpecially of the rich ones, was indeed more curious, becauſe they beſtowed more ornament upon it, chiefly of needle-work, which was ſtill within their own province. They wore jewels of gold and ſilver, but a great deal of that finery was brought at firſt from Egypt, and more might be eaſily added unto it, as they enlarged their conqueſts, without entertaining any artiſts to ſupply them with it, becauſe their faſhions did not alter as ours do. However, it is not improbable, that they had ſome of theſe, as well as ſeveral other rich ſtuffs and linen from Tyre, in exchange for their corn, balm, and other commodities; eſpecially after Solomon's time, when pride and luxury grew to ſuch a height, that Iſaiah ſpent almoſt a whole chapter in ennumerating the coſtly ornaments with which that ſex uſed to deck itſelf in his time [d]; but concerning which it were impoſſible to frame any tolerable idea, becauſe the terms there uſed are unknown to us. One thing may be obſerved from it, that they were very curious in adorning their heads, arms, and feet, and that they wore ſome kind of tinkling ornament about their legs, which gave a muſical cadence to their ſteps. Judith's ſandals are particularly taken notice of to have raviſhed Holofernes [e], and the richneſs and elegancy of her other ornaments might give us a clear notion of a complete Jewiſh dreſs, were we ſure, that they had not by that time mixed ſome of the Babyloniſh faſhion with it. However, we have a more authentic deſcription of the female garb in the prophet Ezekiel [f], where the Jewiſh nation is compared to a poor, naked, and helpleſs woman, whom God, out of pity, and huſband-like kindneſs, cloathed and girded with ſilk and fine linen, attired her head with a crown, or rather mitre, ſuch as that of Judith, and put a jewel upon her fore-head, a coſtly chain about her neck, bracelets upon her wriſts, ear-rings in her ears, and

[d] Ch. iii. 16, & ſeq. [e] Judith xvi. 9. [f] Ch. xvi. 10. & ſeq.

and ſandals upon her feet. To all theſe we may add the veil, which is often mentioned in ſcripture, and was very neceſſary in thoſe countries, both to preſerve the complexion and the character of women, it being eſteemed highly immodeſt for them to appear without it; but whether they were made of ſome ſuch tranſparent ſtuffs as our gauſes, ſo as that they might ſee their way through them, and at the ſame time give ſome glimpſe both of their beauty and rich ornaments, or otherwiſe, we cannot determine.

It doth not appear, however, that they fell into this exceſs of finery 'till about the latter end of David's life; till then a wonderful œconomy ſeems to have reigned in every family, under the wives at home, and the huſbands abroad. The laborious life of the men doth account for that valour, ſtrength, ſwiftneſs and ſurpriſing exploits, for which the ſcripture doth ſo highly extol them, eſpecially David's worthies [g] and excellent troops [h]. But the immenſe treaſures which that monarch had heaped up, having inſpired him with a deſire of conſecrating ſome part of it to God, by building a ſumptuous temple to him, ſoon introduced a number of artificers (I), ſuch as carvers, maſons, carpenters, joiners, gold and ſilver-ſmiths, founders, and all manner of workmen in metals, wood, and ſtone; and theſe brought on a number of others, without which they could not ſubſiſt. His ſon Solomon built himſelf ſome ſtately palaces, as well as the temple; and this probably gave his ſubjects ſuch a reliſh of his more elegant way of building, that the number of workmen multiplied ſtill more. The diviſion of

[g] 2 Sam. xxiii. 8. ad fin. [h] Ibid. xvii. 8, & ſeq. & alib. paſſ.

(I) It is ſaid in two places, that Solomon ſent to king Hiram for ſome of his beſt artiſts in metals, ſtone, and wood, becauſe he had none ſo ſkilful among his own ſubjects (10), and preſently after, that he raiſed a levy of thirty thouſand men out of all Iſrael to carry on the work (11); from which we may reaſonably conclude, that the former were only deſigned by that politic prince to inſtruct the latter in that great variety of arts, which were neceſſary to execute his noble deſigns, as the moſt curious part was actually done upon the plain of Jordan (12).

(10) 2 Chron. ii. 3, & ſeq. 1 Kings v. 6. (11) Ibid. ver. 13, & ſeq. (12) 2 Chron. iv. 17.

of the two kingdoms increaſed the miſchief. Jeruſalem and many other places muſt be fortified; chariots, and engines of war, and a much greater quantity of arms of all ſorts became neceſſary, which required a ſuitable number of artificers; inſomuch, that we read in the Chronicles of a valley belonging to the tribe of Judah, called by the name of the valley of Charaſhim, or artificers, becauſe it was inhabited only by ſuch [i]. In a a word, one may gueſs at the increaſe of them by the number which Nebuchadnezzar carried away captive out of the bare city of Jeruſalem [k], tho' it is plain at the ſame time, that the Jews did never neglect the cultivation of their lands for the ſake of theſe. On the contrary, it is only the product of this laſt, that is ſaid to have been exported [l], whereas that of their other manufactures ſeem to have been all conſumed within themſelves. Solomon himſelf, who opened ſo wide a door to commerce and luxury, was ſo far from thinking it beneath his care, that he not only cultivated it himſelf, as was hinted before, but did alſo earneſtly recommend it to his people, as the beſt means of growing rich, preſerving health, prolonging their days, and leading a quiet and happy life; inſomuch, that there is ſcarce a chapter of his Proverbs, wherein he doth not enforce it from one or other of theſe advantages. We may even affirm, that he made trade and navigation, though in all appearance his moſt favourite projects, ſubſervient to the promotion of agriculture. But as thoſe did in a manner riſe and ſet with him, we ſhall ſuſpend all further account of them, till we come to ſpeak of his reign; the peacefulneſs of which may alſo in all probability be the reaſon, why we read of ſo few Jewiſh worthies and brave generals in his days, in compariſon of thoſe, which his warlike father had during his whole life (K).

Poetry

[i] Chron. iv. 14. [k] 2 King. xxiv. ib. [l] Ezek. xxvii. 17.

(K) The valiant men of Judah are moſt beautifully deſcribed in the 87th pſalm, under the figure of Sion, which is commonly uſed to ſignify that tribe *; but it has happened in this, as in many other pſalms and poetical pieees of the ſacred books, and not only the beauties and energy, but even the ſenſe, has been entirely loſt, and another ſubſtituted which ſcarce will bear that

* Vid. int. al. Pſ. lxxviii. 68.

POETRY is perhaps the only art in which the Hebrews, at leaſt ſince Moſes's time, have excelled all other nations, we had almoſt ſaid, that have been even ſince. It has indeed this great advantage above all others, that the authors of it, being divinely inſpired, ſeem to have conſecrated it wholly to the honour of God, and adapted to the ſervice of the temple. No wonder then, if not only their great law-giver, but their monarchs, judges, prieſts, and prophets, men and women, have endeavoured to eternize their memories by ſome excellent performance in this kind: witneſs the two inimitable ſongs of Moſes mentioned elſewhere, thoſe of Deborah and Hannah, the whole book of Pſalms, the Canticles, the thankſgiving of Hezechias, the book of Job, a great part of the prophet Iſaiah, and the Lamentations; not to mention ſome other prophets, Poetry.

that name. We ſhall therefore beg leave to ſubjoin a new and even more literal, or at leaſt idiomatical verſion of this Pſalm, that our readers may ſee a ſpecimen both of the beauty and elegance of it, and how far it has been wronged by all the verſions we have hitherto met with. The elegancy which they have overlooked here, is in the oppoſition between the pronoun זה Zeh, which is commonly uſed to expreſs an inconſiderable perſon; and the word איש Iſh, which ſignifies a conſiderable one, in oppoſition to אדם, which is uſed to expreſs thoſe of inferior rank; according to which the ſenſe will run thus:

She [Zion] or the tribe of Judah is founded upon the holy mountains.

The Lord has more love for her gates (or places of reſort) than for all the dwellings of Jacob.

Glorious things ſhall be ſpoken of thee, O city of God.

In mentioning among my acquaintance, either Rahab (Egypt) or Babylon, or here Philiſtia, Tyre, or Ethiopia, (the phraſe is) Zeh, this inconſiderable perſon was born there, or it has given birth to ſuch a one.

But of Sion it is, or ſhall be, ſaid, Iſh, ve iſh, this or that great perſon, owes his birth to it, ſeeing he, who is the moſt high, is to eſtabliſh her; and ſo on.

We ſhall not go about to juſtify this new verſion; thoſe who are maſters of the Hebrew will eaſily ſee that it is not only more natural and agreeable to the original, but alſo freer from theſe expletives which are forced in to make it ſpeak ſenſe; and criticiſms of this nature would be needleſs to thoſe who are unacquainted with it. This pſalm we take to be parrallel with the 48th, which abounds with ſublime expreſſions in praiſe of Sion, but ſuch as can hardly be reached by any tranſlation,

who are likewiſe ſuppoſed, by the loftineſs of their ſtile, to have writ at leaſt part of their prophecies in verſe; concerning which it is univerſally agreed, that nothing can be conceived more majeſtic or more ſurpriſingly ſublime; whether we conſider the variety of action, the greatneſs of the ſentiments, the richneſs of the figures, and imagery, or the ſtrength and beauty of the expreſſions. To all theſe we may add, that a ſtrain of the moſt ſeraphic piety, and of the moſt excellent morality, runs through the whole; which conveys into the reader's mind the moſt important truths, the nobleſt precepts and inſtructions, that can, poſſibly, frame and fit it for all ſtages and conditions of life; whilſt the expreſſions and figures, ſtrong and lofty as they be, are no leſs adapted to the reach and underſtanding of the young and illiterate, than they are to raiſe the deepeſt attention and admiration in thoſe who are the ableſt maſters of it (L). And yet it is certain, that, like

(L) Such are theſe expreſſions of Moſes, *The heavens and the heaven of heavens are the Lord's thy* God (13). *I will make your heaven as iron, and your earth as braſs. Ye ſhall be terrified at the ſound of a ſhaken leaf. Ye ſhall flee when none purſueth* (14). *One ſhall chaſe a thouſand, and two put ten thouſand to flight*, &c. Such are likewiſe theſe of Iſaiah: *To whom will ye liken the Lord, who meaſures the waters in the hollow of his hand and the heavens with a ſpan; who weighs the mountains in the ballance? All the nations of the earth are as a drop of water that ſticks to the bucket, and as the ſmall duſt that remains in the ſcales.* (15). Or thoſe of the pſalmiſt: *The earth trembled, and the heaven dropped at the preſence of God. The mountains ſkipped like rams, and the vallies like young ſheep* (16). *Who ſtretheth out the heavens like a curtain, telleth the number of the ſtars, and calls them by their names* (17. *He bowed the heavens and came down; darkneſs was under his feet. He rode upon the wings of cherubins* (18). *He maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh upon the wings of the wind* (19). We ſhall go no further with inſtances which are innumerable, but obſerve here, that ſome of them have ſuch a complicate beauty, that the beſt part of it may be eaſily loſt to any but an attentive reader, who is likewiſe a good judge of poetry. Of this kind is the laſt expreſſion we inſtanced in, of *walking upon the wings of the wind*; for as a modern author juſtly obſerves

(13) Deut. x. 14. (14) Levit. xxvi. paſſ. Deut. xxxii. 30.
(15) Jſai. xl. 12, & ſeq. (16) Pſ. lxviii. 8. cxiv. 4.
(17) civ. 2. cxlvii. 4. (18) Pſ. xviii 7, & ſeq. (19) civ. 3.

like all antient works of that kind, it frequently alludes to things, cuſtoms, and ſayings, to which we are utter ſtrangers at this diſtance of time, tho' they were then perfectly known; and that it abounds with words and idioms, whoſe true meaning we are left to gueſs at, for want of ſuch parallels as might determine it to us. From theſe, and the imperfection of modern tongues, one may eaſily gueſs how ſhort all tranſlations muſt come of the beauty and energy of the original; ſo that we may be really ſaid to gueſs at it, as much from the thickneſs of the medium through which we behold it, as from the amazing luſtre, it is ſtill able to caſt through it. This is evident from the character which Mr. Gildon, after many others, has given of it: that there is nothing ſo ſweet, ſo tender, and pathetic, and at the ſame time nothing ſo grand, ſo majeſtic, ſo terrible, and ſo harmonious, as the poetic part of the Bible, to which all

ſerves (20) wind is generally uſed to expreſs the velocity of any thing; and here the wings of the wind carry with them an idea of the utmoſt fierceneſs of that velocity; ſo that we cannot imagine the ſerene and deliberate walking of the Deity upon a creature of the moſt unconceiveable ſwiftneſs, without being filled with the deepeſt wonder and amazement. And yet this inimitable beauty has paſſed unobſerved by many, otherwiſe learned, tranſlators and commentators, who have choſen to render it, who rideth upon the wings of the wind; as if rideing upon the wind, which is common to feathers, ſtraw, duſt, &c. conveyed a more natural or ſublimer idea of the Godhead, than the literal one of walking upon it.

This is one of the reaſons why the Pſalms, the book of Job, and ſome other poetic pieces of holy writ, loſe ſo much of their beauty and energy in all verſions (21). However, there is this difference between theſe two books, that the latter cannot bear a literal tranſlation; whereas thoſe of the former, which have followed the original cloſeſt, have ſucceeded beſt; ſuch are in particular the Latin ones of Caſtalio, Buchanan, and Jenſon. This laſt is indeed the moſt literal, and wonderfully diſplays the elegancy of the Hebrew. It has but one fault, namely, its running all along in hexameters, and pentameters, which takes off a great deal of its majeſty; whereas had it been all in hexameters, there would not have been a better, as there is not indeed a more exact one in all other reſpects extant, that we know of.

(20) Aar. Hill. not. in Gideon. (21) Vid. Pineda Dieg. de Stunic. & al. in Job.; Bugenhag. Buccher, Buchan. & al. in Pſal.

all the heathen verſe is low and flat. We may add, that nothing can be juſter than this character, tho' both he, and the far greateſt part of thoſe who have ſo highly extolled it, have rather judged of it from the verſions they had read, than from any great acquaintance they had with the original.

But tho'there be nothing more univerſally agreed on, than the excellency of this antient Hebrew poetry, above all others, in all the above-mentioned reſpects, yet there is ſcarce a point more debated, or leſs poſſible to be determined, than the nature, meter, cadence, and rules of it. Several modern authors have pretended indeed to very ſignal diſcoveries in this intricate province, but they have either had the modeſty to conceal them from the world [m], or thoſe who have ventured to publiſh them, have only provoked ſome learned antagoniſts to expoſe their weakneſs and vanity [n]. The truth is, that thoſe who have made any attempts in this way have been forced to ſhift, alter, and overturn the order, the words, and punctuation, and ſometimes the very ſenſe, in order to bring the text to their rules. This is what a learned modern has done almoſt in every verſe, in a diſſertation writ on purpoſe, to prove that Hebrew poetry was writ in rhyme, like that of the French and other modern nations [o]. In order to this, he takes the liberty to lengthen or ſhorten the verſes and ſyllables, as he thinks fit, without obſerving any other rule or proportion in them than the jingle of the laſt words; inſomuch, that there is not, we will not ſay with Calmet [p] any of Tully's orations, but we may venture to affirm, any chapter in the old teſtament, which may not, by the ſame method, be reduced into rhyming verſe. He had more need have ſaid, that the rhyme in thoſe poetical works was not only altogether accidental, but almoſt unavoidable, unleſs the authors had made a reſolution againſt it, and taken more than ordinary pains to alter their words, and cramp their diction, in order to ſhun it. Thoſe that are ever ſo little acquainted with the Hebrew grammar know, that the terminations of

[m] F. Vatabl. ap. Mercer. in Job. iii. Meibon. vid. Journal des Scavans, 1699. & al. [n] Fr. Goman. Lyra David. Th. Herbert. Vid. Capell cont. Goman. Bedford cont. Le Clerc. [o] Bibliot. Univerſ. May, 1688. [p] Comment. in Exod. xv. & alib.

of verbs, and even of nouns in the plural, and the junction of the poſſeſſive pronouns to both of them, are ſo alike and uniform, that it would be vaſtly more difficult to write a poem in blank verſe in that tongue, than to have it all in rhyme. And yet it muſt be owned, that he has diſplayed a great deal of learning in it, and that ſeveral eminent men have embraced his opinion [q], tho' there is one objection againſt it, which ſeems almoſt inſurmountable; which is, that there is no rhyme but what is plainly accidental in all the acroſtic or alphabetic pieces we have left, ſuch as ſeveral pſalms [r], the lamentations, and ſome few others, where the length of the verſe is determined by the firſt letter of it, and where conſequently the liberty of tranſpoſing and altering the meaſure is quite taken off. Our author doth indeed tell us, that theſe were not deſigned for rhyme but blank verſe; but this is ſaid gratis; and what is more, ſome of them have a greater number of hemiſtics rhyming to one another, than thoſe which are pretended to be written deſignedly ſo; as the reader may ſee by the ſpecimen in the margin (M).

THE

[q] Bern. Lami. Carofalo & al.

[r] Pſ. xxv, xxxiv, xxxvii, cxi, cxii, cxiii, cxix, & cxlv.

(M) We ſhall inſtance only in the 34th Pſalm, and omit all the blank verſes in it; and here the reader will ſee by the interlineal verſion of them, how accidental, and as it were inevitable, the rhyme is in thoſe that chance to have it.

Ver. I ſought the Lord, and he heard me:
4. *Daraſhti eth Adonai vehanani:*
And from all my troubles he delivered me.
Umiccol megurothai itzillani.

5. They looked unto him and were enlightened
Hibittu elaw venaharu:
And their faces were not confounded.
Uphnehem al jechpharù.

9. Fear

THE truth is, our ignorance of the true pronunciation of that antient tongue, which, for ought appears, has been loſt ever ſince the captivity, makes it morally impoſſible to determine any thing about it with any tolerable probability; becauſe without it, we never can be ſenſible of the length or

9. Fear ye the Lord, ye ſaints of his:
Iereù eth Adonai kedoſhaw:
For no lack (is) to them that fear him.
Ki aen machſor lireaw.

10. Little lions lack and hunger:
Kephi'im raſhù verabevú:
They that ſeek the Lord ſhall not lack
Vedoreſhe Adonai lo jachſeru
any good.
col tof.

12. What man deſireth life:
Mi haiſh hachaphetz chajim:
Loveth days
Ohef yamim
to ſee good.
lireoth tof.

13. Keep thy tongue from evil,
Netzor leſhoneka merah:
And thy lips from ſpeaking guile.
Uſphateka midabber mirmah.

Theſe are in the very order we find them in all Hebrew Pſalters, without any tranſpoſition or change. But did the alphabetical order permit it, it is plain, that one might reduce every acroſtic pſalm and poem into rhyme by Mr. Le Clerc's method.

We hope there is no neceſſity to acquaint our readers, that an alphabetic pſalm begins with each of the letters of the alphabet ſucceſſively, either in every verſe, as in the 25th, 34th, and 145th; or every other verſe, as in the 37th; or in every hemiſtic or half verſe, as in the 111th, 112th, and 113th. The 119th doth ſtill differ from all theſe, becauſe every verſe of a ſtanza begins with the ſame letter of the alphabet; ſo that it has 22 ſtanzas, anſwering to the 22 letters of it. Thoſe who deſire to ſee a more ſuccinct confutation of this notion, may read our learned Mr. Bedford's treatiſe concerning the temple muſic, where he will find a ſhort but full confutation of Le Clerc,

or ſhortneſs of the ſyllables, or of the harmony of words and verſes, in which a great part of the poetic beauty conſiſts. Had we indeed the ſame helps in this, as we have in the Greek and Latin tongues, we might perhaps have attained an equal knowledge of its quantity and meter, and of the conſtruction and cadence of its verſe; and tho' it is probable, we might not have found it ſo elaborate and regular as that of the other two, yet ſhould not we have fallen into that ſtrange notion of ſo many learned moderns, that it was written without meaſure, form, or regularity. Surely one would think, that Scaliger had never heard of any modern Hebrew poetry, how common ſoever it is, when he adds, that neither that tongue, nor the Syriac, nor the Arabic, were capable of ſuch a conſtraint [s]; for it is plain, even from thoſe ſpecimens which Buxtorf has given us [t] out of ſome of the poetical rabbies, that it is as regular as any we have either in Greek or Latin; and conſequently, that the Hebrew is as capable of the ſtricteſt poetic rules as they, if we be once agreed in fixing the quantity of the ſyllables. We may add, that they have been ſo far from thinking meter and quantity too great a clog, that they have joined that of rhyme to it; which, whether it be an ornament or not, is nevertheleſs a confinement, tho' not ſo great in the Hebrew as it is in other tongues, for the reaſons alledged a little before. Beſides, it appears further, that the antient Hebrew poetry was confined to ſome certain rules and reſtraints, tho' unknown to us, becauſe, in many of thoſe works, we find ſome letters retrenched, and others ſuperadded, in order to lengthen or ſhorten the verſes or the ſyllables, or to give a ſweeter cadence to them.

On the other hand, to hear ſome antient authors, both Jews and Chriſtians, ſuch as Joſephus and Philo, Origen, Euſebius, and St. Jerom, expatiate on this ſubject, one would be apt to think, that both the genuine pronunciation of the Hebrew, and all the rules of that poetry, had been preſerved to their time, they give us ſo ſuccinct an account of every poetical piece of the old teſtament. Thus, according to them, the two ſongs of Moſes were written in heroic

[s] Vide Scalig. Animadv. in chron Euſeb. p. 7. Egubin. L. Cappel Mar. Martin. Vaſmuth. Pfeiffer. Grot. in Luc. i. 46. Calm. Diſſert. & al. [t] Theſaur. ling. Sanc. ad fin.

heroic verſe: the pſalms were of a mixt ſort, trimeters, pentameters, and others hexameters [u]. St. Jerom has ventured to be ſtill more particular [w], and to tell us, that the ſongs of Moſes, the books of Iſaiah, Job, and ſome others, were hexameters and pentameters; that the pſalms were ſapphic, iambic, and alcaic, after the manner of Horace and Pindar; that the Lamentations were of the ſapphic kind; and in his preface to the book of Job he ſays, that from the third verſe of the third chapter, the verſe is moſtly hexameter and pentameter, conſiſting of dactyls and ſpondees; tho' he adds, that it is here and there intermixed with ſome other foot or feet; and that ſome verſes, tho' ſtill more irregular, do yet preſerve ſuch a cadence and harmony, as never fails of pleaſing thoſe who are judges of the rules of poetry. However, with reſpect to Moſes's ſong in Deuteronomy, he ſeems either to have forgot, or to correct himſelf in another place [x], and ſays, that it was wrote in iambic verſe of four feet. The ſame he ſays alſo of the 119th, and ſome other pſalms; concerning which we own ourſelves wholly in the dark. All therefore that we can ſay of him and theſe learned ancients, is, that they give us their bare word for what they ſay, for none of them has ventured ſo far as to give us any proof or example of it; ſo that the reader is at liberty to take it or not. But, upon the whole, the greateſt part of them, even thoſe two ſolemn ones of Moſes, were certainly of the lyric kind, compoſed and ſet to muſic, ſung in an alternate manner, and accompanied with the ſound of divers inſtruments, and with dances ſuitable to the muſic, as we ſhall ſhew under the next head.

In the mean time, tho' we willingly excuſe ourſelves from entering into the merit of the cauſe, whether or not the Hebrews were the firſt inventors of poetry; becauſe we cannot tell how much they might have brought of it out of Egypt; yet we cannot forbear taking notice of the vanity of the Greeks, who attribute the lyric kind to Orpheus;

[u] Joſeph. Ant. l. ii. c. ult. l. iv. vii. c. 10. Phil. in vit. Moſ. & lib. de vit. contemplat. ad fin. Orig. ap. Euſeb. præpar. l. xi. c. 2. [w] Epiſt. ad Paulin. & præf in chron. Euſeb. vid. & comment. Ezek. c. xxx. [x] Vide Epiſt. 135. ad Paul. Urbic.

pheus; whereas it is plain, that it was in its perfection among the Jews at the time of the Exod, from that excellent piece which Moſes compoſed immediately after their paſſage through the Red-Sea, which was upwards of 200 years before Orpheus, ſince he is ſaid to have gone a ſtripling to the Argonautic war; that is at ſooneſt about Gideon's time y. We ſhall willingly allow them the invention of dramatic poetry; which, conſiſting only in imitation, and being calculated to make inſtruction go down, for the ſake of the diverſion that it is interlarded with, ſuited their rough and unpoliſhed genius, ſuch as it was at that time and ſince, much better than that of the Hebrews, who, for ought appears to the contrary, never admitted it amongſt them. For though the author of Job, and Solomon in his Canticles, introduce divers ſpeakers, yet it is plain their deſign is rather to expreſs their ſentiments in a more lively and pathetic manner, than to repreſent any action ſuch as uſually come into a dramatic piece. Whereas the lyric which conſiſts of muſical hymns and odes, and is adapted to promote the glory and worſhip of God, was the moſt proper to inſpire that people with a more than ordinary delight in it, was chiefly calculated for that end by its firſt Hebrew authors, and has continued in the greateſt vogue and admiration amongſt them ever ſince, inſomuch, that it ſeems to have been in ſome manner peculiar to them. Again, if Homer and Virgil are ſo juſtly admired for their judicious choice of ſuch words and phraſes, as carried a ſtrong idea of the action in their very ſound, thoſe who have but the leaſt knowledge of the Hebrew, and will but make ſome attention to this particular beauty will eaſily feel it in almoſt every line (N); and yet

y See Uſher's Annals. Sir Is. Newt. Bedford's Chronol. & al.

(N) We ſhould be glad to give ſuch of our readers as are unacquainted with the Hebrew, ſome faint idea of this; but unleſs they can forget for a moment their maſculine pronunciation, 'tis to be feared our labour will be loſt. However, in hopes that it may excite a curioſity in thoſe that do, to examine it more nearly in this view, we ſhall venture to ſubjoin the few inſtances following out of the Pſalms.

Let the ſea roar, and the fullneſs of it.
Jirham haiom umelo-o. Pſ. xcviii. 7.

Let

yet without the air of affectation and ſtudy, which viſibly appears

Let the floods clap their hands.
Neharoth jimkhau caph. ib. ver. 8.

The Lord alſo thundered from heaven, and the moſt high gave his voice.
Vejarghem baſhamajim elohim, vehelion yiten colo. xviii. 13.

The waters ſaw thee, O God, the waters ſaw thee; they trembled and the depths quaked.
Raùka mayim elohim, rauka mayim; yakhilu, aph yirghezu tehomoth. lxxvii. 16.

Mountains ſkipped like rams, vallies like young ſheep.
Heharim rakkeaeu ke-elim, gebaghoth kibne zon. cxiv. 4.

For God is high, the proud afar off he beholdeth.
Ki rom Elohim, geboagh mimerkhak yiedagh. cxxxviii. 6.

All the horns of the wicked will I break.
Col carne reſhaghim agadeagh. lxxv. ult.

And now her carvings, at once, with axes and hammers do they break.
Veghatta pettukhiah jakhad bacaſhill vekalaphoth gahalomun. lxxiv. 6.

Chariot and horſe are caſt into a deep ſleep.
Nirdam varrekeb vaſſus. lxxvi. 7.

And in my God I will knock down an ox.
Ubelohai adalegſhoor. xviii. 29.

The reader will eaſily judge of the reſt by theſe few, the three laſt of which are well worth, at leaſt, that ſo much admired one of Virgil, Procumbit humi bos; or any other of that poet, or of Homer.

But not to dwell longer on this elegancy, it will ſuffice to ſay upon the whole, that whoever makes any tolerable attention to the beautiful choice of words, where-ever the ſubject is of the ſame nature with the inſtances given above, he will find them fall with a ſuitable force and rapidity, like the cataracts of the Nile; and where the ſubject is of a contrary nature, he will diſcover in them the moſt ſurprizing ſmoothneſs and harmony that can be imagined. But of this laſt it will be ſtill more difficult to give our Engliſh readers any tolerable idea; becauſe an unknown language, tho' it were the Italian, will always carry a diſtaſtful harſhneſs to the ear, which nothing can overcome but a knowledge of at leaſt the meaning of the words. We ſhall therefore content ourſelves with giving them the two or three following inſtances:

Hearken my people to my law; incline their ears to the words of my mouth.
Haazina hami thorati hattu oſnekem leimre phi.

O that

pears in thoſe two poets, eſpecially in the latter. We may here add, that if the moſt beautiful figures and the ſtrongeſt metaphors and allegories, be a ſign of a poetic tongue, the Hebrew exceeds both the Greek and all others that we know of, in this particular alſo.

WHAT their muſic was, with which they uſed to accompany and enliven their poetic performances, we know little of but from conjecture. We have indeed nothing left of it, that can aſſure us that it was equal to their poetry; and yet if we judge of the excellency of the one from that of the other, and if the moſt elegant and harmonious words and phraſes, compoſed upon the ſublimeſt ſubjects, could inſpire a muſical perſon with a ſuitable melody, it will be abſurd to ſuppoſe their muſic to have been otherwiſe than ſweet, elegant, and beautifully varied, tho' attended with a noble gravity anſwerable to the grandeur of the ſubject and occaſion. Muſic and poetry are juſtly obſerved to be twin-ſiſters; they both ſprung from the ſame liberal faculty. To imagine therefore any ſuch an inequality

O that my people hearkned to me; that Iſrael would walk in my ways!
Lu hami ſhomeagh ly, Iſrael bidrakai hallaku.

But my people would not hear my voice; Iſrael would not acquieſce in me.
Velo ſhamagh hami le coli, Iſrael lo abba li.

How amiable are thy tabernacles, O God of Hoſts!
Mah yedidoth miſhkenotheka, Elohe zebaoth.

My beloved is mine, and I am his; he feedeth among the lillies.
Doddi li vaani lo, harogheh baſhoſanim.

His eyes are like doves by the rivers of water.
Henaw keyonim hal apphike mayim.

Theſe will ſuffice to ſhew the vaſt diſparity of ſounds in thoſe two ſubjects, which is all that we could pretend to. Thoſe who underſtand the original will eaſily feel it in almoſt every line of the ſacred poets; as for thoſe who are unacquainted with it, even the Canticles of Solomon, the ſofteſt and moſt harmonious piece, for ought we know, extant in any language, would loſe the greateſt part of the laſt beauty we have been ſpeaking of.

lity between them, would be to suppose, that it requires greater talents to form a good musician than a good poet; which is far enough from being the case. However, were we to judge of the latter by what some learned commentators have conjectured, concerning both it and the musical instruments of the Jews [z], one would rather think them antipodes. Indeed, nothing can be more opposite than the supposition of their having so exquisite an ear for poetry, and so dull a one for music. For as such we must suppose theirs to have been, if we can persuade ourselves that they admitted such dull and insipid instruments into their consorts (O); instruments which were only fit to grate the ear, and spread the harshest discord through the best compositions. It

[z] See Le Clerc's Ess. Rheinferd, Calmet, & al.

(O) Thus Le Clerc has taken some pains to prove, that the צלצלי tzilzele, which our version after the septuagint renders cymbals, were only a couple of hollow demi-globes of brass or some other tinkling metal, and about six inches diameter, which they used to shake one against another, like a pair of castanets †; because we find some such instruments to have been in use among the antients, and because the root tzalzal doth often signify to tinkle. Etymologies are at best very uncertain, and very often ridiculous. Might we not justly laugh at a foreigner who should pretend to have such an awkward description of a bass-viol, as he found them under those two words in his lexicon? We own, that such tinkling instruments were used among the antients; but the distinction which the psalmist makes of tzilzele shamagh and tzilzele terughah (22), and the other instruments which he joins with them, do at least imply something more musical, warlike, and masculine, if not more melodious, than two such demi-globes.

The same may be said of the עוגב huagb, which we translate the organ, and which is thought by our moderns to have been no more than a row of six or eight pipes, of different lengths and notes, and which was played by passing them successively under the upper lip (23). According to this description it must have been incapable of any regular harmony; tho' in its etymon it signify a lovely instrument, from עגב hagab, to love or delight in, to doat upon. But not to insist upon the name,

† See his Essay on Heb. poetry in Bibliot. Univers. tom. ix. ad fin. alib. (22) Psal. cl. 5. (23) Ibid. ver. 4.

It appears, on the contrary, that thoſe inſtruments which name, it is plain, this inſtrument was known before the flood (24), and it is ſcarcely credible it ſhould have received ſo ſmall an improvement in all that long interval, and in a nation where poetry and muſic had been ſo highly cultivated.

The שלשים ſhaliſhim, one of the inſtruments with which the women came to meet Saul (25), and which the ſeptuagint tranſlate cymbala, St. Jerom ſiſtra, and our verſion inſtruments of muſic; is ſuppoſed to have been of a triangular figure, like the △, through which were ſtrung a parcel of rings, ſo that the inſtrument being ſtruck with a ſtick, or ſhaken by the hand, made the rings ſtrike both againſt it and one another, and cauſed a moſt inharmonious jarring. But it muſt needs be ſuppoſed to have been triangular, becauſe the word שלישׁ implies the number three (tho' it might as reaſonably be ſuppoſed to mean an inſtrument of three ſtrings, and a very muſical one too), we ſee no reaſon why its triangular form might not be deſigned to contain a ſet of ſtrings one longer than another, in order to be played upon, either with ſticks as our old dulcimors, or with fingers, like the harp. As for the account which the Jewiſh writers give of theſe, and ſeveral other muſical inſtruments mentioned in holy writ, it is ſtill more pitiful. But this is not ſo much to be wondered at; their muſical, as well as their poetic, genius has left them long ago; but if thoſe who are judges of either can ſuppoſe ſuch a vaſt diſparity between them to be poſſible, and that the dulleſt and moſt muſical inſtruments were uſed to enliven the harmony of the moſt ſublime poetry, we freely own we cannot join with them; and that tho' it be never ſo impoſſible to come at any notion of the nature and ſymmetry of thoſe inſtruments, yet we cannot forbear thinking, that they muſt have been vaſtly more ſuitable to it, than any of thoſe which our moſt diligent ſearchers have yet been able to diſcover.

It would be loſt labour to go about giving a further account of all the various kinds of muſical inſtruments mentioned in holy writ, which the Jewiſh rabbies reckon to the number of 34, by taking the titles of ſeveral pſalms, ſuch as Mictan, Sigaion, Sheminith, &c. for particular inſtruments on which theſe pſalms were to be played. But ſetting even theſe aſide, there will be ſtill at leaſt twenty different ſorts left, which we ſhall, however, forbear mentioning, becauſe we know ſo little of them, and have ſo little reaſon to be ſatisfied with the conjectures of commentators

(24) Gen. iv. 21. (25) 1 Sam. xviii. 6.

which were much in vogue amongſt them are really muſical and harmonious. We read of eight and ten-ſtringed inſtruments; of the nebel and kinor, which we conjecture to be like the lute and harp, and from which the Greeks had their naba and cinyra. They had likewiſe ſeveral kinds of wind inſtruments, ſuch as the trumpet, flute, and what ſeveral antient and modern verſions call the organ, whatever reſemblance it might have to ours. To theſe they joined the drum, and perhaps the kettle-drums (which we take to be the inſtrument ſpoken of in the laſt note), eſpecially when their muſic was accompanied with dances, as it generally was; and theſe if artfully touch'd, could not but give a wonderful cadence to them.

But if we may judge of the excellence of the Hebrew muſic from its wonderful effects, ſuch as we find it had upon Saul in his moſt melancholy and diſtracted moods [a], and in calming the ſouls of the prophets, and fitting them for divine inſpiration [b], which is no more than the Greeks tell us of their own, and which can hardly be denied without giving the lye to a cloud of antient authors; we ſhall be forced to own, that it was vaſtly more moving than any thing we have now. And, indeed, what wonder is it, that it ſhould have attained to ſuch perfection, if we conſider the great diſtance of time between its firſt author Jubal [c] and Moſes? and that, from the latter's time downwards, it was in conſtant uſe, both in their worſhip, in their religious and civil feſtivals, in their public and private rejoicings, and even in their mournings; witneſs that which David compoſed on the death of Saul

[a] 1 Sam. xvi. 23. vid. & xix. 23, & ſeq. [b] 2 Kings iii. 15.
[c] Gen. iv. 21.

commentators about them. All that we ſhall ſay further is, that they were of three kinds, namely, 1. wind-inſtruments, ſuch as the ſeveral ſorts of flutes, trumpets, and the organ; 2. ſtringed inſtruments, of this kind were the harp, lute, inſtruments of three, eight, and ten ſtrings; and 3. ſuch as were beat either by the hand, or with a ſtick, as the tabor, drum, kettle-drums, and ſuch like. To go further upon the ſubject would be venturing in the dark. The reader may, if he pleaſes, ſee a fuller account of them in Calmet's diſſertatica quoted in page 436.

Saul and Jonathan [d], and the lamentations of Jeremy at the death of king Joſiah. But what improvement it may have received from David's time may be eaſily gueſſed, if we conſider the great encouragement which that monarch gave it: he was a good muſician, as well as an excellent poet; and how much a prince's inclination contributes to the advancement of any art, is obvious to every one. What progreſs then may we not ſuppoſe was made to it, by thoſe 4000 levites, whom he wholly devoted to that province, under the tuition of 288 excellent maſters, with Aſaph, Heman, and Jeduthun at their head [e]? The law had already provided for their maintenance another way; and the addition which their merit could procure, joined to the natural deſire of excelling, was ſufficient for men, who having nothing to take them off from it, to beſtow their whole time and application upon ſo delightful and ſo profitable an art. Beſides theſe, who aſſiſted conſtantly by turns at the altar of burnt-offering, but in much greater number at all ſolemn feſtivals, we read likewiſe of women, who applied themſelves to muſic both vocal and inſtrumental: ſuch as Heman's three daughters [f], and thoſe which are mentioned by the pſalmiſt [g]. Their kings had alſo their own muſicians of both ſexes [h]. Some of the pſalms, eſpecially the 20th, 21ſt, and 72d, are ſuppoſed to have been compoſed in order to be ſung on the day of their inauguration. The 45th and the Canticles are reckoned a kind of epithalamium proper for a wedding-day We have ſeen likewiſe that they had proper pſalms and hymns, not only at the temple, for every great feſtival and other public occaſions, but alſo at their private feaſts, ſuch as weddings, circumciſions, and the like. In a word, no nation ſeems to have been fonder of muſic than the Jews; inſomuch, that tho' the Babyloniſh captivity had made them hang their harps on the willows; yet at their return we find they brought back a troop of 200 muſicians of both ſexes [i].

FROM all this the reader may eaſily judge, whether it be credible, that an art of ſo long ſtanding, ſo much admired, encouraged, ſo univerſally practiſed, and capable to cauſe ſuch wonderful effects, could be ſo rude and plain, as to

[d] 2 Sam. i. 17, & ſeq. [e] 1 Chron. xxiii. 5. xxv. 7, & ſeq. [f] Ibid. ver. 5, 6. [g] Pſ. lxviii. 25. [h] 1 Chron. xxv. 2. Sam. xix. 25. Eccleſ. ii. 8. [i] Ezr. ii. 65.

conſiſt only in the variety of voices and inſtruments, playing all to the ſame notes, without any combination of even baſs or treble, much leſs of the other parts, which make up the ſoul of muſic [k]; and that chance, at leaſt, ſhould not have led them to obſerve the harmony of ſome, as well as the harſhneſs of other compound notes, ſo as to point out this improvement to them, in ſo long a time, and among ſuch variety of voices and inſtruments. For our part, we think it as difficult to imagine, as it is to account for the ſurprizing effects we read of it, from bare ſimple tunes, how fine and melodious ſoever. One thing ſeems more than probable from the ſtile of ſeveral of the pſalms, and the frequent tranſition from the firſt to the third perſon; that it was performed alternately, one part of the chorus anſwering to the other at proper ſtanzas and diviſions, not unlike the choirs of our cathedrals [l]. What other improvements they might have made to this art, which we are wholly ignorant of, is not ſo eaſy to gueſs at, as how, and when, they might be loſt.

It is indeed generally objected, that the roughneſs of the Hebrew, its abounding with conſonants, gutturals, and monoſyllables, makes it ſo unfit for muſic, that it would be even madneſs to attempt it. Were this indeed really fact, it would at once explode all that we have ſaid on the other ſide; but we hope we have already ſufficiently ſhewn the contrary, in thoſe few inſtances we have given in the former note. We may even venture to affirm, that ſome pieces of Hebrew, which we have ſet to ſuitable muſic, would eaſily convince any impartial judge, that this objection is wholly imaginary, and ſprings partly from the want of due attention on that neglected tongue, and partly from our preſent unaccountable fondneſs for the modern Italic taſte, rather than from any inharmonious roughneſs in the Hebrew numbers. It is even certain, from the excellent compoſitions which have been made out in our own native Engliſh, tho' in moſt reſpects (gutturals excepted, which, by the way, are far from muſical) the moſt like the Hebrew of any modern language, that the perfection of muſic doth not conſiſt in that ſmooth ſinking ſoftneſs we are now ſo taken with. We are well ſatisfied, on

[k] See Calmet Differt. de Muſic Heb. [l] Bedford's Diſcourſe on the ſame.

on the contrary, that many of us, who fondly imagine that our age hath raiſed muſic to its zenith, would be ſtrangely ſurprized to find, by comparing its moſt admired performances with thoſe of two, three, or more centuries paſt; ſome of its nobleſt beauties and excellencies quite loſt, not to be recovered again to the world, till it has recovered its genuine taſte, that is, perhaps, not till we have a new heaven and a new earth (P).

This is certainly true, at leaſt with reſpect to divine muſic, how much ſoever it may be thought to have been improved by art. And a muſic maſter, in the height of pleaſure and good humour may as well pretend to direct my heart and voice how to expreſs my anger and reſentment, as to compoſe, for inſtance, a Te Deum which ſhall inſpire its hearers with the higheſt ſenſe of gratitude to the divine goodneſs, unleſs he be in the ſame temper as the royal muſician, when he ſaid, *My heart is ready, I will ſing*——[m].

What has been ſaid of the Hebrew muſic may be alſo ſuppoſed of their dances, namely, that thoſe that were of a religious nature, were generally more grave, ſolemn, and ſuitable both to the muſic and words, and to the occaſion, than their other ſorts; but whether confined to any rules as ours are, or rather directed only by cuſtom and imitation; whether circular, as is generally ſuppoſed, or of any other form, we can only gueſs by thoſe of other antient nations. But even this being all conjecture, and the ſubject not worth a further enquiry, we ſhall now paſs to another

[m] Pſ. cviii. 1.

(P) This reflection is not deſigned to affront the preſent age, but partly to excite ſome able judges to recover, if poſſible, vaſt numbers of ineſtimable pieces in this kind, and to revive the memory of their worthy authors, who now lie ſhamefully buried in oblivion; and partly to prevent the dangerous effects of the taſte now in vogue: For if it be undeniable, that muſic is capable either of ſoftening the rougheſt tempers, or of inſpiring the ſoft and debonnaire with more heroic and noble ſentiments, according as it is ſkilfully managed by a good maſter; we need not ſay much of the two this age ſtands moſt in need of;

another, which is somewhat better known to us. As to the Hebrew poetry, music, and dances, the reader may, if he pleases, consult the authors quoted in the margin [n].

Of the language, writing, and learning of the Jews.

Hebrew tongue.

THEIR tongue was the Hebrew, such as we have it in the writings of Moses, and other sacred authors. We have elsewhere given the most probable etymology of that name †, so that we are far from thinking, that it was called so from Heber, in whose family alone it had been preserved in its purity, as the parent of all the rest, as some authors have imagined [o]. What we have said formerly, both about the confusion of languages in general, and of the uncertainty of the Hebrew being the mother, much less the original, tongue, doth sufficiently expose the fondness of such a notion. We shall not therefore repeat what has been said already *, but confine ourselves to what was there promised; namely, to give some further account of the genius, and of those particular excellencies of the Hebrew tongue, for which it is so generally supposed to have been the mother of all others. But without engaging ourselves too far into the merit of the cause, we do willingly give up the conceit of some antient fathers [p] who, from the words of the psalmist [q], *when he (Israel) came out of Egypt and heard a language which he knew not*, have imagined, that

[n] Vid. Mercen. Skikard, Meibon, Gomar, Le Clerc, Calmet, & al. † Vid. vol. ii. p. 394. note (A). [o] Vid. Auct. sup. Citat. sub. litt. f. g. vol. i. p. 434. * Vid. vol. i. p. 426. & seq. [p] Origen. lib. 3. cont. Cels. Gregor. Nyssen. Orat. 12. cont. Eunom. Theodoret quæst. 61. in Gen. & alib. [q] Psal. lxxxi. 5.

of; and experience shews, that the hardest metals, as well as roughest tempers, may be softened so long, and so much, as to become quite useless.

that to the many favours, which God ſhewed to that people at their deliverance out of Egypt, he added this one, of inſpiring them with an immediate knowledge of the ſacred tongue. As to what is farther urged in favour of it by ſome critics, that we find in it the greateſt number of the apteſt etymologies and roots, both of men and things, the ſame has been alſo urged in favour of the Chaldee and Syriac, Arabic, Æthiopic, Armenian, and almoſt of every eaſtern tongue; yea, and we need not wonder much at it, ſince a modern author has even found this mother tongue in the Fleming (Q). But tho' we do allow the preference to the Hebrew in this reſpect, yet we have already proved etymologies to be too uncertain a foundation to build upon; if therefore this laſt has any advantage over the reſt, with reſpect to its being the mother rather than a daughter to any of them, it muſt be upon the account of its ſimplicity, its pureneſs, energy, fecundity of meanings and expreſſions, notwithſtanding its natural barrenneſs of words; over and above its great affinity, to all theſe tongues, which it ſeems to excel in all theſe particulars. To this may be alſo added the ſignificancy of the names both of men and brutes, the latter of which are generally allowed to expreſs their nature and properties in this, more than in any other known tongue; not to inſiſt on the antiquity and venerableneſs of its writings above all others; all which ſeem to ſpeak much more in its favour than of any other. From all this we may reaſonably conclude, that if we could know it as well and as fully as it was

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(Q) This is what the Flemiſh antiquary has endeavoured to do (26) from a conſiderable number of etymologies of primitive names, as of Adam from Haas-dam, Eve from Ev-vat Abel from Haas-belg, Cain from Quaat-ende, and may others, which are ſo forced and unappoſite, that one would have rather took it as a burleſque upon etymologiſts, than for a ſerious piece, had he not taken ſuch pains to tell his readers that he was in very good earneſt.

(26) Gorop. Becan. Origin. Antwerp. lib. 5. paſſ.

in Moſes's time, we might find ſtill greater arguments on its ſide (R).

But as far as we underſtand, and are able to judge of it at this great diſtance, and from thoſe few books we have left of it, this will be hardly conteſted, that its genius is pure, primitive, natural, and exactly conformable to the native ſimplicity of the Hebrew patriarchs; its words are conciſe yet expreſſive, derived from a ſmall number of roots, yet without the ſtudied compoſition of the Greek and Roman. It has the happieſt and richeſt fecundity in its verbs of any tongue, either antient or modern, which ariſes from the variety and ſignificancy of its conjugations, ſome of which do even imply a whole phraſe, and cannot be well expreſſed in any other without paraphraſing. Thus, for inſtance, to love, to be loved, to love vehemently, to be loved vehemently, to be made to love, or to be loved, and to love one-ſelf, are expreſſed by the ſame verb with a ſmall variation, in ſome only of the points, and in others of one or at moſt two letters. Thus again, the change of conjugation doth make a verb. expreſs a contrary ſenſe or action, as to bleſs and curſe, honour and diſhonour, to root in, or cauſe to take root, and to root out utterly (S).

Pronouns

(R) It muſt be owned, however, that ſeveral learned critics have obſerved ſeveral defects in it, as we have it now in the ſacred books, which plainly ſhew, that, if it was the original tongue and the parent of the reſt, it muſt have ſuffered many changes, ſuch as the loſing of a great number of its primitive roots and idioms, and adopting thoſe of ſtrange nations (27). Of this number are generally allowed all roots that have above three letters, beſides very many ſcriptural words, whoſe roots are entirely loſt. However, this is plain, from the books we have ſtill extant, that from Moſes's time to the Babyloniſh captivity it has continued the ſame, without any viſible improvement, or indeed without any change, either for the better or for the worſe.

(S) This excellency ſo peculiar to this tongue above all others, is further diſplayed by Bellarmine, in his Hebrew grammar, to the following effect: Every verb (ſays he) doth imply either an action, or

(27) Vid. Grot. de verit. Rel. Chr. note 16, & ſeq. & Comm. in Gen. ix. Huet. demonſt. Evang. Genebr. Cluver. Horn. Capel, & al. mult.

Pronouns and prepoſitions are only ſingle letters, but the former at the end, and the latter at the beginning of a word. The grammar is ſimple, eaſy, and natural. There is no difference in their nouns, but what is abſolutely neceſſary to expreſs gender and number, and their caſes are diſtinguiſhed by articles, which are only ſingle letters at the beginning of the word. The ſame ſimplicity runs through all the moods and tenſes of their verbs, and indeed throughout their ſyntax and concordance. Their words follow one another in an eaſy and natural order, without intricacy or tranſpoſition, without ſuſpending or clogging the ſenſe by long-winded periods, ſo that their ſtyle could not but be extremely free and clear whilſt it continued a living tongue; and if in ſome caſes it appears otherwiſe to us at this great diſtance, it is owing either to its frequent alluſions to cuſtoms and things, then univerſally underſtood, and ſince loſt, or to our being in the dark about the true meaning of a great number of words and proper idioms, which we are forced to ſeek for in the Chaldee and Arabic, tho' often without

or paſſion, or neither, or both; the active verbs ſignify the action of a man either upon himſelf or upon another, and if the latter, it is cauſed either by himſelf, or by the means of a third. Here then the action of a man upon himſelf is found in the conjugation Hithphael, which therefore admits of no paſſive to anſwer it; becauſe in this caſe, the ſame perſon is agent and patient. Pihel expreſſes the action of one thing upon another, to which anſwers the paſſive Puhal; if the action be cauſed by means of a third, you will find it in the conjugation Hiphil, to which anſwers the paſſive Hophal. The neuter verbs are to be found in the conjugation, Kal, which containing alſo ſometimes verbs of active ſignification, that of Niphal anſwers to them in a paſſive ſenſe. Laſtly, the common verbs are to be found in the conjugation Pohel.

Thus by theſe eight conjugations, or flexions of one and the ſame root, performed by the addition or change of a few points, or of a letter or two, is expreſſed all the variety of ſignifications, and which can hardly be done even in any derivatives, much leſs in the Greek, Roman, &c. without circumlocution. To this we might add the ſimplicity of its primitive roots, conſiſting at moſt of three letters; of its compoſition, whether with reſpect to the pronouns joined with them, with their adverbs, prepoſitions, &c. and many other particulars; but all theſe are ſo well known to the learned, and ſo hard to be underſtood by the reſt, that we ſhall beſtow no more time about them.

without ſucceſs, and ſeldom with any tolerable certainty of having found the right one. Some of their manners of ſpeaking there are likewiſe which ſeem to us flat and uncouth, which will upon due examination, appear not only the moſt natural and exact, but argue perhaps a clearer and more ſolid judgment in thoſe that uſed them. Of this nature is their introducing perſons, in their narrations, ſpeaking their own words inſtead of affecting to repeat them in their name; it is, for inſtance, the common ſtyle of the divine writers to expreſs themſelves thus, *And God ſaid to Abraham, I am thy ſhield and thy exceeding great reward,* inſtead of *God told Abraham, that he was his ſhield. And Abraham ſaid, O that Iſhmael might live!* inſtead of *he intreated God for Iſhmael's life.* This every one knows, is the conſtant language of all the writer's of the old teſtament; but whether or no it will be allowed to be the moſt natural and exact way of writing, it cannot be denied to be a certain mark of the moſt antient ſimplicity, which we cannot ſay doth run with the like conſtancy and pureneſs through the Chaldee, much leſs in the Syriac, Arabic, and other antient tongues, ſo that upon all theſe accounts the Hebrew ſeems to bid faireſt for being the parent of the reſt. The Chaldee bears the greateſt affinity to it in many reſpects, tho' it ſeems to have been rather a daughter than a mother to it. However, as nothing can be poſitively decided on either ſide, we ſhall only obſerve further, with reſpect to the Hebrew, that it is of all others the moſt conciſe, maſculine, pathetic, and freeſt from lightneſs and bombaſt; upon which accounts a judicious author ſays of it, that it comes neareſt to the language of ſpirits, who ſtand in no need of words to convey their minds to one another [r].

Character. It is indeed far otherwiſe with their way of writing, tho' we ſhould allow it equally eaſy and natural to write from the right to the left as they did, or from the left to the right as the Greeks, Romans, and Moderns do; for whether we take it to have been the ſame with the preſent character in which we have the ſacred books, which yet is univerſally allowed now to have been the old Aſſyrian, and introduced only ſince the Babyloniſh captivity, or whether we

[r] Fleury Mœurs des Iſraelites, ch. 20.

we take it to have been the old Samaritan, which has been preſerved only in ſome few medals, and in the Samaritan pentateuch, which is now the moſt received opinion; ſure it is, that the former ſeems rather to have been contrived for beauty than expedition, whilſt the laſt is the fartheſt from either, and is perhaps the moſt uncouth and unnatural, the moſt puzzling and unſightly, that ever was invented; inſomuch, that it is ſcarcely credible, that ſo judicious a perſon as Moſes was, would ever have made uſe of it, if he had known of any better being extant at that time. This the reader will beſt judge of by the alphabet following, by which he will ſee ſufficient reaſon to juſtify Ezrah, and thoſe who changed them for the more elegant and commodious Aſſyrian, if they did really ſo, and the Samaritan was really the old one.

The

The HEBREW ALPHABET.

Samaritan.	Chaldee.	Names.	Power.	Numbers.	Final.
𐤀	א	1 Aleph	Aſpiration	1	
𐤁	ב	2 Beth	B	2	
𐤂	ג	3 Gimel	G	3	
𐤃	ד	4 Daleth	D	4	
𐤄	ה	5 He	H	5	
𐤅	ו	6 Vau	V	6	
𐤆	ז	7 Zain	Z	7	
𐤇	ח	8 Cheth	Ch	8	
𐤈	ט	9 Teth	T th	9	
𐤉	י	10 Iod	I i y	10	
𐤊	כ	11 Caph	K	20	ך
𐤋	ל	12 Lamed	L	30	
𐤌	מ	13 Mem	M	40	ם
𐤍	נ	14 Nun	N	50	ן
𐤎	ס	15 Samek	S	60	
𐤏	ע	16 Ain	H gh ngh	70	
𐤐	פ	17 Peh	P ph	80	ף
𐤑	צ	18 Tzade	T tz	90	ץ
𐤒	ק	19 Coph	K	100	
𐤓	ר	20 Reſh	R	200	
𐤔	ש	21 Shin	Sh ſ	300	
𐤕	ת	22 Tau	T th	400	

THAT this is the exact number and order of their letters is demonſtrable from thoſe acroſtic pieces, both in the pſalms, and elſewhere, whoſe every half or whole verſe, or every other verſe, begins with one of theſe letters ſucceſſively, as we mentioned it under the laſt article. It is likewiſe univerſally agreed, that the Samaritan letters are either the ſame, or very near ſo, with the old Phœnician. This we

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we have hinted already †, and it is far from improbable, that the old Egyptian was alſo very like it [s], ſo that Moſes, who was learned in all the wiſdom of Egypt, might write his laws in that character. Sir Iſaac Newton indeed thinks, that he had it from the Midianites [t]; and we have, in more places than one of this hiſtory, concluded it highly probable, that not only they, but all their trading neighbours had the art of writing very early *, though it be not poſſible to determine, whether each nation had a peculiar one of their own, or the ſame in common to them all, much leſs to aſcribe the invention of it to its true author (T).

HOWEVER,

† Vid. vol. ii. p. 357. [s] Vid. Plutarch lib. de dæmon Socrat. Kircher. Voſs. Capel. & al. mult. [t] Chronol. p. 210.
* Vid. vol. ii. p. 132, 188. & alib.

(T) Were the Sabeans to be relied upon, we ſhould not be long to ſeek for the firſt inventor of writing and of letters, ſince they produce a book which they pretend to have been written by Adam, the character of which, tho' different from all others (28), might have given the hint to thoſe alphabets that have been ſince uſed. But as their authority weighs but little in this point, others have attributed it to Seth, upon the authority of Joſephus, who tells us, that he cauſed his aſtronomical diſcoveries to be ingraven upon two pillars, deſigned to continue proof, one againſt the flood, and the other againſt the conflagration (29). Others, to Enoch, becauſe St. Jude quotes a prophecy of his (30), which they think muſt have been handed down in writing, though much more probably by tradition. Others again to Noah and to Abraham †, but the far greateſt part of both Jews and Chriſtians, antient and modern, to Moſes, whom very many think to be the ſame with the Egyptian Thouth or Hermes, mentioned in the hiſtory of that nation (31). Among theſe laſt, ſome believe, that the firſt writing was that upon the two tables, and that conſequently God did firſt ſhew it unto Moſes, who taught it to Aaron, Joſhua, and

(28) D'Herbelot. Bibliot. orient p. 626. (29) Ant. l. 1. c. 3. (30) Epiſt. Jud. ver. 14. † Vid. vol. ii. p. 425. note (Q). (31) Ita Rabin fer. omn. Artaphan. Eupolem. Vid. vol. i. p. 189. vid. & Artaph. & Eupolem. ap. Euſeb. præp. lib. ix. c. 17, 18. Rabbin. fer omn. Lud. Vives comm. in St Auguſt. de Civit. Dei. lib. 18. c. 29. Grot. not. in verit. Rel. Chr. Huet. demonſt. Evang. Gale. Court of the Gentil. p. 26. & alib. innumer.

However, though it be now the moſt received opinion, that the Samaritan was the antient Hebrew character, yet it has been ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by ſeveral learned men [u]. The Talmudiſts not only ſuppoſe the contrary all along, but have declared themſelves for the Chaldee characters even in that place, where they have been quoted for the oppoſite opinion [w] (V), and there ſeems to have ran an univerſal

[u] Hotting. cont. Morin. Poſtel. Buxtorf. jun. & al. [w] Tract. Sanhedr. ap. Walt. prolegom.

and the 70 elders. Moſt of the Jews are of the ſame opinion, and ſome of them add, that there was an alphabet ingraven alſo upon the tables, along the margin, in order to teach him and his people the way of reading the decalogue. But the reverſe of all this ſeems implyed in the account which that law-giver gives us of his receiving thoſe tables; he ſays indeed, that they were written by the finger, or, as we formerly ſhewed *, by the order and direction of God; but he hints nothing like his being taught to read them, or his inſtructing others in it, much leſs that ſuch a way of writing was taught him by God himſelf, and till then unknown to the world; which circumſtance he can hardly be ſuppoſed to have omitted, had that been the caſe. But we have elſewhere ſhewed, that this art was, in all probability, of much older date among the Phœnician and other trading nations, than the decalogue, ſo that we can by no means fall in with this notion, tho' we know of nothing recorded of greater antiquity than that.

(V) We have had occaſion to hint this formerly (32), and the miraculous power by which they affirm the middle of the ם and ם to have been ſupported, doth plainly ſhew, that they did not mean the Samaritan, but Chaldee; becauſe in the former, the ם Mem hath nothing in its figure, that required ſuch a ſupernatural ſupport. As to the paſſage quoted out of the Talmud by Walton, and thoſe that have followed him, in favour of the Samaritan againſt the Chaldee, or as that place calls it, the Aſſyrian letters, if thoſe authors had but had the patience to have read a little further, they would have found ſeveral anſwers to it, which tho' neither definitive nor ſatisfactory, yet plainly ſhew, that the compilers were of a quite contrary opinion. We ſhall not trouble our reader with the whole paſſage, but only ſubjoin the moſt material things they anſwer in favour of the Chaldee; the firſt of which is to this purpoſe, We have ſtill our columns and our vaus, intimating thereby the likeneſs of the ו to a column with its chapiter,

* Vid. vol. ii. p. 615. note (A). ſub. fin. (32) Ibid.

verſal conſent to them through all their ſucceſſors ever ſince (W). Among thoſe of the chriſtians, who have declared

ter, ſuch as its name implies in the Hebrew, whereas the Samaritan vau has nothing in its figure that bears the leaſt reſemblance to it. The next anſwer is, that it is ſaid in the book of Eſther, (33), that Mordecai wrote unto all the nations according to their writing and language, and to the Jews alſo according to their language and writing; which laſt, it is there urged, would have been needleſs, if the preſent Hebrew had been the old Aſſyrian character, and the Jews had already adopted it inſtead of the old Samaritan, or any other. To this is ſubjoined a further queſtion, or objection, Why then are thoſe characters called אשׁרים Aſhrim? to which the anſwer given is; From the Aſhrim or Beatitudes contained in it, meaning in the ſacred book written in that character.

We beg leave to obſerve, that we are vindicating the anſwers of the Talmudiſts, which muſt ſtand or fall according to their worth; but only ſhew, how lightly they have been quoted on that ſide of the queſtion, which they have moſt plainly declared themſelves againſt.

(W) They even tell us at the very threſhold of their grammar, that the names of ſeveral of the letters, which they would have us believe are of almoſt equal antiquity with them, were given them from their figure, as that of others from their ſound. Thus ב the ſecond letter, was called Beth from its far-off reſemblance to a houſe, and the ג Gimel from a much nearer one to a camel, ד Daleth to a door, the ו Vau to a column, ל Lamed to a ſpit, and ſo on; whereas no ſuch reſemblance is to be found in the Samaritan alphabet; but they are wanting in the main proof, namely, the antiquity of thoſe names, for want of which their concluſion falls to the ground. For the ſame argument might as well be urged in favour of the points Pattah, Kamets, Zere, Kibbuts, &c. which are now univerſally allowed to be of modern invention, as we ſhall ſee anon; for tho' theſe names bear no reſemblance to the figure of thoſe points, yet they were invented, in all likelihood, to expreſs the manner in which they are pronounced; as for inſtance, the Pattah, or A, with an open mouth, and the Kibbuts, or U, with the lips cloſely gathered. In like manner, it is probable, they made choice at firſt of ſuch names as could beſt imprint the ſhape of the letter on the memory, by the likeneſs it did bear to the thing by which they were called, as the ג Gimel to a Camel, by reaſon of the bunch on its back, the ע Ain to an Eye, the ש Shin to a Tooth; and might as probably

(33) Eſth. viii. 9.

clared themſelves on that ſide, there has been one who has taken an unſpeakable deal of pains, to prove the Chaldee character to be the genuine alphabet of nature, becauſe no letter can be rightly ſounded, without diſpoſing the organs of ſpeech into an uniform poſition, with the figure of that letter. This he has endeavoured to diſplay in 33 copper plates, 22 of which ſhew the pronunciation of letters, and the reſt that of the point vowels; from which he infers at the ſame time, that the Samaritan, bearing no kind of ſimilitude to ſuch a poſition of the organs, could not be the antient Hebrew [x].

[x] Vid. Van Helmont Alphabet Natur.

bly have been done, when they began to teach this Chaldee character to thoſe who had been uſed to the old Samaritan, for their eaſier attainment of it, but where the letter bore no likeneſs to any thing that carried the ſound of it, they gave it a name that did, as Mem, Nun, &c.

The

THE misfortune is, that all his fine reaſoning, and whatever elſe is urged by others on that ſide of the queſtion, is entirely overthrown by one fact produced for the other ſide, namely, that of the old Jewiſh ſhekel here annexed, which is

inſcribed on the one ſide, THE SHEKEL OF ISRAEL; and on the reverſe, JERUSALEM THE HOLY; not only in this Samaritan character, but as there is ſome reaſon to ſuppoſe, in the Jeruſalimic dialect. We ſhall refer the further particulars of this coin and its inſcriptions to the next note; and only obſerve here, that by the name of Iſrael in the firſt, could not be meant the ten revolted tribes, becauſe they had nothing to do with Jeruſalem the holy, which is on the reverſe. There are alſo ſome pregnant proofs, that it could not belong to the Samaritans after the captivity; one of which among the reſt is, that their hatred againſt the Jews was grown to ſuch a height by that time, that they would have ſuffered any thing, rather than be forced to ſtamp ſuch an inſcription upon their coins. The reader may ſee

the whole argament at length, in the authors quoted in the margin * ; from which the Samaritan character is proved to have been the antient Hebrew, and not that which has been and is ſtill uſed by the Jews and Chriſtians under that name (X).

These

* Morin, Simon, Calmet, Whiſton, & al.

(X) Some of theſe ſhekels were in the poſſeſſion of Maimonides and Rabbi Azarias among the Jews, and of Morinus, Montanus, Villalpandus, and others, among the Chriſtians. The mark on the one ſide is ſuppoſed to have been Aaron's miraculous rod budding forth almonds, and on the other, the pot of Manna. The letters over this laſt not being plain enough, are varioufly conjectured to ſtand for the name of God, of Iſrael, David, Jeruſalem, and the like ; as for the inſcriptions round thoſe two ſides, bating a ſmall variation of the character and ſpelling between thoſe extant coins, they plainly anſwer to theſe in the modern Hebrew, on the one ſide שקל ישראל Shekel Iſrael ; and on the reverſe ירושלים הקדושה or Jeruſhalaim Hakadoſhah, Jeruſalem the holy *.

Thus then the argument in favour of the Samaritan characters ſeem to amount to a demonſtration. We can ſee but two things that can be objected againſt it with any colour of reaſon ; the firſt is, that conſidering the notorious cheats which have been impoſed upon the world, with reſpect to coins and medals, we ſhould be well aſſured of the genuineſs of theſe, before we venture to decide in ſo weighty a point. The next is, that allowing them to be genuine, and to have been coined before the revolt of the ten tribes, which is more than probable from what we obſerved above, one ſide's being inſcribed the Shekel of Iſrael, yet they may as likely have been the tribute money, which either the Samaritans, or ſome of the Canaanitiſh nations, paid either to David, Solomon, or to ſome of his ſucceſſors. What gives this latter a greater face of probability is, the difference of character and ſpelling between thoſe coins, and which cannot be ſo well accounted for, if we ſuppoſe them to have belonged to a ſingle people, eſpecially that of Iſrael. But if the ſeveral nations of Canaan, for inſtance, were obliged to ſtamp theſe inſcriptions on their tribute money, in token of their ſubjection to the Hebrews, we ſhall not be to ſeek for the reaſon of this difference. Now ſuch an exaction is ſo far from improbable, that we find it has been practiſed afterwards,

* Vide int. al. Walton. Supplem. in prolegom. de ponder. p. 36. & 38.

THESE characters, notwithſtanding their great affinity to the old Phœnician, if they be not indeed the ſame with them, and the vaſt progreſs of this latter all over the world, would have been entirely loſt, had it not been preſerved to us in the Samaritan pentateuch ; by the help of which, we have been able to decypher both the inſcription of theſe ſhekels, which have given ſo great a light to this controverſy, and of ſome other Phœnician medals, of no leſs uſe in other parts of antient hiſtory. But tho' we have had no copies of that book till within theſe 200 years (Y), and

wards, by ſeveral conquerors upon the people they ſubdued ; and we ſhall ſhew, in the ſequel of this work, that ſome nations have even choſen to ſacrifice their lives, rather than to comply with this one ſingle mark of ſubjection. We pretend not to determine on either ſide, but if we may be permitted to ſpeak our thoughts concerning the Samaritan and Phœnician characters, it is plain, that as they were never calculated for eaſe and expedition, ſuch as one might reaſonably expect among theſe trading nations, but rather to conceal learning from the vulgar, as the Egyptians affected to do † ; ſo if Moſes choſe to write his laws in them, preferably to any other, that might then be in uſe, one can ſcarce ſuppoſe any other reaſon for it, than that of preſerving an awful regard to them.

This might be the reaſon of his ordaining of the lecture of them to be made by the prieſts to the people, and of his commanding the parents to tranſmit the main ones to their children by word of mouth : and laſtly, this may be the reaſon why the learned among the antient Jews are called סופרים Sopherim, that is Scribes, according to the generality of verſions, or according to the more literal ſenſe of the word, men that could read or write books.

(Y) Archbiſhop Uſher is the firſt perſon to whom we are beholden for the firſt copies that ever were brought into Europe ; the frequent mention which he met with of it in the laſt quoted authors, would not ſuffer him to be at reſt, as he expreſſes himſelf, (34), till he had procured five or ſix of them from Syria and Paleſtine, and had carefully examined them. What his obſervations. and thoſe of other learned, are concerning that book, is foreign, to our purpoſe, the reader may conſult the authors quoted in the margin about it (35). With reſpect to the character itſelf,

† Vide vol. i. p. 590.

(34) Epiſt. ad. Lud. Capel.

(35) Morin. diſſert. Hotting. conc. Morin. F. Simon Hiſt. Critic. t. t. Sentiments de quelq ; Theolog. de Holland. Prideaux Connect. t. ii. l. 6.

and consequently no knowlege of these shekels till some time after, we must not think, the Samaritan pentateuch had been unknown till then, or the Chaldee had passed till then for the original Hebrew character. On the contrary, we find the former often mentioned by some of the fathers and other antient authors [y], the greatest part of whom (especially of the fathers) were of opinion, that the Jews exchanged their old Samaritan for that more beautiful Chaldee which is now in use with them, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, whilst the Samaritans chose to preserve the antient one. This opinion was likewise embraced by many modern critics, even before these Samaritan copies were brought into Europe, tho' by a far greater number since these additional testimonies have been brought to light. There has been, however, a third class, who have endeavoured to reconcile the difference, by affirming, that the antient Jews had two sorts of characters, the sacred and the vulgar; the first of which they pretend was the Chaldee now in use, and the latter the Samaritan [z]: but as they have given no reasonable proof for such a distinction, it has been justly rejected as chimerical; tho' if they had really had two such sorts of characters, one would rather have supposed the Samaritan to have been the sacred, of the reasons mentioned in a former note.

It has likewise been a famous dispute among the learned, whether the Hebrews used any vowel-letters, or whether the points, which are now called by that name, were substituted

[y] Vid. Orig. Hexapl. Hieron. in Ezek. & alib. Euseb. Cæsar, Diodor. Tarsens. Cybil. Alex. Procop. Syncell. & al. [z] RR Azariah Ab. de Bartenor, Postel, Buxtorf, Conting. Sghambat, & al. quid.

itself, we shall not pretend to decide, whether the Phœnicians had it from the Hebrews, or these from them; sure it is indeed, that Moses is the oldest writer we know of, but whoever considers the vast interval between the creation of the world and the time in which he wrote: the great increase of mankind, their early commerce, arts, sciences, and the like, will hardly think the knowledge of letters, to be so recent as that law-giver's writings. It will be more reasonable to divide the honour of that invention and its gradual improvements, among more nations, and, perhaps, more ages than one; for without all peradventure, had he known it to have been the invention of one man, especially of one of the patriarchs, he would not have failed recording him as well as the inventors of musick, forging, and such like.

ſubſtituted inſtead of them, and if the latter, whether they are as old as Moſes, or invented by Ezra, or by the Mazorites: it is not our deſign to enter into that ſpacious field of controverſy, which has exerciſed the wits of the moſt learned critics of the two laſt centuries, and is far from being, as yet, adjuſted by thoſe of the preſent. It will be ſufficient, we hope to acquaint our readers with the moſt received opinions upon thoſe two heads, and to refer them, for further ſatisfaction, to thoſe authors who have treated on thoſe ſubjects ex profeſſo. As to the firſt, it is now the general opinion that the Aleph, He, Vau, Iod, and Ain did ſerve inſtead of vowels, tho' they were ſometimes omitted, or, as the grammarians term it, underſtood in their declenſions and conjugations, and often varied in their ſound, and had ſometimes the power of conſonants as our J and V; but for this we refer our readers to the grammars of that tongue. Sure it is, that the Samaritans never admitted of any others, tho' they readily read their Hebrew pentateuch by the help of the Samaritan character. The ſame may be ſaid of the Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic, which laſt did not begin to uſe points till ſeveral centuries after Chriſt: nay, the Jews themſelves never admitted them in their ſynagogues, no not even to this day. So that it is plain, notwithſtanding the many objections that have been raiſed againſt it, that it may be, and is, eaſily read without thoſe points, which have been invented for the greater eaſe of learners, and to preſerve the true pronunciation of that tongue. All that needs be added, with reſpect to their letters, is, that in the ſacred books, as we have them now, ſome words have one letter bigger than the reſt, others leſs, ſome at the beginning, ſome in the middle, and ſome at the end of a word; ſome are ſuſpended, or ſtand higher in the line, and others are turned upſide down (Z). An un-

(Z) There are thirty one places in the old teſtament, in which ſome one or other of the letters of the alphabet are of a larger ſize than the reſt, as the א in אדם Adam, 1 Chron. i. 1. the ב in בר אשית Bereſhith, Gen. i. 1. ג in והתגלח vehith galah, he ſhall ſhave himſelf, Levit, xiii. 33. the ד in אחד Achad, 1 Deut, vi. 4. and ſo of the reſt. The minuſcula, or letters of a leſſer ſize happen in thirty three places, as the א in ויקרא vajiecra. Levit. i. 1. The ב in הב hab, give. Prov. xxx. 15. the כ Çaph in the word לכנתה libkothah, Gen. xxiii.

wary reader might be eaſily led to think, that theſe differences happened ſince the invention of printing, becauſe ſuch miſtakes are apt to happen frequently in printed books; but it is plain they have been taken notice of, a great many centuries before that art was thought upon, and have been religiouſly conveyed down to us in the ſame form, both in the written volumes, ſuch as they have always uſed in their ſynagogues, and in their printed books ſince the diſcovery of that art, as having been deſignedly ſo written by their inſpired pen-men, either to convey ſome extraordinary myſtery, or to imply ſome excellence or commendation, if the letter be of a larger, or if of the ſmaller kind, ſome dimunition and contempt of the thing ſignified by the word in which they are placed, or at leaſt to raiſe either a greater degree of attention to the ſubject, of which we have had occaſion to give an inſtance under a former head †.

As to the numbers which we have ſet over againſt each letter, it muſt be obſerved, that they are thoſe which the Jews have made uſe of time out of mind; but as to the divine

† See before p. 172. not. (H).

xxiii. 2. where Abraham is ſaid to have come to weep for her (Sarah); and where they ſay the ſmallneſs of the letter is deſigned to expreſs the moderation of his mourning, ſhe being an old woman. Moſt of their reaſons for the reſt of thoſe minuſcula are much of the ſame ſtamp. The נ Nun is the only inverted letter, or turned upſide down; it is obſerved to be ſo nine times, but the Jews, inſtead of inverting it in their printed books, do only note it in the margin, thus נ׃הפוכה that is Nun inverted, which they think ſignifies ſome perverſity, or retroaction, implyed in the word, wherein it happeneth to be ſo. The ſame letter is ſuſpended once in the word, מנשה Manaſſeh, Judg. xviii. 30. where, in ſome printed books it is only marked in the margin נ תלויה Nun ſuſpended. The ע Ain is ſuſpended three times, once in Pſ. lxxx, 13. in the word יער jahar, foreſt, and twice in Job.

We hope it will ſuffice to have juſt hinted theſe cabbaliſtical obſervations, which are not worth dwelling longer upon, unleſs we could be ſatisfied both about the antiquity and deſign of theſe variations; which, for ought we know, may be owing to chance? and if they were done with a deſign, yet would puzzle an OEdipus to find it out.

divine pen-men, they never made uſe of them for numerical letters, but always wrote the numbers in words at length: which we the more willingly take notice of, becauſe ſome chronologers, in imitation of the cabbaliſtical Jews, have pretended to find out and ſettle dates, and rectify epochas; as the latter pretend to find out the weight and meaſure of things, by the help of theſe numerical letters *; and both Jews and ſome cabbaliſtical Chriſtians, to find out myſteries in them. Thus it is pretended, that the letter א, which ſignifies either 1, or 1000, occurs ſix times in the firſt verſe of Geneſis, to denote, that the world ſhall laſt juſt 6000 years in the condition it is now in, after which it is to be renewed. But all this is ſaid without the leaſt proof that they were uſed to any ſuch purpoſe, either by the inſpired writers, or even by the antient Jews.

THE antiquity and authority of the points is the next thing in diſpute; Jews and Chriſtians have been much divided, one part attributing them to Moſes, and making them equally authentic with the text; and the other to Ezra, and the men of the great ſynagogue; till the learned Elias Levita [a], a learned German Jew, who flouriſhed at Rome about the middle of the ſixteenth century, did make it appear, that they had never been in uſe till after the finiſhing of the Talmud, that is, according to him, about 500 years after Chriſt. His book ſoon raiſed him a cloud of adverſaries, both of his own nation and of Chriſtians. Among the latter were the two Buxtorfs, who produced ſome cabbaliſtical books of great antiquity, at leaſt boaſted as ſuch by the Jews, in which there was an expreſs mention of points (A). Theſe were anſwered by

* Vid. vol. ii. p. 619. ſub fin. not. (C). Vid. & Baſnag. Hiſt. des Juifs, T. 6. l. 19, c. 8. 20, & ſeq.

[a] Eli. Levit. præfat. 3. in Maſoram Hammaſor.

(A) Theſe books are; the בהיר Bahir, זהר Zohar, and the כוזרי Kozri. The firſt of theſe is pretended to have been written a little before our ſaviour's time; and the ſecond, which quotes and refers to it, not much above a century after. As for the Kozri, the Jews, will have it to be about 1900 years old, and to have been an account of a conference between a learned Jew, and the king Chozroes, in which the latter was converted to Judaiſm †.

In

† De his vid. lib. Juchaſm, p. 42. & ſeq. R. Azaria, c. 19. Buxtorf, Capel, Morin, Baſnag, & al.

Capellus and the other critics, till Morinus, having examined all that had been urged on both ſides, wrote his learned diſſertation on that ſubject, againſt which there has nothing been replied of any conſequence; whereas his opinion has been univerſally applauded and confirmed by thoſe that have come after. So that it plainly appears, that neither Origen, nor St. Jerom, nor even the compilers of the Talmud, which according to him was not finiſhed till the ſeventh century, knew any thing of them; no, nor even any of the Jewiſh rabbies, that wrote during the eighth and ninth century. He adds, that the firſt footſteps he met with of them were in the writings of the rabbies, Aaron Ben-Aſher, chief of the weſtern, and of Moſes Ben-Naphthali, chief of the eaſtern, ſchool; that is, about the middle of the tenth century. So that they can hardly be ſuppoſed older than the beginning of it [b] (B).

[b] Vide Morin. Diſſert. Biblic. Capel. Arcan. punctat. & Diatrib. Walton. prolgom. Dupin. Voſs. Waſmuth & al. mult.

In theſe three books mention is made of points more than once or twice, and the latter has this expreſſion about them; that they are the ſame to the letters, that cloaths are to modeſt women, who dare not be ſeen without them. Were the boaſted antiquity of theſe books unqueſtionable, there would be an end at once of the argument; but the Jews fidelity in ſuch things is too well known to be relied upon. However, what ſhews the impoſture of them is, that there are things in them which muſt have been written about 1000 years after their ſuppoſed date, and that none of thoſe books have been quoted or mentioned drring that time by any author. Other objections urged by the Buxtorfs and others againſt the recentneſs of the points, the reader will find fully anſwered by Morinus, and the authors quoted after him.

(B) We ſhall venture, however to ſubjoin a ſhort ſpecimen of thoſe points for the ſake of our Engliſh readers. They are reckoned fourteen in number; all of them, one or two excepted, placed under the letter, as follows:

Long points.		Simibriefs.		Quite brief.	
אַ Kamets	a	אַ Pattach	a	אְ Sheva	e
אֵ Tzere	e	אֶ Segol	e	אֱ Chateph-pattah	ă
אִ Chirick	i gadol	אִ Chirick / Caton	i	אֲ Chateph-ſegol	e ĭ
אֹ Cholem	o			אֳ Chateph-cometh	ŏ
אֻ Shureck	u	אֹ Holem	o		
		אֻ Kibbutz			

It

At the ſame time, theſe doctors ſet about inventing and fixing the grammatical points, the comma and full ſtop, to divide

It would be needleſs to dwell longer upon theſe, or to mention ſome differences among grammarians about them; for though the Jews, even thoſe who believe them to be the invention of the Maſſorites, look upon them to be of ſuch authority, that nothing can be altered in them; yet the generality of Chriſtians reject ſuch a ſuperſtitious fear, and make no difficulty of departing from them whenever a better ſenſe may be obtained by a change of them; becauſe it is plain; that their reading doth not exactly agree either with the ſeptuagint verſion, nor with that of St. Jerom, nor with their targums, nor with the Chaldee paraphraſe, the moſt antient of all, nor with the interpretation of the antient rabbies; for which reaſon their punctuation has been as much ſuſpected by ſome, as it has been cried up by others: So that if we could ſuppoſe the points to have been as old as thoſe antient verſions, we muſt likewiſe ſuppoſe, that their books were differently pointed from thoſe of the Maſſorites. All that can therefore be ſaid for theſe laſt is, that they have ſucceeded better in their punctation than chriſtians could have done, becauſe they had retained the true reading, at leaſt for the moſt part, by conſtant tradition, which we ſhould have had to ſeek for, by the bare help of thoſe antient verſions and paraphraſes, not without immenſe deal of trouble. It is even plain, that they could not ſo much as agree among themſelves about every particular word, tho' they did it in the main; hence aroſe that difference of lection or punctation, known by the critics by the names of Keri and Ketib.

This brings into our minds a ſtory out of the Talmud, which, tho' not of any authority, ſerves to ſhew, that their reading was not fixed at that time. There David is introduced reproving his general for not utterly deſtroying the Amalekites, according to the command of God. Job anſwers, that he had punctually done it, and rooted out the זכר Zakar, or the males, and David tells him, that he ought to have rooted out the זכר Zeker, the memory of Amalek: To which Joab replies, that he had been always taught to read it Zakar, and not Zeker. The reader muſt not, however, imagine, that theſe differences are conſiderable, or that they leave the ſenſe of the ſcripture too undetermined. This is indeed objected by thoſe who contend for the authenticity of the points; but is fully anſwered by the authors on the oppoſite ſide. This is certain, that though the points are a vaſt help, both to the learners of Hebrew, and for a more ready way of reading it, yet when men have made any

divide the periods and verſes, which till that time had lain confuſed and undiſtingued, not only in the ſacred, but in all the other Hebrew, books (C). This has been alſo a very uſeful work to the world, tho' few chriſtian interpreters have thought it neceſſary to confine themſelves to their diviſions. On the contrary, there is ſcarce a modern verſion, that doth not very reaſonably depart from them, when a clearer ſenſe, a parallel place, or the analogy of faith can bear them out in it. And it is to be believed, that if a new verſion was now to be made of the Old Teſtament, it would alter the punctation of the Maſſorites in a much greater number of places than the former have done (D).

Notwith-

any conſiderable progreſs in that tongue, they not only can read it with eaſe without them, but even chuſe to do ſo (36).

(C) An eminent critic aſſures us (37), that he had examined above two thouſand Hebrew manuſcripts of all ſorts, and that he never met with any pointed that were above 600 years old; or, at leaſt if the books themſelves were of older date, yet the points were manifeſtly added, to them afterwards; and this he affirms, equally of the grammatical and vowel points. And he was ſo ſure that he had made all the neceſſary enquiry after them; that he defies all the advocates for the points, to produce one that could diſprove his aſſertion; which has never been done to this day, that we know of.

(D) This is not at all to be wondered at; the Jews were too tenacious of their old traditions, and had too wrong a byas in every thing that related to the religion, and reign of the Meſſiah, to have ſucceeded, though roughly, in ſuch an undertaking, if their intentions had been never ſo upright. But it is to be queſtioned, whether their fear of giving the Chriſtians any advantage, has not crampt them more than all the reſt, and made them ſit down ſatisfied with a pointing, which left the text dark and intricate, rather than to give a better, which might be afterwards uſed againſt them.

To give one inſtance for all: It is plain, that by making but two periods of the 2d, 3d, and 4th, verſes of the 110th pſalm, which is confeſſed on all hands, to be prophetical of the Meſſiah's reign, they have ſo far murdered the ſenſe of it, that no verſion has been able to tranſlate it without ſome needleſs and unwarrantable ſuppletives; whereas had they divided it into three verſes, and placed the full ſtops where they ought to be, the ſenſe would

(36) Vide Method of learning Hebrew without points. (37) Is. Voſs. de LXXII. interpret tranſlat. c. 30.

Notwithſtanding which, it muſt owned, that their labour in theſe two reſpects have proved very ſerviceable to the learned

would have been clear, eaſy, and exactly agreeable to the prophecy contained in it. But perhaps that is what they carefully avoided. The reaſon of it will appear by what follows. And as no verſion has as yet rectified it, we ſhall take the liberty to ſubjoin the literal verſion of thoſe three verſes, according to their and our punctation, that our readers may ſee which ought to be preferred.

According to the Maſſoretic.

2 The Lord ſhall ſend the rod of thy power out of Sion; be thou ruler in the midſt of thine enemies.

3 Thy free-will people, in the day of thy power, in the beauty of holineſs; from the womb of the morning is the dew of thy birth.

According to our punctation.

2 The Lord ſhall ſend the rod of thy power out of Sion.

3 Rule thou in the midſt of thy enemies; thy free-will people in the beauty of holineſs.

4 From the womb of the morning is the dew of thy birth.

In the firſt of theſe the reader will ſee that the placing the full point after enemies, ſtrikes off the next words, thy free-will people from being either the accuſative of the verb רדה redeh, rule thou, going before, or from having any connexion with what comes after. So that thoſe words ſtand ſo ungrammatically there by themſelves, that to make ſenſe of the verſe, moſt verſions have been forced to make it the nominative of a verb which they have ſubſtituted to it of their own. Thus one of our verſions that in our common-Prayer-book, words it thus; In the day of thy power ſhall the people offer free-will offerings, where the words ſhall offer are added to make up the ſenſe, and the order inverted, by placing the words, in the day of thy power, before them, contrary to the Hebrew. That in our Bible is ſtill wider from the original, tho' it ſubſtitutes leſs, as the reader may ſee by comparing it with ours here, which is exactly literal and plain. According therefore to this pointing, the verſes in queſtion may be fairly commented as follows.

9. The Lord ſhall ſend the rod, or ſcepter of thy power out of Sion, that is out of the tribe of Judah. Compare Gen. xlix. 10.

and

learned, and that they have made the knowledge of the sacred books much easier and expeditious, than it could have been without it. Their other productions, tho' equally laborious, are of a more trifling nature; they excogitated a great variety of other points, some rhetorical, some musical, and others critical; the former of which were designed to keep up the right cadence and chant of the Hebrew, and the latter to fix the sense of ambiguous places in their own way; all which grew as various, numerous, and intricate as they were indeed useless, and in some cases ridiculous. From these they set themselves, about numbering the verses, and even letters, and middle verses of every book; and to set down how often every letter of the alphabet occurs in each book (E). And as the design of all this

and Ps. lxxviii. 68. 3. Rule thou over thy free will-people (for none but such are fit to be Christ's subjects; see Matth. xi. 29). In the midst of thy enemies (Jews and Heathens, or, in a spiritual sense, the world, the flesh, and the devil). In the day of thy power (that is, when all power shall be given him, both in heaven and earth, Matth. xxviii. 8.) In the beauties of Holiness (which is the peculiar characteristic of Christ's reign, and of his religion).

(E) Thus they observe for instance, that Genesis contains 1534 verses, the middle of which is the 40th of the 27th chapter; and that the letter א Aleph occurs in that book 42,377 times; the ב Beth 38, 218; and so of the rest of the letters, and of every canonical book. The number of all the letters in the whole stands thus, according to them:

Final letters, standing at the end of words - -	51,520
in the middle of words - -	160,734
Medial letters apart - - - - - - - - : -	763,160
Total of medial and final - - - - - - -	975,414

Whether these niceties were an improvement upon the Mohammedans, who likewise compute the number of verses at the end of each section of their Koran, and sum up the total at the end of it; or whether these did it in imitation of the Jews, we will not affirm; the former, however, seems the more likely of the two from what Morinus and others have observed (38), that the first Jewish

(38) Morin. ubi sup. & al. quoq.

this labour was to prevent any miſtakes, additions, omiſſions, or alterations creeping into the text; ſo it plainly intimates, that they were conſcious of its having done ſo before; and that notwithſtanding all their pretended care and ſcrupulous exactneſs in tranſcribing them, they had not been able altogether to avoid ſome ſuch miſchances.

THE materials they wrote upon, as well as the inſtruments they wrote with, may in ſome meaſure, be gathered from ſome places of ſcripture. As to the former it is plain, that their firſt writing, namely, the Decalogue, was upon tables of ſtone. But it is likely, that Moſes made uſe of a leſs heavy and cumberſome material to write the reſt of his laws upon, ſuch as the Shittim, or ſome other hard wood. This way of writing upon tables was ſtill in uſe, not only in Iſaiah's days [c] (F), but even continued ſo till our Saviour's time [d]. But beſides theſe, we find frequent mention made in Job, the Pſalms, and in the prophets, of their writing upon rolls [e], which are reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been made of ſkins, or of ſome pliable matter, fit to roll up or round, for ſo the original words imports (G). And we

[c] Iſai. xxx. 8. [d] Luke i. 63. [e] Job. xxxi. 35, 36. Pſ. xl. 7. Iſai. viii. 1. Jerem. xxvi. 4. Ezek. ii. 9. iii. 1. & ſeq, Zechar. v. 2.

Jewiſh grammarians were Arabians, and wrote their grammars in that tongue, ſome time after the points had been added to it; from which he concludes it probable, that they took both their points and rules of grammar from the Arabians; and if ſo, they might as well take their method of numbering the verſes, and improve it by extending it to the letters, and thoſe other niceties above mentioned.

(F) The ſeptuagint render this place, write it επι πυξιδ, upon a box-table; which makes it probable, that that wood had been in uſe before their time. And the Talmud tells us, that the lots of the two goats, which were ordered to be brought to the high-prieſt on the day of expiation (39), were at firſt written upon two ſmall box tables †.

(G) מגלה Megilah comes from גלל Gallal, which ſignifies to roll up, as volumen from volvo; anſwerable to which, the evangeliſt (40) makes uſe of the words στυξας αναπτυξας, for the opening and ſhutting of the book.

(39) Levit. xvi. 8.
(40) Luke iv. 17, 20.

† Vide ſup. p. 222. note (V).

we have the teſtimonies of Herodotus [f] and Diodorus Siculus [g], that the Ionians and Perſians uſed the ſkins of ſheep and goats to write upon, long enough before king Pergamus's time, who is rather therefore to be looked upon as an improver than the inventor of parchment †. Theſe rolls differed in their ſize, according to the ſubject they contained, and the character in which it was written; ſo that ſome of them had ſeveral ſkins ſewed to one another lengthwiſe. The Jews retain them to this day in their ſynagogues. The lines were not continued through the whole length of the ſkin, much leſs of the roll, but were conveniently divided into columns. This is what is meant by what our verſion renders leaves, in that place of Jeremiah [h], where the king cut the roll in pieces, after they had read three or four pages of it (H). Of this ſort, we ſuppoſe, was alſo the book of the law, which the high-prieſt found in Joſiah's time [i].

Hence we conclude, they uſed two ſort of inſtruments; the firſt of ſteel, or ſome hard metal, for ingraving upon ſtone and wood; one ſide of which was ſharp-pointed, and the other blunt and ſmooth, and ſerved either to ſmooth or eraſe what had been written. Hence the Latin proverb, Invertere ſtylum. This kind of inſtrument we find mentioned in ſome places of ſcripture [k], tho' not deſcribed, but gueſſed at, from thoſe which were uſed by other nations. The other ſort was for writing upon the ſkins of beaſts; but how it was made, whether like our pens, pencils, or ſome other way, we cannot conjecture; only we read of a pen-knife, or, as the original has it, a ſcribe or writer's knife, with which king Jehoiakim cut the roll which was ſent him by Jeremiah.

We do not find, that they had any ſchools, or colleges, for the inſtruction of their youth, if we except thoſe of the prophets, which were of a different nature, as we ſhall ſhew by-and-by. They have not ſo much as a word to expreſs

[f] Lib. 5. [g] Lib. 2. † See Voſs. orig. & lib. de grammat. cap. xxxviii. [h] Jerem. xxxvi. 23. [i] 2 Kings xxii. 8. [k] Job. xix. 24. Pſ. xlv. 2. & alib.

(H) The word דלתות Daltoth, which properly ſignifies doors; and here pages or columns, from their likeneſs to a door. A leaf of a book doth indeed bear the ſame reſemblance, but cannot properly belong to ſuch roll as we are ſpeaking of.

expreſs it (I) : and, if we conſider their manner of education and life, we ſhall find no great uſe for them. They bred

(I) The Jews, however, to wipe off this imputation, have coined two names for theſe ſchools, of which there is no mention in the ſacred books, namely, the בת-מוסר Beth-Muſſar, which ſignifies the houſe of inſtruction, or an inferior ſchool for reading and writing ; and the בת-מדרש Beth-Middraſh, or houſe of enquiry or expounding, whither they went to be inſtructed in the weightier matters of religion, or rather in the rabbinic ſubtilties. But though it be viſible, that theſe are of more recent date, namely, after the Babyloniſh captivity, yet they affirm the former to have been kept by the tribe of Simeon, and the latter by that of Levi ; which they infer from Jacob's prophecy, of the diſperſion of thoſe two tribes in Iſrael (41), So that, having no inheritance, they were obliged to keep ſchool for a livelihood (42). Agreeably to this abſurd notion, for it is plain that Simeon had a portion with the reſt (43), they interpret the words of the pſalmiſt, *paſſing through the valley* of Bacca, *uſe it for a well* ; *and the rain filleth the pool* (44) ; of theſe wells of learning ; and it was a common phraſe with them, maſter, we come to drink waters from thy well ; inſtead of, We come to be thy ſcholars or diſciples (45). And thus alſo the words in the next verſe, they go from ſtrength to ſtrength ; they underſtood of riſing from one claſs to the other. Theſe are according to them, the מועדי-אל Mohede-El, houſes of God ; or, as our verſion more truly renders it, the ſynagogues, which the pſalmiſt ſaid were deſtroyed by the king of Babylon (46). So that upon the whole, we have not any grounds from ſcripture for any ſuch ſchools.

Much leſs for theſe antediluvian accademies, of which ſome chriſtian moderns make Adam the firſt founder, and which they pretend to have been continued by Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Melchiſedech, Abraham, and Jacob (47) ; the laſt of which, where it is ſaid, that *he was a plain man, and dwelt in tents*, the Chaldee paraphraſt, and after him other Jewiſh commentators, have rendered it, that he was a perfect man, and maſter of the Beth-Muſſar,

(41) Gen. xlix. 7. (42) Targ. Hieroſol. Rab. Raſch. ſal. Jark. & al. in. Gen. xlix. 7. (43) Vide Joſh. xix. 1. & vol. ii. p. 485, note (F). (44) Pſ. lxxxiv. 6, 7. (45) Vide Gemar. tr. מגילה fol. 3. & Midraſh in Pſ. lxxiv. 8. (46) Pſ. lxxiv. 8. vide middr. in loc. (47) Boulduc. Eccleſ. ant. leg. Sanders vindic. Bibl. Baſnag. & al.

bred up their ſons to bodily exerciſes, ſuch as would beſt fit them either for war or huſbandry; and their daughters to houſhold occupations, without troubling themſelves much about cultivating their minds, farther than to inſtruct them in the knowledge of their religion and laws; and this was the province of the parents, chiefly on the ſabbath. They had rather an averſion, than curioſity, for foreign languages, and he that could ſpeak and write his own well, or at leaſt as well as his neighbours, thought himſelf ſufficiently learned; and for theſe cuſtom ſerved them inſtead of grammar. Hiſtory, further than they found it in their ſacred books, they thought beneath their care, becauſe they found in theſe all that they eſteemed worth knowing. The creation of the world, the flood, the origin and diſperſion of nations, and, what concerning them moſt, their own hiſtory and deſcent from Abraham, their affinity to other branches of his poſterity, the Egyptian bondage and deliverance, and, in a word, all that wonderful ſeries of tranſactions which had happened to their nation; in all which God had ſhewed ſuch peculiar regard to them, that it was no wonder, if we find them ſo full of themſelves and ſo prone to deſpiſe all the reſt of the world. Beſides the Pentateuch, and the hiſtories of Joſhua, of their judges, and kings,

Muſſar, or, in plain Engliſh, an excellent ſchool-maſter. Of Abraham we have ſeen heretofore, that he is affirmed by Joſephus and others to have taught aſtronomy in Egypt *; and Melchiſedech is likewiſe ſuppoſed, by the ſame authors, to have kept a famous ſchool at Hebron, called from thence Kiriath-ſepher, which may be properly rendered, the city of books, or learning, and Debir, oracle. Some others think, that it flouriſhed about 1456 years before Chriſt, that is, about Joſhua's time; and that it had been founded by the Canaanites, and was the moſt antient academy in the world; after whoſe model that famous one of the Edomites, called Theman, and that of Tekoah, had been formed. Some add, that it had a public library, in which were preſerved the records and hiſtory of the world, continued from the flood downwards †. All which is built, at the beſt, upon very uncertain conjectures.

* Vide vol. ii. p. 425. note (Q). † Mildendorp. Driedo, Ar. Montan, Maſius ap. St. Philip. Monarch. Hebr. ſub Othniel.

kings, which they thought themſelves obliged to be verſed in, they had alſo ſeveral others which have been loſt ſince; ſuch as the book of the wars of the Lord, that of Jaſher, and eſpecially the book of the Kings, and the Chronicles of the kings of Judah and Iſrael, to which thoſe we have extant, continually refer (K); but theſe laſt were not perhaps

(K) It cannot be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the Chronicles and the book of Kings do refer to one another, whenever we meet with theſe words at the end of every reign: The reſt of the acts of——and ſo on, are they not written in the book of, &c. ſeeing the ſame facts are repeated all the way in both, with little or no variation or addition, and very often in the ſame words. The Greek verſion has indeed given the book of Chronicles the name of παραλειπομενοι, or things omitted, but with relation to hiſtorical facts, the reader will find but a ſmall number in this, that are not in that of the Kings: It ſeems therefore to have been called ſo from its having given a full chronology of the ſcripture from Adam, and carried it beyond that of the Kings, as St. Jerom juſtly obſerves (48). To which may be added, that it ſets forth the order of the genealogies, tribes, and families, the officers and courſes of the prieſts and levites, and many other particularities, which give a great light to the reſt of the ſacred writings, and without which it would be ridiculous for a man to pretend to underſtand them, as the ſame father elſewhere expreſſes it (49).

The books therefore referred to in theſe ſeem to be, either the records out of which they were taken by their compilers, or, which is indeed more probable, the annals and archives of every king's reign, to which the readers were ſent for a farther account, whilſt theſe being written by inſpired pen-men, were deſigned to contain only ſuch tranſactions, as had an immediate relation to religion.

If it be aſked, who were the authors of thoſe books, it is plain, that the former were written by the hiſtorians or recorders of every reign, who were appointed to that office by the kings themſelves. But who were the writers of the latter, is not ſo eaſily agreed: For as, on the one hand, the hiſtorians mentioning every tranſaction as done in their time has induced many of the learned to ſuppoſe, that they were written at ſeveral times, and by ſeveral inſpired pen-men, cotemporary with them, ſuch as Samuel, Gad, Nathan, Iſaiah, Jeremiah, and others; ſo, on the other ſide, the ſeeming uniformity of ſtyle, through all thoſe books,

(48) Epiſt. ad Dommion. (49) Id. ad Paulin.

perhaps so universally studied, but fell only to the lot of princes and politicians.

All that related to religion and morality, was contained in the Mosaic books, and interspersed in the others; but besides these they had the Psalms, the Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, besides many other writings of Solomon, a great part of which are likewise lost; to say nothing of Job and the Prophets. All these they were to be instructed in, even from their infancy, they heard them expounded on the sabbath, and other festivals, by the Prophets and levites, and in them they found such a dreadful account of the theology of other nations, that we cannot suppose them to have had the least curiosity to know more of it. And indeed their law-giver knew but too well, how dangerous such knowledge would have been to a people so easy to be corrupted, and therefore wisely ordained, that their children should be instructed in such truths, as were proper to inspire them with an awful regard

books, makes that notion seem very improbable, and several expressions interspersed in them impossible. Thus it is said, in the beginning of the book of Samuel, that the word of God was precious, or scarce, in those days (50); and that it was then the custom, to call a prophet a seer, and to inquire for him by that name (51). These and several others in the same style, seem, at least, to intimate, that it was otherwise when the books were written. Thus it is also said in another place of the same book, that in the author's time the name of Beth el, or house of God, was turned into that of Beth-aven, or the house of wickedness; which did not happen till after Jeroboam's revolt (52). These, and many more which we omit, make it very probable, that they were not written by cotemporary authors.

To reconcile these, it is generally believed, that the original authors of them were those inspired persons above-mentioned, who committed them to writing as they happened; but that all those pieces were afterwards collected into a regular history, either by Ezra, Haggai, or some of these prophets, who returned from the captivity; and who, being alike inspired, might make such further additions as they thought proper to illustrate their history; such as the change of names, customs, and the like, without derogating from their authority. Accordingly we find, that they have been still constantly acknowledged, by the Jews, to be of divine authority, and have been appealed to, as such, by the writers of the gospel (53).

(50) 1 Sam. iii. 1. (51) Ibid. ix. 9. (52) Ibid. xiii. 2. 5. (53) Vid Matt. xii. 3. & al. Luke iv. 25. & seq. & alib. pass.

regard to God and his laws, and with the love of virtue; whilſt he forbad them, almoſt upon all occaſions, to be inquiſitive after the religion and learning of other nations.

THIS was moſt probably alſo the foundation of that extraordinary diſregard they ſhewed for thoſe uſeful arts and ſciences, in which their neighbours had ſo long excelled. Arithmetic, being ſo neceſſary for the trading part, might indeed find ſome encouragement amongſt them, and even this we offer more as a probable conjecture, than from any teſtimony; but as for navigation, aſtronomy, and ſuch like, we find nothing in their hiſtory, but what aſſures us of their unſkilfulneſs in them. The maritime tribes contented themſelves with receiving foreign merchants into their harbours, without endeavouring to carry on their commerce abroad; inſomuch, that when Solomon reſolved to ſend ſome ſhips into foreign countries, he was forced to have them manned with foreign ſailors. And as for aſtronomy, we need but call to mind what has been ſaid, under another head, of the poor ſhifts they were drove to, to find out their new moons *, to convince us of their profound ignorance of it. We ſhall only add, that they were ſo far from knowing any thing of eclipſes, that they have not ſo much as one upon record, or indeed a name for it. They probably looked upon it as miraculous, and as tokens of the divine anger, and ſo never dived farther into the nature of them. Perhaps alſo they were led into this notion, by that figurative expreſſion in Job [l], *he covers the light with his hands, and ſets, as it were, an interpoſer over it*; for that is the literal ſenſe of the original, and of the verſion of the ſeptuagint: agreeable to which is that awful deſcription of the day of the Lord in Joel [m], and of the downfal of Egypt and other nations, which we meet with in the Prophets.

THE changing of the ſolar into the lunar year, and the complete month of 30 days into the irregular moons of 29 and 30 days, mentioned under other heads; the diſtinguiſhing of the days of the week (not by the ſeven planets, of which they do not ſeem to have had any knowledge, or ſo much as names for: but to have ranked them, the two great luminaries excepted, among the fixed ſtars; but) by 1ſt. Meaſuring 2d, 3d, of time.

* Vide p. 202 note (H) & 31. iii. 15.

[l] Job. xxxvi. 32.

[m] Ch. ii. 10.

2d, 3d day, or 1ſt and 2d from the ſabbath; the diviſion of the day and night not into 12 equal parts, as the Egyptians are thought to have done long before, but the day into four parts, and the night into four watches. Theſe diviſions of time, ſo very oppoſite to that more perfect one of the Egyptians and other neighbouring nations, ſeem entirely calculated by their law-giver, to prevent them applying themſelves to the ſtudy of aſtronomy, and thence falling inſenſibly into that of aſtrology, and being thereby inſnared into the worſhip of thoſe heavenly bodies, after the example of other nations (L). What inſtruments they had to reckon the time by, whether the Egyptian Clepſydra, or water-glaſſes, or ſun-dials, or any other, we cannot affirm, except that we read of the ſun-dial, or, as the original ſignifies, the ſtair-caſe or flight of ſteps of Ahaz[n]; but allowing it to have been a real and regular ſun-dial, it may eaſily be ſuppoſed to have been rather the work of ſome foreign aſtronomer, than a common thing among them; that prince's character ſufficiently ſhews, that he was not over ſcrupulous of introducing new things of a much more dangerous

[n] 2 King xx. 9, & ſeq.

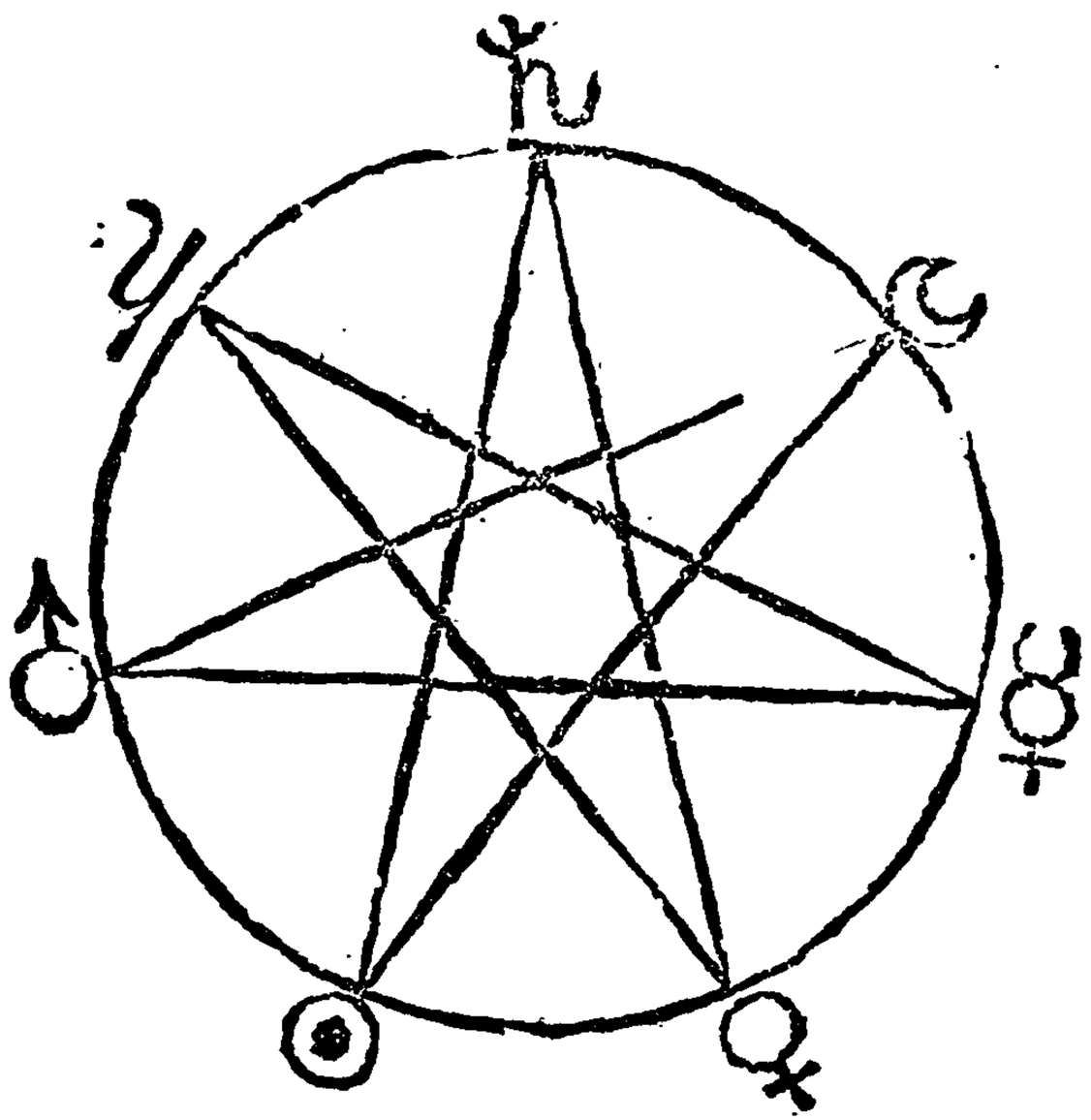
(L) It is no difficult matter to conceive, how thoſe antient nations came to worſhip the planets and heavenly bodies, after they had once imbibed the belief of their having ſo conſiderable a ſhare in the government of all ſublunary things, and had aſcribed to every one their ſeveral influences, good or bad, and the particular periods in which they ruled by turns. But how this notion came firſt into their head, is not ſo eaſy to imagine; and yet that it muſt have began very early, and was univerſally received by all the heathen world, will plainly appear, if we conſider, how antient the diviſion of the day and night into 24 hours is; and that the conſecrating every day of the week to one of the ſeven planets, not in the regular order in which they ſtand in their ſyſtem, ♄, ♃, ♂, ☉, &c. but by ſkipping two of them every new day, could not be owing to any thing but an opinion, that every planet ruled alternately the ſeveral hours of each day.

Thus, on Saturday, Saturn, the planet of that day being ſuppoſed to govern the 1, 8, 15, and 22 hours, whilſt Jupiter, the next in order, governed the 2, 9, 16, and 23, & the 3, 10, 17, and 24, the Sun muſt of courſe govern the firſt hour of the next day, upon which account he became the planet of that day, and having ruled the 1, 8, 15, and 22, and Venus and Mercury the two remaining ones, brought the Moon to be lady of

dangerous nature, witneſs his new altar from Damaſcus [o]. Beſides, as they divided the day into four parts, the two firſt of which were from the ſun-riſing to its meridian, and the two laſt from noon to its ſetting, it was not difficult for them to make out the other diviſion by ſuch obſervations, either on his career, or on the ſhadow of any trees, houſes, or even of their own bodies, as every ploughman with us is able to do to a much greater juſtneſs. The ſame might be done in the diviſion of the four night-watches from the motion of the ſtars. To ſeek for other ſciences, or for ſchools or univerſities among them, were like ſeeking them among the Goths and Vandals; they not only had an equal contempt for them and for thoſe nations that cultivated them, but looked upon them as dangerous and unlawful. Their zeal, or rather hatred, againſt them was alſo ſo far from abating, after their return from Babylon, where they had ſeen them flouriſh, that it rather grew into a kind of fury, inſomuch, that their large chronic, entitled Juchaſin, hath recorded a ſentence of anathema, which paſſed, in the time of Hircanus and Ariſtobulus,

[o] Ibid. xvi. 10, & ſeq.

of the next, or of Monday; and ſo of the reſt according to the following diagram.



Thus then it is plain, that this planetary diviſion of the week was of aſtrological extraction; and that that of the days into 24 parts was ſo likewiſe, tho' not equally demonſtrable can hardly be queſtioned, if we conſider the great connection which

Their hatred to the Greek language.

bulus, against such as should suffer their children to be instructed in any part of the Greek learning. Solomon indeed, we are told, was an excellent naturalist, and wrote a great deal on that subject; but he was so far from recommending that study to others, that he calls his researches of that kind, *vanity and vexation of spirit*: or, as the original imports, *a feeding upon the wind* [p]: which is probably the reason, why, instead of following his example, they suffered all those excellent writings to be lost. Whilst they were thus averse to the learning of other nations, they were no less scrupulous of concealing their own from them, especially their sacred books; witness the grief they expressed, when Ptolemy obtained a version of them into Greek, in memory of which they have kept a strict, even a double, fast, on the 8th and 9th days of the month Thevet or December.

Synagogues.

On the other hand, they were no less careful to cultivate the knowledge of them among themselves: we cannot indeed be sure, that they had any synagogues before the

[p] Eccles. i. & seq. pass.

these two have to one another, and that the reputed author of this last, the Egyptian Hermes, sirnamed Trismegistus, and cotemporary with Moses, not the same person with him, was a great astrologer, as it appears by some of his writings on that subject still extant under his name.

Some authors do indeed tell us, that he took the hint of this division from the Egyptian Cunocephalus, which he observed, at the time of the equinox, to have pissed and howled 12 times from sun rising to sun set, and at equal distance, from which the Egyptians took also the hint of the Clepsydra, or water hour-glasses, in memory of which, they used to place the image of that animal on the top of them (54). But as we cannot look upon the whole story to be authentic, so the most that can be made of it is, that that nation hath the fairest claim for being the inventors of this division; tho' whether they, or the Chaldeans, were so, the Jews never admitted of it till after the captivity; for the first mention that we find of hours, properly so called, is in the apocryphal book of Judith; so that, in all respects, their computation of time was different from the rest of the world. Even their very seasons are not called by the usual name of spring and autumn, but of seed-time and harvest, cold and heat, winter and summer (55).

(54) Tull. ap Victorin. cited by Macrob. lib. i. c. 21; vid. Kirch. hieroglyph. & al.

(55) Vid. Gen. viii, ver. ult. & alib. pass. vid. & Whist. Theory.

the captivity, tho' it be far from improbable, conſidering the great diſtance at which ſome of them lived from the temple, and that at beſt they were obliged to reſort thither but thrice in a year; but other places they had for prayer and inſtruction, namely, the ſchools of the prophets, to which they might repair on the ſabbaths, new moons, and other feſtivals [q]. By prophets we mean not thoſe ſtrictly ſo called, men endowed with a ſpirit of prophecy (M), but their diſciples, or, as the Hebrew idiom words it, the ſons of the prophets. Ths former were generally conſulted by the kings, prieſts, and elders of the people upon all extraordinary occaſions, whether about religion or ſtate affairs, and the latter were brought up under them, and fitted for inſtructing the people, in the way of virtue and the worſhip of God. Schools.

THESE had their habitations chiefly in the country, they lived in a kind of ſociety among themſelves, and had generally one or more of the prophets to be heads over them, and to whom they gave the title of father [s]. Their houſes Prophets.

[q] Vide 2 Kings iv. 23. 2 Kings xix. 2. 20, & ſeq. Jerem. xxxvii. 3, & ſeq. Ezek. xiv. 1, & ſeq. & alib.

[r] Vide 1 Kings xxii. 5. 7.

[s] 1 Sam. ix. 5. 2 Kings vi. 1, & ſeq.

(M) The word prophet doth not always ſignify an inſpired perſon, in the old teſtament, but often a preacher of righteouſneſs, ſuch as were all the patriarchs from Seth, or, in the ſenſe of the goſpel, ſuch as believed and taught the coming of the Meſſiah (56); in which ſenſe alſo thoſe that preached him and his doctrine, after his coming, are alſo called prophets, and their preaching prophecy (57). The ſame may be alſo ſaid of thoſe who ſung praiſes of God, or accompanied them with ſome muſical inſtrument, as Miriam (58), the company of prophets that met Saul (59), and the ſons of Aſaph, of Heman, and Jeduthun, who are ſaid to have propheſied with harps, pſalteries, and cymbals (60); tho' they were properly no other than muſicians. The apoſtle gives the title of prophet, even to the heathen poets (61); and hence comes that diſtinction in St. Auſtin of Jewiſh, Chriſtian, and Heathen prophets (62).

(56) Luke i. 70. (57) Vide 1 Cor. xi. 4. xiv. 24, 29, & ſeq. & alib. (58) Exod. xv. 20. (59) 1 Sam. x. 5. (60) 1 Chron. xxv. 1. (61) Tit. i. 12. (62) Præfat, in lib. xix. cont. Fauſt.

houſes were but mean, and of their own building [t]. Their food was chiefly pottage made of herbs [u]; unleſs when the people ſent ſome better fare to them, ſuch as bread, parched corn, honey, dried fruits, and the like [x]. Their dreſs was plain and coarſe, and tied about with a leathern girdle [y]; their wants, being ſo few, were eaſily ſupplied by their own hands, and their views reached no further, ſo they limitted their labour to that, that they might beſtow the more time in prayer, ſtudy, and retirement. Riches were no temptation to them in ſuch a ſtate, and therefore Eliſha not only refuſed Naaman's preſents, but puniſhed Gehazi in a ſevere manner, for having clandeſtinely obtained a ſmall portion of them [z]. This laborious, recluſe, and abſtemious courſe of life, joined to the meanneſs of dreſs, gave them ſuch a ſtrange air, eſpecially among the courtiers, that they looked upon them as no better than madmen [a]. Their extraordinary freedom in reproving even princes for their wicked deeds, did likewiſe expoſe them frequently to perſecutions, impriſonments, and ſometimes to death; eſpecially in the reigns of ſome wicked princes, ſuch as were Ahab and Manaſſeh; but in the main, they were always reſpected by the better and wiſer ſort, even of the higheſt rank, and uſed with the utmoſt reverence and regard, both in language and behaviour [b].

This is all that we know concerning thoſe religious communities and their manner of life: thoſe who have ventured to give us a further account of it, ſuch as their living in perpetual celibacy, poverty, obedience, and the like, have ſpun it out of their own brain [c]. It is true, that we do not read of any women living amongſt them, that when the Shunamite went to acquaint Eliſha with the death of her ſon, he ſent Gehaz to meet her, and that when ſhe would have fallen down at his maſter's feet, he offered to hinder her; but it was alſo certain, that ſeveral of the prophets were married, and had children, as Samuel, Iſaiah, whoſe wife is called a propheteſs [d], Ezekiel [e], and Hoſea,

[t] Ibid. ver. 2, 3, & 4. [u] Ibid. iv. 38, & ſeq. [x] 1 Kings xiv. 3, & ſeq. 2 Kings iv. 42, & alib. [y] Vide Zach. xiii. 4. 2 Kings i. 8. [z] 2 Kings ver. paſſ. [a] Ibid. ii. 23. ix. 10. [b] 1 Kings xviii. 7, & ſeq. 2 Kings i. 13. xiii. 14, & alib. [c] Vide int. al. Bolduc. Eccl. ant. leg Calm. ſub. voc. prophet. [d] Iſai. viii. 3. [e] Ezek. xxiv. 18.

Hoſea, [f], and it was the widow of one of the ſons of the prophets, whoſe oyl Eliſha did miraculouſly multiply, to ſave her ſons from being ſold to the creditors of the deceaſed [g]. The propheteſſes were likewiſe married, Deborah was the wife of Lapidoth [h], and Huldah, whom king Joſiah ſent to conſult, was the wife of Shallum, and ſhe is obſerved (in the text) to have lived in the college of Jeruſalem [i]. Theſe inſpired perſons, whilſt they continued in Iſrael, which was till the return from Babylon, being the ſureſt expounders of the Moſaic law, proved ſuch a ſtrong fence againſt ſchiſm and hereſy, (that political one of Jeroboam excepted, againſt which they waged a continual war) that it could never get footing among them (N); whereas prophecy no ſooner ceaſed, than they ſplit themſelves

[f] Hoſ. i. 2, & ſeq. [g] 2 Kings iv. 1, ſeq. [h] Judg. iv. 4. [i] 2 Kings. xxii. 14. 15.

(N) We muſt not, however, paſs by a diſtinction, which the antient Jews have hammered out of the ſacred writings, between the חסדים Haſſidim, called by the Greek and Latin writers Aſſidei †, צדקים Tzadikim, and רשעים Reſhahim. The words properly ſignify no more than merciful, juſt, and wicked men; and the aſſembly or company of the two former is often oppoſed to that of the latter, not as being different ſects, but as perſons of a different character. But the Talmudiſts have attributed ſome peculiar opinions to each of theſe, tho' they are not quite agreed, whether they related to ſpeculation or practice. They gave the preference to the Haſſidim in both reſpects, as being the honeſteſt interpreters and practiſers of their law, and the Phariſees boaſt themſelves ſprung from them; tho' much more likely from the Tzadikim, who were an over-ſtrict and ſcrupulous ſect, pretending much to works of ſupererogation, to whom it is thought the advice of Solomon was directed, *be not righteous over-much* (63). Theſe, however, are the tenets attributed to each of them with reſpect to meum and tuum (64). The Haſſidim ſaid, what is mine is yours; the Reſhahim, what is yours is mine; but the Tzadikim, what is mine is mine, and what is yours is yours. To this the apoſtle ſeems to allude, when he ſays (65), *that ſcarcely for a righteous man will one die, yet peradventure for a good*

† Vide 1 Maccab. vii. 12. (63) Eccleſ. vii. 16. (64) Vide D. Kimchi. in Pſ. ciii. 17. Bartenor. gloſſ. in pirke abb. c. ii. 8. v. 10. Wagenſch. ad lib. סוטה c. ix. 15. (65) Rom. v. 7. 8.

themſelves into ſuch a great variety of ſects, and gave ſuch a ſcope to their fertile fancies, that the Talmudiſts own, Elias himſelf would be at a loſs to ſolve the ſubtile difficulties which they have raiſed againſt each other [k].

THESE prophets, the Talmudiſts reckon from Abraham to Malachi, to the number of forty-eight, and ſix propheteſſes (O). Several of the former are known to us by nothing

[k] Tract. Megillath.

a good man ſome would even dare to die, whilſt Chriſt vouchſafed to die, even for the worſt of the three, even for the wicked; where the δικαιος alludes to the Tzadick, or rigidly righteous, and αγαθος to the Haſſid, or merciful man, as the wicked to the Reſhahim. Whether that diſtinction likewiſe of our Saviour (66), between the good and the bad, the juſt and unjuſt, hath not probably an eye to this threefold ſort of men, we leave to the reader.

(O) The propheteſſes are Miriam, Deborah, Hannah, (Samuel's mother) Abigail, Huldah, and Eſther; ſome add the two Egyptian midwives to that number. As for the prophets, they are Abraham, Iſaac, Jacob, Moſes, Aaron, Joſhua, Phineas, Elkanah and his ſon Samuel, Eli, Nathan, Gad, Iddo, David, Solomon, Micajah the ſon of Imlah (67), Obadiah, Ahijah the Shilonite (68) Jehu the ſon of Hanani (69), Azariah the ſon of Obed (70), Ahaziel the ſon of Mathaniah, Eliezer the ſon of Dodavah (71), Hoſea, Amos, Micah, Amos II. ſuppoſed the father of Iſaiah, Elijah, Eliſha, Iſaiah, Jonah, Nahum, Joel, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Uriah the ſon of Shemaiah (72), Ezekiel, Daniel, Baruch, Neriah, Seraiah his ſon, Maaſiah his father (73), Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Shallum the huſband of Huldah, and Hanameel, Jeremiah's kinſman, of whom he bought a field (74).

Some add, that when the father of any prophet is mentioned, he is alſo a prophet (75); as where Jeremiah is ſaid to be the ſon of Hilkiah, Hoſea the ſon of Beri (76), &c. and that when the place of his nativity is not mentioned, he is ſuppoſed to have been of Jeruſalem (77).

It

(66) Matt. v. 45. (67) 1 Kings xxii. 8, & ſeq. (68) Ibid. xi. 29. (69) Ibid. xvi. 1. (70) 2 Chron. xv. 1. (71) Ibid. xx. ult. 72) Jerem. xxvi. 20, & ſeq. (73) Ibid. li. 59. (74) Ibid. xxii. 7, & ſeq. de his prophet. vid. Sedar. olam. minor. (75) Vid. Kimch. in Hoſ. i. (76) Jer. & Hoſ. i. 1. (77) Kimch. ibid.

thing but their names; as for the reſt of them, we ſhall refer the farther account of their actions, writings, and character, till we come to the hiſtory of thoſe kings in whoſe reigns they lived, and with which they have an immediate relation. The ways by which God revealed himſelf to them were various; to ſome he appeared and ſpoke, either in a human or ſome other viſible form, as he did to Abraham and Moſes; to others by voice only, as to Samuel, Jeremiah, Hoſea, and others [1]; ſometimes by viſions as

[1] 1 Sam. iii. 4. & ſeq. Jerem. i. 4, & ſeq. & alib. Hoſ. i. 1.

It is obſervable with reſpect to Daniel, that tho' the Jews allow him a rank among the other prophets, yet they will not admit his writings among thoſe of the other prophets, but only among the Hagiographa, which they look upon as of the leaſt authority of all the canonical books. The reaſons they give for it, are 1. That Daniel was a courtier, and ſpent his life in luxury and grandeur, in the ſervice of an uncircumciſed king. 2. That the ſpirit of prophecy was confined to the land of Canaan, out of which he lived all his life: to theſe ſome have added a third, namely, that he had been made an eunuch, according to Iſaiah's prophecy to Hezekiah (78), and that ſuch were excluded from entering into the congregation of the Lord (79). Some learned Jews have indeed vindicated him from this laſt imputation (80), but their Gemarrah doth caſt ſtill a much more injurious reflection upon him, namely, that he ſtole away privately into Egypt to buy hogs, whilſt Nebuchadnezzar was ſetting up his golden image, and his three friends Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego, were condemned to the flames for refuſing to worſhip it (81). But it is plain, that all this rancour ſprings from the great uſe, which we chriſtians have ſince made of his writings againſt them, in ſpite of the noble character which Ezekiel gives him, when he mentions him with Noah and Job (82). Even Joſephus, tho' he allows him to have been a complete politician, is ſo far from denying him the title of prophet, that he doth even give him the preference to the reſt, in ſeveral reſpects (83). But the reſt of the Jews have thrown his prophecies into the ספר כתיבים Sepher Ketubim, among thoſe of Job, Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes, &c. (84).

(78) 2 Kings xx. 18 (79) Deut. xxiii. 1. (80) Vide Abenezr. in Dan. (81) Tractat. Sanhedr. (82) Ezek. xiv. & paſſ. (83) Ant. l. x. c. 12. (84) Vide Hieron. præfat. in Iſai. Maimon. More Nevoch. pt. 2. Grot. præfat. in Iſai. Munſter. Bund. & al.

as he did to Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and others[m]: at other times by dreams[n]; but the most usual and general way was by the sole operation of the spirit of God, acting on the mind of the prophet. In this manner the book of Psalms is generally thought to have been dictated by the Holy Ghost to the author or rather authors of it, Moses, David, Solomon, and the three sons of Chore, Asaph, and the rest[o].

SECT. V.

The Jewish Chronology, from Abraham's vocation to the Babylonish Captivity.

WE have shewn in a former section, that the time which elapsed from Abraham's first entrance into Canaan, to Jacob's descent into Egypt, was 215 years †, and that his posterity continued in the latter, another 215 years *, in all 430. From their coming out of that bondage to Solomon's laying the foundation of the temple, the text tells us, was 480 years[a]; from thence to the destruction of it by Nebuchadnezzar, when Judah was carried into captivity, are reckoned 424 years[b]: so that the whole time of this epoch, from the vocation of Abraham to the Babylonish captivity, amounts to 1334. As to the kingdom of Israel, it lasted only 254 years from its defection from that of Judah, in the 37th year after the building of the temple, to their being carried away captive by Shalmaneser; which happen'd 134 years before the Babylonish captivity.

THUS far then the larger divisions of this æra are fixed upon a solid ground, the authority of the sacred writers; but lest our readers should think it equally easy to adjust the smaller periods, especially those which relate to the several reigns of their judges and kings; or should think it impossible to err in them, because the length of each is transmitted to us by inspired writers, from whom it would be impious to dissent; we beg leave to remind them, before we give a list of those monarchs, of what has been observed in the

[m] Isai. vi. 1, & seq. Ezek. i. 4, & seq. Dan. vii. 1, & seq. [n] Dan. ii. 19. Mat. i. 20, & al. Act xvi. 9. [o] Vide Hieron præfat. in psalm. † Comp. the years in the margin, in p. 394 & vol. iii. p. 81. See also vol. p. ii. 394, 395. * Ibid. vol. ii. p. 402. not K. [a] 1 King. vs. 2. [b] See the marginal chronol. of our Bibles, and Usher's ann. p. 31.

the preamble, prefixed to the firſt number of this work, concerning the vaſt, and almoſt irreconcileable, difference there is between the Hebrew and Samaritan chronology, as well as between theſe two and that of the ſeptuagint; to ſay nothing of Joſephus and other Jewiſh writers. We did alſo give our reaſons there for preferring the Samaritan, as far as it went, to all the reſt, even to the Hebrew, which laſt is juſtly ſuppoſed to have been corrupted by the Jews, and mutilated by the careleſſneſs of copyiſts. We have given a pregnant proof of the latter in another ſection *†*, and ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſay ſomething of the former.

But theſe are not the only cauſes of the difficulty one finds in ſettling the Jewiſh chronology, we beg leave to add a few others equally conſiderable; and theſe are, 1. That the ſacred writers affected to uſe round numbers in their large computations, without minding too ſcrupulouſly the odd years that fell over or under them. 2. The ſame they did in their leſſer reckonings; thoſe, for inſtance, of their kings reigns, which they computed by complete years, and overlooked the odd months, which the firſt and laſt happened to fall ſhort of; by which it often happened, that a whole year was gained within the compaſs of two or three reigns, or of forty or fifty years. 3. The book of Judges, whoever was the author of it (P), compared with Joſephus's hiſtory

†, See vol. ii. p. 394. not. B.

(P) It is plain, that it was not begun and continued by ſeveral hands, under the government of each judge, as ſome have imagined; not only from the uniformity of the ſtyle throughout, but alſo becauſe the author of it, whoever he was, gives a kind of epitome of the whole book at the beginning (85); and the expreſſion which occcurs in it, that in thoſe days there was no king in Iſrael (86) ſhews it to have been written after the beginning of their monarchy. On the other hand, thoſe who date it after the captivity, becauſe it is ſaid there (87), that Jonathan and his ſons continued to be prieſts until the day of the captivity of the land, which they think muſt at leaſt be that of Tiglath-pileſer, (88), ſeem to poſt-date it prodigiouſly, not conſidering, that by what the author ſays at the beginning (89), that the children of Benjamin dwelt with the Jebuſites in Jeruſalem

(85) Ch. ii. 10. & ſeq. (86) Ch. xvii. 6. xviii. 1. xix. 1. & alib. (87) Judg. xviii. 30. (88) See 2 King. xv. 30. (89) Ch. i. ver. 21.

hiſtory of them, ſeems only a ſhort account of ſo many perſons, and of their government, without regard to the inter-regnums and anarchies, which happened between any of them. It ſeems indeed, as if they were deſignedly paſſed by, as dead epochas not worth recording. But, laſtly, and to mention no more, after the diviſion of the two kingdoms, the length of every king's reign, ſeems indeed exactly ſet down, and the ſynchroniſms between thoſe of Judah and Iſrael exactly obſerved; and yet there often happens ſuch jarring and diſagreement between them, as cannot be reconciled by any other way, than by ſuppoſing, that ſome of thoſe monarchs, in either kingdom, were taken into copartnerſhip with their prodeceſſors, and that the beginning

ruſalem, unto this day, he muſt have lived before theſe were driven out of it by David. It is therefore more probable, as the Jews think, that the captivity here ſpoken of was the battle which the Iſraelites loſt againſt the Philiſtines, when the ark was taken by them; at which time one may reaſonably ſuppoſe a great number of people were alſo taken captive.

What makes this conjecture ſtill more probable is, that in the very next verſe, to that where the captivity is mentioned, the author adds, that *the Danites ſet up Micha's ephod all the time that the houſe of God was in Shiloh*, which was only till they fetched the ark from thence, to carry it againſt the Philiſtines; and this was about the beginning of Samuel's time; for after its return it was not carried back to Shiloh, but to Kirjath-jearim (90). If the ephod then continued no longer in Dan, there was no farther need of keeping any prieſts to ſacrifice unto it. Neither indeed is it credible, that ſuch a notorious piece of idolatry could have continued under Samuel's government, when it is expreſly ſaid, that he made the children of Iſrael put away their ſtrange gods to ſerve the Lord alone (91).

It ſeems therefore very probable, to us, that a miſtake has been committed in the laſt word of the 30th verſe, from the likeneſs of the final letters; and that inſtead of גלות הארץ the captivity of the land, it was originally written גלות הארון the captivity of the ark. From all which it will follow, that Samuel lived at the time of the book being written; and conſequently, that he is moſt likely to have been the author of it. Neither will the ſuppoſition of a much later captivity deſtroy this conjecture, if we ſuppoſe, that Ezra, or any of the inſpired writers, that returned from that of Babylon, might add this circumſtance, as we have made it probable already, they did many others, to the hiſtorical books, by way of illuſtration.

(90) Conf. 1 Sam. iv. 4. & vii. 1. 2. (91) Ibid. ver 3, 4.

ning of their reigns was dated at that time, and not from that of their father's death. The neceſſity of this ſuppoſition cannot but be very obvious to thoſe who are converſant with chronologic works, eſpecially thoſe of the learned Uſher. How far the Jewiſh computation by lunar years, their ignorance of aſtronomy, and want of exact tables, of which we have lately had occaſion to ſpeak under another head, may have increaſed theſe difficulties we need not ſay. But theſe, and many more we willingly omit, have introduced a great number of learned chronologers, antient and modern, ſuch as St. Jerom, Scaliger, Voſſius, Genebrard, and others, to think it next to impoſſible to adjuſt the Jewiſh chronology, by thoſe few books we have extant, and which are but epitomes of more full and comprehenſive hiſtories, long ſince loſt.

We need not tell our readers, that the hiſtories of ſeveral kings are ſaid in the text to have been written by cotemporary prophets, of whom we have nothing extant but their names; and that the books of Kings and Chronicles conclude every king's reign in words to this effect: *Now the reſt of the acts of* ſuch a king, *his valour and conqueſt*, and the like, *are they not written in the book of the Kings* (or *Chronicles*) *of the Kings of Judah* (or *Iſrael*). Now it were abſurd to ſuppoſe, that thoſe we have extant, under the name of Kings and Chronicles, do refer to one another, ſeeing, ſome few inconſiderable particulars excepted, they all mention the ſame things, and almoſt word for word; and are alike regardleſs of all the other particulars of thoſe reigns. It is therefore more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they referred the readers to more exact and voluminous annals or hiſtories, written by proper perſons in every reign, and which either periſhed during the captivity, or ſince. But whether we aſcribe the difficulties of the Jewiſh chronology to the loſs of theſe books, to the Jews corrupting of the text, or to the careleſſneſs of tranſcribers; any, or all, of theſe will ſufficiently account for the different ways by which almoſt every chronologer has endeavoured to fix the various æras before the birth of Chriſt; concerning which we ſhall refer our readers to our preface above mentioned, and to the tables thereto annexed.

The Jews indeed, whether antient or modern, do not differ ſo widely from one another in this reſpect, as the Chriſtians do; but then it is plain, from the tables above mentioned, that they have ſhortened, one and all, the ſpace between the creation of the world and the birth

birth of Christ, by 240 years, little more or less, of the vulgar æra. Whether therefore this was wilfully done, and with design to explode the completion of the prophecies concerning the time of the Messiah's coming, which is but too likely, seeing their chronology, from that time to this, doth exactly agree with ours, this being their 5495th year from the creation; or whether it happened through the inadvertency of copyists, which yet was hardly ever granted by any true Jew; their chronology can no more be reconciled to ours, than that of the Egyptians, or any other nation.

The truth is, that all their records, the sacred books excepted, are not only of recenter date than their Talmud; but seem wholly directed by it. So that whatever small difference is to be met with between them, in point of chronology, is rather owing to a different reading or understanding of that book, than a deviation from it; and of what authority both this and the others ought to be to us, we need not tell the reader. However, for the satisfaction of those who are not acquainted with these chronological works, we shall subjoin some few of the most considerable, together with their authors, as far as they are known, and the time in which they were compiled.

And here we shall pass by their fictitious Josephus Ben Gorion, whom they have obtruded upon the world instead of the real one, so well known to the Christians, and so often mentioned in this history. The reader may see an account of these two, and the reasons of the former being trumped up by the Jews, in opposition to the latter, in Prideaux's Connection [c], where he will find also a fuller account of the following chronological works; which, we shall, for that reason, content ourselves with the bare mention of, and only observe here, that they follow the Hebrew text as far as it goes; the rest is mostly supplied by the Talmud to the time of its being compiled, and then by authors of a recenter date.

The first is the Sedar Holam rabbah, or large Chronicle; which contains a short history from the creation, and is generally attributed to one rabbi Jose Ben Chalephta, who flourished, if we may believe the generality of the Jews, about 130 years after Christ, and is said to have been master to the famous Jehudah Hadokesh, the compiler of the Mishna [d];

[c] Preface to the 3d vol. p. 18, & seq.

Miſhna [d]; but what ſhews him to be of more modern date is, that his work is continued down to the time of the emperor Adrian [e]. And Prideaux obſerves, that the book is ſtuffed with rabbinic fables, which certainly appear to have been taken out of the Babyloniſh Talmud; from which he concludes that it was written after it [f]. To this we may add what a learned Jew tells us [g], that he had ſeen a copy of it, in which it was ſaid, that the author lived 760 years after the deſtruction of the temple.

2. THE Sheeloth and Teſhuboth, or queſtions and anſwers, dialoguewiſe, of rabbi Sherira, ſirnamed Gaon; or the ſublime. This is a chronological epitome, the author of which flouriſhed from the year 967 downward [h].

3. THE Sedar Holam Zutta, or the leſſer Chronicle, another epitome of hiſtory, from the creation to the year of Chriſt 552; but whoſe unknown author lived, as the book itſelf ſays, about the year 1123 [i].

4. Sephar Cabbala Rabbi Abraham Levita Ben Dior; this book pretends to give a continual and uninterrupted ſucceſſion of all the patriarchs, prophets, elders, and wiſe men, through whoſe hands the oral tradition paſſed, from Adam to Moſes, and ſo on to the compilers of the Talmud, and from thence to the year of Chriſt 1141. This author doth often abridge the fictitious Joſephus Ben Gorion, and is ſuppoſed to be the firſt, who brought that ſpurious author and his book into credit among the Jews.

5. THE Sepher Juchaſin, or book of genealogies, from the creation to the year of Chriſt 1500. This is a much larger work than any of the former.

6. THE Shalſheleth, or chain of the caballa, of the ſame kind with the Juchaſin.

7. The Tzemach David, or ſprout of David, treats on the ſame ſubject with the two laſt. Theſe three are ſtill more modern, and leſs worth our notice [k]. Beſides theſe, we find an apocryphal book, intituled, Dibre hajamim, or chronicle of Moſes; but which is univerſally rejected by the Jews as well as Chriſtians. As for the Samaritan chronicle,

[d] Vid. Wolf. Bibliot. Rabbin. num. 848. p. 462. & ſeq. [e] See Morin. Bartoloc. Buxtorf. & al. [f] Prid. ubi ſup. [g] R. Azar. Meor henaim. pt. 3. [h] Vid. Wolf. & Prid. ubi ſup. [i] Vid. Sepher, Juchaſin, Shalſheleth & Tzemach David ap. Wolf. ubi ſup. [k] Id. & Prid. ub. ſup.

nicle, publiſhed by Bernard [l] and Baſnage [m], it is ſo ſhort, obſcure, and incorrect, that it could yield us but little help in this particular, were it of greater authority than it is. Theſe, eſpecially the firſt ſeven, are the books which the Jews urge againſt our chronology, and from which they pretend to demonſtrate, that Chriſt appeared earlier in the world by about 240 years, than we ſaid he did: But as their authority is altogether founded upon that of the Talmud, we ſhall ſpend no more time in confuting either [n].

We paſs by alſo the Jewiſh Targums, or Chaldee paraphraſes, becauſe we have none upon the book of the Judges or of the Kings. But upon the whole, whatever ſmall differences there may be between thoſe chronological works, they all agree in the ſeries and ſucceſſion of their kings and judges, in the ſame order of time as we find them in thoſe two ſacred books and that of the Chronicles. It is true, that this laſt doth ſometimes jar with thoſe of Samuel and Kings in point of numbers, whether of years or other things mentioned in both. But ſuch differences are ſcarce worth the pains which ſome critics have taken to reconcile them. We ſhall have occaſion, in the ſequel of their hiſtory, to hint at ſome of the latter ſort; and as to the firſt, the only inſtance we are going to give, will eaſily convince the reader, that, in theſe caſes, ſome errors have manifeſtly crept into the text, whether through the likeneſs of the numerical Hebrew letters, or the negligence of copyiſts, whatever the Jews may pretend to the contrary. The place we mean is, where the book of Chronicles ſays, that Ahaziah was 42 years of age when he began to reign [o], contrary to that of Kings, which makes him but 22 years old [p]. It will be no hard matter to find where the miſtake lies, ſince, according to the former author, that monarch muſt have been two years older than his father, who is affirmed to have died in the 40th year of his age [q]. It were ridiculous to follow the forced and unnatural ſolution of two or three authors, who have endeavoured to ſolve the difficulty [r], againſt the far greater majority, who have plainly owned, that it could not be removed by any other way, than by owning the bigger number to be an error of the tranſcriber [s].

[l] Ap. Calmet ſub voc. croniq. [m] Hiſtoire des Juifs. T. 6. lib. 8. c. 6. [n] Vid. Prid. Conn. ubi. ſup. & pt. 1. lib. 5. [o] 2 Chron. xxii. 2. [p] 2 Kings viii. 26. [q] 2 Chr. xxi. ver. ult. [r] Uſſer an. Broughton. Jun. in loc.

tranſcriber [s]. The following is the liſt of the judges and kings of Judah and Iſrael. As for their chronology and ſynchroniſms, we ſhall refer them, as we have done hitherto, the former to their hiſtory, and the latter to the chronological table at the end of this work.

A Table of the ISRAELITISH JUDGES.

1. Othniel, ſon-in-law to Joſhua (A).
2. Ehud.
3. Shamgar,
4. Deborah the propheteſs, and wife of Lapidoth (B), and Barac her general.
5. Gideon, or Jerubbaal.
6. Abimelech his ſon.
7. Tolah.
8. Jair.
9. Jephthah the Gileadite.
10. Ibzan.
11. Elon.
12. Abdon.
13. Eli the high-prieſt.
14. Samſon.
15. Samuel.

The

[s] Jerom. Kimch. Abarban. L. de Dieu. Piſcat. Cajet. Scalig. Grot. Capel & al mult. Vid. & Nort. Knatchbul Animadv. in N. T. in act. iv. Le Scen. Eſſay on a N. Verſ. pt. 2. ch. vi. § 8. & al. mult.

(A) Joſephus makes Kenaz, the father of Othniel, to have been the firſt judge in Iſrael (1); and takes no notice of his ſon, either as his co-partner, or ſucceſſor; but the text is intirely againſt him, which gives that dignity to the latter, and attributes the ſignal victory to him; for which he was choſen and continued in it forty years (2).

(B) Some read אשת-לפידות Eſheth-Lapidoth, a woman of Lapidoth, ſuppoſing that to be the name of the place of her abode; and others, becauſe Lapidoth properly ſignifies lamps, will have her called by that name, becauſe ſhe ſpun the cotton for the lamps that burnt in the holy place. But all this is ſaid without foundation, and Deborah is not the only propheteſs that had a huſband. Witneſs Huldah the wife of Shallum, mentioned in a former note. It doth not appear, what tribe Deborah was of; the place of her abode was upon the frontiers of Benjamin and Ephraim (3), and theſe were indifferently inhabited by either tribe.

(1) Ant. lib. v. c. 4. (2) See Judg. iii. 8, & ſeq. (3) Ibid. iv. 5.

The JEWISH KINGS before Jeroboam's Revolt.

Saul. Ishbosheth. David. Solomon.

KINGS of JUDAH and ISRAEL after the Division of the two kingdoms.

JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
Rehoboam.	Jeroboam.
Abijam.	Nadab.
Asa.	Baasha.
	Elah.
	Zimri.
	Omri.
	Ahab.
Jehoshaphat.	Ahaziah.
Jehoram.	
Ahaziah.	Jehoram.
Athaliah.	Jehu.
Jehoash.	
Amaziah.	Jehoahaz.
Uzziah, or Azariah.	Jehoash.
	Jeroboam II.
	An inter-regnum of 11½ years.
	Zachariah.
	Shallum.
	Menahem.
	Pekahiah.
Jotham.	Pekah.
Ahaz.	Hoshea.
Hezekiah.	
Manasseh.	
Amon.	
Josiah.	
Shallum, or Jehoahaz.	
Eliakim, or Jehoiakim.	
Jechoniah, or Coniah, called also Jehoiakin.	
Mattaniah, called also Zedekiah.	

SECT.

SECT. VI.

The Hiſtory of the JUDGES that governed Iſrael, from the Death of Joſhua to Saul their firſt king.

JOSHUA had attained to the 110th year of his age, by that time he had finiſhed his arduous taſk of ſettling the tribes each in their proper lot, diſmiſſing the two tribes and a half to their own, on the other ſide of Jordan, and appointing the cities of the levites, and of refuge, as we have ſeen in a former ſection. Finding therefore, that he was drawing to his end, he called to him all the heads of Iſrael at Shechem; and, after the example of Moſes, reminded them of all the wonderful and ſignal favours which God had ſhewed to them, from their fore-father Abraham unto that time; and how much they were bound by intereſt, as well as duty, to continue ſtedfaſt in their obedience to him, and by no means to ſuffer themſelves to be inſnared into idolatry, or into a conformity with the ways of the Canaanites; which could not but prove fatal to them, as it had been to their anceſtors. He added, that as for them, they were at their choice, whether they would ſerve the Lord, or the gods of Canaan; but himſelf and his houſe were fully reſolved to continue ſtedfaſt in the worſhip of the true God. This pathetic exhortation of their venerable general, whom they now ſaw for the laſt time, extorted from them an univerſal promiſe, that they would all follow his example, and cleave unto God. Joſhua took care to ſee it recorded, and cauſed a monument to be erected in memory of this new covenant under the oak that grew in the precinct of the tabernacle. He died ſoon after, and was buried at Timnath-ſerath in mount Ephraim, which was his own inheritance. His death was ſoon followed by that of Eleazar the ſon of Aaron, who was ſucceeded by his ſon Phineas in the high-prieſt-hood. By degrees the reſt of the ſeventy elders, who had outlived Joſhua, died alſo; and with them, one would have thought, not only the remembrance of Joſhua and of their late covenant, ſo ſolemnly ſworn to by all the tribes, but even all ſenſe of religion

Joſhua's death.

Year of the Flood, 1556
Year before Chriſt, 1443

and fear of God, or regard to his laws; insomuch, that Joshua had been scarce dead twenty years, before we find them sunk over head and ears into confusion and idolatry.

A GREAT part of Canaan remained still unconquered when that general died; so that they could not, without pursuing their conquest, secure the possession of what they had. Judah was appointed by the oracle to begin the war; Caleb, the son of Jephuneh, famous for his bravery and faithfulness, in the report he made of the land of Canaan [b], was head of that tribe, and engaged that of Simeon, with which his own was interwoven, to join forces with him against the king of Bezek [c]. We have seen elsewhere the just fate of that insolent petty prince †. As for Caleb, he set himself immediately about the conquest of Jerusalem, which had been retaken by the Jebusites from the tribe of Benjamin, and soon after took and burnt it to the ground; the besieged retiring into the fortress of Zion [d]. After this, he turned his forces towards the south, against the cities of Hebron, or Kirjath-Arba, and Debir, called also Kirjath-Sepher, which were then inhabited by the gigantic sons of Anak. These had been formerly promised to him by Moses, as a reward of his faithfulness, and yielded to him accordingly by Joshua a little before his death [e]. Caleb, however, who was then above fourscore and five years of age, tho' still strong and vigorous, thought it prudent not to exhaust his strength too far in the siege of those strong places, and therefore proposed his daughter Achsah as a reward to the man that took Kirjath-Sepher; and it was not long before it was gained by Othniel, a man of valour and of his own family (A), whose conduct and bravery, upon this occasion, did raise him soon after to the dignity of judge.

Judah's war.

WHILST

[a] Josh. xxiii, & xxiv. p. tot. [b] Vide Numb. xii. 6, & 30. xiv. 6, & alib. [c] Judg. i. 4. & seq. † Vide vol. ii. pag. 206. [d] Judg. i. 8. [e] Ibid. ver. 9. & seq. vide Josh. xiv. 9, & seq.

(A) The text calls him the son of Kenaz, brother to Caleb (1); so that it is not easy to determine, whether he, or his father, was Caleb's brother. The septuagint and vulgate have taken it in the first sense; but it is plain, he was not his brother by

(1) Josh. xv. 17. Jud. i. 13.

WHILST Caleb and his new ſon-in-law were employed in enlarging their inheritance, the other tribes were doing the ſame in their ſeveral lots. But whether out of compaſſion to the poor Cananites, doomed to deſtruction; or out of an ambitious deſire of having vaſſals under them, they wholly neglected the expreſs order of their law-giver, and, inſtead of extirpating them, contented themſelves with laying them under tribute; this proved the ſource of all their misfortunes, and of thoſe many ſlaveries that enſued; for the oppreſſed Canaanites did, at leaſt in appearance, ſo patiently ſubmit to their yoke, that they became leſs cautious of them; they grew by degrees more intimate with them, and by that means were ſo far enſnared with the beauty of their women, as to contract affinities with them. Theſe unhappy intermarriages ſoon debauched them into all their idolatries, and reconciled them to the worſhip of Baal,

by the father's ſide, becauſe the one is called the ſon of Jephuneh, and the other the ſon of Kenaz; neither can they be ſuppoſed to be uterine brothers, becauſe in ſuch a caſe, the law of Moſes would not have permitted the one to have given his daughter to the other. The diſparity of age is another proof of it: Caleb was then above 85 years of age; Othniel therefore muſt be ſuppoſed much younger, to have married his daughter who was an heireſs. Neither could he have married her, if his father Kenaz had been Caleb's brother; becauſe the marriage of an aunt is likewiſe forbidden by the Moſaic law. It is therefore more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that Caleb and Kenaz were firſt-couſins, which the original doth often call brothers; in which caſe Othniel and Achſah might lawfully marry. St. Auſtin and after him Vatablus affirm Othniel to have been, not only a great warrior, but alſo a learned doctor of their law (2), and ſo doubly eager for the conqueſt of a place which was the ſeat of learning at that time †. The Jews tells us wonders of the beauty of Caleb's daughter. However, her huſband was not ſo well ſatisfied with her and portion, but he prevailed upon her to ſue for an addition to it; which ſhe accordingly did; and upon her complaining of the drought and barrenneſs of the ſouth high-lands, which her father had given her, ſhe obtained thoſe of the valleys beneath, which were better watered, and conſequently more fertile. This happened in Joſhua's time (3).

(2) Vid. Vatbal. in loc. † Vid. ſup. 464. ſub in. not. (I). (3) Vid. Joſh. & Jud. ub. ſup.

Baal, Aſtaroth, and other gods of Cannan, and at once provoked God to forſake them, and gave their enemies an opportunity of regaining their liberties, and of oppreſſing them in their turns.

It was during this time of apoſtacy and confuſion, that Micah, a wealthy man of the tribe of Ephraim, is ſuppoſed to have erected that idol in his houſe, which was ſoon after taken from him by the Danites, and ſet up at Dan. The ſtory of it is indeed related at the end of the book of the Judges, from whence ſome have concluded, that it happened after Samſon's death [f]; whilſt others place it about the latter end of Joſhua's life [g]; but the far greater part between Caleb's death and Othniel's being choſen judge [h]. Till that time, the idolatrous Iſraelites ſeem to have contented themſelves with the idols of the Canaanites, without ſetting up any of their own. Micah was the firſt, we read of, that took it into his head to outdo them, not only by erecting this, but by conſecrating an apartment of his houſe to it, and procuring a wandering Levite to officiate to it. The ſtory, giving us a lively idea of the monſtrous abſurdities of the religion of thoſe times, and of the degeneracy of the Iſraelites, who could ſo ſoon give into them, cannot well be omitted.

The ſtory of Micah.

Micah felt a remorſe for having wronged a covetous and ſuperſtitious mother of 1100 pieces of ſilver, which amounted to ſomewhat above that number of ſhillings of our money, and for which ſhe had beſtowed ſome ſevere curſes upon him. She conceived ſuch joy at his reſtoring of them to her, that ſhe reſolved to conſecrate the greateſt part of it, to what ſhe thought a religious uſe, ſuch as might prove an equivalent bleſſing to him, for the curſes he had extorted from her. Accordingly, with part of that ſilver ſhe and her ſon purchaſed two idols, one molten, and the other carved; and with the reſt they built a chapel to ſet them up in, together with ſome teraphim, which they had, in all likelihood, already in the houſe; they being a kind of little ſtatues, or houſhold gods, which the corrupted Iſraelites had in common with other nations *. To this they added an ephod, or prieſtly garment, with which Micah inſtalled his ſon to the prieſtly office of his new gods. Soon after this, a young indigent Levite, wandering by that way,

Year of the Flood, 1586. Year before Chriſt, 1413.

[f] Vid. Seder Holam. Serar. & al. in loc. [g] Maſius de Lyr. Rib[illegible]er. & al. [h] Vid. Corn. a Lapid. Grot. Uſſer. Munſt. Ca[illegible]net. & al.

* Vid. vol. ii. p. 443. not. (BB).

way, was hired, as a more proper perſon for that office than his own ſon.

MICAH thought himſelf then highly bleſt; and, having his chapel ſo well furniſhed with idols, and with a prieſt to adminiſter to them, began to think, that nothing could hinder him from the favour of God [i]; when the Danites, who found themſelves too ſtreightened in their own tribe, ſent out ſome ſpies to ſeek for a new habitation. Theſe chanced to come by that way, and having conſulted the Levite about the ſucceſs of their journey, and received a favourable anſwer, went directly to Laiſh, a conſiderable town, whoſe rich inhabitants, like thoſe of Zidon, lived in a careleſs ſecurity, without magiſtrates, ſoldiery, or ſtrength. They returned, and acquainted their tribe with the joyful news; upon which, the Danites of Zorah and Eſhtaol armed 600 of their men; and theſe, with their five ſpies at their head, marched immediately towards Laiſh. In their way, the ſpies acquainted them with what they had ſeen at Micah's chapel, and in particular with his having a young Levite there, named Jonathan, the ſon of Gerſhom, from whoſe mouth they had received a promiſe of ſucceſs in this expedition. The text rightly obſerves, that *that there was at that time no king in Iſrael, and that every one did what was right in his own eyes* [k]. The Danites, therefore, inſtead of reproving Micah for his apoſtacy, and deſtroying his idolatrous chapel, entered it by main force, took away the idols, teraphim, and ephod, and forced the young prieſt to go along with them to Laiſh. Micah purſued after them, and made loud complaints, that they had robbed him of all that was valuable in life [l]; all the anſwer they gave him was, that his outcries might coſt him his life, and that was his ſafeſt way to go home quietly. They ſoon arrived at Laiſh, took and deſtroyed it, with its inhabitants; and having built a new city, and called it Dan, after the name of their progenitor, they ſet up their idols there, and retained young Jonathan and his ſons to be their prieſts. The ſeptuagint, vulgate, and ſome Jewiſh rabbies, call him the grandſon of Moſes, but the original, the grandſon of Manaſſeh [m]. As for the idol, the text ſays, that it continued there till the captivity of the land; and what that means, we have ſhewed in a former note.

DURING

[i] Judg. xvii. paſſ. vid. ver. ult.
[k] Ibid. ver. 6.
[l] Ibid. xviii. 14.
[m] Ibid. ver. 30.

A bloody war againſt Benjamin.

During theſe years of anarchy, the inhabitants of Gibeath in the tribe of Benjamin were guilty of ſo horrid a breach of hoſpitality towards a wandering Levite, as proved the cauſe of much bloodſhed, and was like to have occaſioned the ruin of that whole tribe. The Levite was bringing his eloped concubine home, and was come to that place towards ſun-ſet. After he had waited ſome time in vain for ſome body to lodge him that night, an old man coming from his work, who was a ſojourner there, being of the tribe of Ephraim, came at laſt and invited him to his houſe. They had ſcarce made an end of refreſhing themſelves, when a band of profligate young fellows ſurrounded the houſe, and, in a tumultuous manner, demanded the ſtranger to be ſacrificed to their brutiſh luſt, which they made no difficulty to expreſs in the plaineſt terms. This gives one reaſon to believe, that it was no unuſual thing amongſt them. The Levite found no other way of ſaving himſelf, but by delivering his concubine to them; and on the next morning he found her dead at the threſhold of the door, whether of ſhame and regret, or of the grievous abuſe ſhe had ſuffered that night. It was in vain to complain of this cruelty in ſuch an abandoned place; he took therefore the body with him, and brought it to his own houſe, where he divided it into twelve pieces, and ſent one of them to each tribe, with an account of the occaſion of it. The ſurprized tribes aſſembled themſelves from all parts of Iſrael to Mizpeh, to the number of 400,000 fighting men, and there the Levite gave them a farther account of the injury, which had been done to his concubine, but cunningly concealed his own weakneſs and cowardice, in ſacrificing her to his own ſafety [n]. The whole people had ſcarce heard his ſtory out, when they roſe up as one man, and reſolved not to return to their reſpective homes, till they had puniſhed the authors of that unheard-of action with the utmoſt ſeverity. Whilſt therefore they deputed every tenth man to their reſpective tribes, to fetch them arms and proviſion for the war, they ſent deputies to the heads of the tribe of Benjamin, to demand the delivery of theſe profligate Gibeathites. But that haughty tribe, inſtead of complying with their requeſt, armed 25000 of their beſt warriors, beſides 700 of the inhabitants of Gibeath, to go out againſt them. This unexpected ſtubbornneſs did only exaſperate the eleven tribes the more, and made them vow to take a fuller revenge on that of Benjamin.

[n] Ib. c. xx. 5 & ſeq.

min. However, they thought proper before all things to conſult the Lord, not whether they ſhould undertake the war againſt their brethren, for that they took for granted was both lawful and incumbent upon them; but which of the tribes ſhould go out firſt againſt Benjamin; and the Lord anſwered by the mouth of Phineas, the then high-prieſt, that Judah ſhould go firſt. They gave them battle accordingly on the next morning, not doubting of a complete victory; but it proved quite otherwiſe, and Judah was repulſed with the loſs of 22,000 men. This unexpected defeat filled them with ſurprize, and made them apply themſelves again to God, to know whether they ſhould purſue the war againſt their brethren of Benjamin; who anſwered them by the high-prieſt, that they ſhould engage them a ſecond time, though without promiſing them the victory; and, upon their coming up againſt Gibeath, they were again repulſed with the loſs of 18,000 men, by a vigorous ſally which the inhabitants made upon them. This ſecond diſappointment did almoſt drive them to deſpair; at length they reſolved to return to Shiloh, and to lie proſtrate before the ark all that night, and by ſacrifices, faſting, and prayers, to intreat the Lord, either to grant them a victory, or to declare his diſpleaſure againſt the war which they had engaged in. This humble behaviour of theirs obtained at length a favourable anſwer, and the high-prieſt promiſed them, that the Lord would, on the next onſet, deliver the Benjamites into their hands. This anſwer inſpired them with freſh courage; but yet they thought it adviſeable to add policy to their ſtrength. To this end a ſtratagem was put in execution, which had its deſired effect. They divided themſelves into three bodies, one of which ſhould lie in ambuſh, and be ready to enter in and ſet fire to the city as ſoon as the men were ſallied out, after another body had made a ſham aſſault, on purpoſe to draw them out of the place in purſuit of them; whilſt the third and main body lay concealed in the neighbourhood of Baaltamar, and ready to fall upon them. The children of Benjamin did eaſily give into the ſnare; and finding themſelves unwarily ſurpriſed in their purſuit by the main body, were thinking to retreat into the town; when, upon turning themſelves about, they ſaw it all in flames, and were ſo diſheartened at the ſight, that they were all cut off, to the number of 25,000. About 600 ſaved themſelves by flight, and went and fortified themſelves upon the tops of the rocks of Rimmon, and there abode four months, that is, till they were called down by the other tribes in an amicable manner.

In the mean time, this victory did only whet the fury of the other tribes, which did not so much as cool till they had burnt down all their cities and villages, and killed all the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, even to their very cattle; and made, as they thought, an utter end of that unfortunate tribe. It was then indeed that they began to reflect, with some remorse, upon what they had done, and to bewail the loss of one of their tribes. They went up to Shiloh again, and there expostulated with God, for having suffered such an universal destruction without stopping their hand. They erected a large altar, probably, because that of the tabernacle, was not capacious enough for the multitude of their victims, and having been informed, that the six hundred, which were escaped from the slaughter, were still upon the rocks of Rimmon, they entreated God to direct them how to re-call them peaceably, to restore the lost tribe by their means. There was, however, one main impediment to it, namely, a rash oath they had made at Mizpeh, when they vowed the war against Benjamin, that none of them would give their daughters to any of that tribe. The oath, being unlawful in itself, might have been dissolved by the high-priest, who was there present; but whether conscience was more tender in this respect, than it generally was in all others; they bethought themselves of another expedient, which would answer their end, without the danger of being perjured, though it was scarcely so justifiable as the breach of such an oath would have been, even though they had no Phineas to have absolved them from it. They caused a strict search to be made in their muster-rolls, whether any of the tribes had failed to come to the camp at Mizpheh, and upon enquiry it was found that the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead, belonging to the half tribe of Manasseh, on the other side of Jordan, had not come to the general assembly. One would expect therefore, that as they had no share in the oath with the other tribes, they would only have obliged them to furnish those six hundred men with wives; but they went a more cruel way to work, and sent twelve thousand armed men, with orders to destroy all the inhabitants of the place, except the virgins. These soon went and executed this bloody command, and brought four hundred virgins captive, which were given to as many of the remaining men of Benjamin. There were still two hundred unprovided for, and no more towns to be condemned to the fate of Jabesh; however,

however, rather than break their oaths for their ſakes, they bethought themſelves of a way of evading it, by giving them leave to take that by force, which they thought not lawful to give them of their own accord. The men took their advice, and lay perdue in the vineyards about Shiloh, and when the young damſels came out of it with tabrets and dances, from ſome ſolemn feaſt, as is ſuppoſed, every man ſeized upon one of them, and took them home, whilſt the reſt of the tribes returned alſo every man to his habitation *. The ſix hundred men ſoon rebuilt their cities, and the tribe of Benjamin, thus reſtored by degrees to its former valour and ſtrength, did cleave ever after to that of Judah, and gave the ſecond judge and firſt king unto Iſrael.

By theſe two inſtances, the reader may judge into what degree of degeneracy the whole nation was fallen, in that little interval between the death of Caleb and that of his ſon-in-law's being choſen judge. What is ſtill more ſurpriſing is, that they preſence of one good man in authority ſhould be able to put a ſtop to ſuch a vehement propenſity to idolatry, which, immediately after his death, could not be contained within any bounds, but broke out like a torrent with double force. Yet this was the caſe of the Iſraelites during all the time of their judges; the ſame that delivered them from thraldom, freed them alſo from idolatry, and he was no ſooner dead, than their innocence and obedience were at an end, tho' their peace and happineſs were ſure to end with it: thus every epoch is only an alternate ſucceſſion of ſinning and repentance, of ſervitude and deliverance. What thoſe nations were which they ſuffered to live amongſt them, and by whom they were ſo often corrupted, enſlaved, and delivered from by turns, we have already ſeen in the hiſtory of Canaan †, to which we ſhall refer the reader once for all, to avoid, as much as the ſeries of this hiſtory will permit, all unneceſſary repetitions.

Othniel, the first judge.

The firſt ſlavery, which their defection brought upon them, was under Cuſhanriſhataim, king of Meſopotamia, who held them in ſubjection about eight years; at the end of which, the warlike Othniel found means to raiſe an army againſt him, with which he gained a ſignal victory, and freed Iſrael from the yoke of that potent prince. The text gives us no farther account of that war, which could not

* Judg. xix. & xx. per. tot.

† Vid. vol. ii. p. 204, & ſeq.

not but be much to the Hebrew general's honour, considering the ſtrength of his enemy. All that it adds is, that his ſucceſs obtained him a peace which laſted forty years; that is, till the death of their judge and deliverer [p]. This victory happened about 38 years after Joſhua's death; as for that of Othniel, it is not eaſy to fix it [q].

Ehud, ſecond judge.

Soon after it, they fell again under ſervitude to the Moabites, and, at the end of eighteen years, Ehud their ſecond judge, who was of the tribe of Benjamin, being deputed to carry the yearly tribute to Eglon their king, freed them by the death of that prince, whom he privately ſtabbed, whilſt he was delivering a pretended meſſage from God to him; and having eſcaped undiſcovered, blew the trumpet, and raiſed a ſufficient army, with which he ſhook off the Moabitiſh yoke, and procured his people another forty years peace [r].

Year of the Flood, 1673. Before Chriſt 1324.

Shamgar, third judge.

SHAMGAR, their third judge, delivered them from ſome ſmall oppreſſion which they ſuffered from the Philiſtines. The text gives us no further particulars about him, than that he ſlew ſix hundred of them with an ox-goad, or, as the Latin and Greek verſions render it, with a plow-ſhare [s] (B). How long he judged Iſrael is not to be gueſſed at: he was ſucceeded by

THE propheteſs Deborah, ſoon after the ſmart of a fourth ſervitude, worſe and longer than any of the three former, had

[p] Judg. iii. 8. & ſeq. [q] Vid. Annal. Uſſer. p. 28: [r] Judg. iii. 12, & ſeq. See vol. ii. p. 110. [s] Judg. iii. ver. ult. See vol. ii. p. 236. & not. S. ibid.

(B) The word is מלמד הבקר Malmad hahakar, which ſignifies any inſtrument by which oxen are broke to labour. We have taken notice under another head, that the Philiſtines were more careful than any other nation to ſtrip the Jews of all their weapons of war, whenever they had them in ſubjection †; and if this was the caſe at preſent, it is likely, that expreſſion means only ſuch ruſtical inſtruments, as he and his men could lay their hands on. But, as the text mentions nothing of any previous ſervitude, it is probable, that the deliverance here ſpoken of was only from ſome incurſion of the Philiſtines, perhaps in ploughing-time, when they thought they might be more eaſily ſurpriſed, but in which they were repulſed with loſs, by the vigilance and bravery of their then judge.

† Vid. ſup. p. 402.

had brought them to a ſenſe of their ſins and ingratitude. Iſrael was for every market, and as ready as they were to ſell themſelves to ſome new crimes, ſo was providence to ſell them to new lords. The text takes notice, that, after the death of their judge, they fell into new crimes, and God, to puniſh them for it, raiſed up a more powerful adverſary againſt them, Jabin king of Canaan, whoſe ſtrength, beſides a numerous army and a valiant general, conſiſted in an incredible number of iron chariots [t]; whereby he held them in ſevere ſubjection twenty years; yet, when their cries and repentance had obtained a promiſe of a ſpeedy deliverance, leſt they ſhould arrogate to themſelves any ſhare in the glory of their future victory, two women are choſen to be the main inſtruments of it, and Jael completes what Deborah had concerted, and Barak, at the head of ten thouſand men, diſcomfited Siſerah and his numerous army, tho' ſtrengthened with nine hundred chariots of iron [u]; and the land of Iſrael, from a diſmal ſolitude [w], began to reſume its former fertility and ſplendor. We have given an account of this famous action in a former chapter †, which gave occaſion to that noble ſong of deliverance, which Deborah compoſed immediately after it, and which procured them a reſpite of forty years [x]. Deborah fourth judge.

THE ungrateful Iſraelites, having by that time forgot that ſignal deliverance, are plagued with a freſh bondage, and with which that of Jabin compared might be called freedom. Under the laſt Deborah was allowed to judge Iſrael in the face of the ſun, but now they are not only without judge, but even without habitation, except what they are forced to ſeek for among the clefts and caverns of the rocks; and if they find time and convenience to ſow, their enemies pour in upon them, and reap the fruit of their labours [y]. Under this miſerable tyranny they were groaning, when God did firſt ſend a prophet to convince them how juſtly they ſuffered this hard Midianitiſh bondage [z]; after which he made choice of a proper perſon to undertake their deliverance. Gideon was privately threſhing his corn, to ſave it from becoming a prey either to Midian or Amalek; when the angel of the Lord ſaluted him with the title of the valiant ſa-

VIOUR

[t] Judg. iv. 1. v. 8. Ch. v. ver. 6, & 7.
[x] Judg. v. ver. ult.
[u] Ibid. ver. 18, & ſeq.
† See vol. ii. p. 211. & not. I.
[y] Ibid. vi. 3, & ſeq.
[w] Vid.
[z] Ibid.
ver. 11, & ſeq.

viour of his people, and convinced him by repeated miracles, that Israel, whom he now looked upon as forsaken by God, should be speedily and miraculously restored to their
Gideon. wished for freedom by his means. Gideon, on the one hand, was too well experienced a warrior, and too well acquainted with the dejected condition of his nation, to think, that such a deliverance could be wrought by an arm of flesh; and, on the other, he was so far from expecting such a supernatural assistance, that he seemed even to doubt of the truth of all those wonders which God had wrought in favour of them [a]. At length, to confirm his wavering faith, he obtained leave of the heavenly messenger to go and fetch a sacrifice, and to offer it at his feet; which he had no sooner done, but, upon the angel's touching it with the end of his staff, a miraculous fire arose out of the rock on which it was laid, and consumed the whole sacrifice; immediately after which the angel vanished out of his sight. Gideon was filled with surprise and dread, at the thoughts of the divine presence which he had beheld, but God was pleased to dissipate his fears; in memory of which, he reared an altar on the place, and called it Jehovah Shalom [b].

On that very night, the Lord commanded him to begin his heaven-appointed task, with the destruction of the altar and grove of Baal, the fatal source of Israel's defection and punishment; and to expiate their crime by the sacrifice of a bullock of seven years, in the place where they had served that Midianitish deity. Gideon was not only eager to obey, but knowing the hazard of such an enterprize, should he set about it in the day-time, resolved to finish it that very night, which he accordingly did by the help of ten of his servants, whom he called to the work. This unexpected devastation was no sooner perceived on the next morning, than the whole city came to Joash's house, and, in an insolent manner, demanded, that he should deliver up his son to be put to death, for his sacrilege against Baal; but the grave old man soon made them sensible of their absurd zeal for an impotent deity, which could not defend his altar and honour against his son. It is probable, he used some other topic to repress their fury; and that this only is mentioned, because his son got the firname of Jerubaal by it, that is, *Let Baal look to himself*.

In

[a] Ver. 13. [b] Ver. 32.

In the mean time, the Midianites and their confederates, whether from the jealouſy which this action of Gideon might inſpire them with, or any other tendency they might obſerve in the Iſraelites to revolt, began to cover the ſpacious plain of Jezreel with their troops. Gideon, on the other hand, had ſummoned the tribes of Manaſſeh, Aſher, Zebulun, and Naphtali to appear in arms; but whether the ſight of ſo numerous an hoſt, as was preparing againſt him, had weakened his faith or that of his troops, he begged for a farther miraculous proof of the divine aſſiſtance, which was, that the fleece of wool, which he ſpread that night on the threſhing floor, might be found on the next morning covered with the dew of heaven, whilſt all the ground round about it remained dry. He had no ſooner obtained this miracle, and wrung a bowl full of water out of the fleece, but he begged, that, for a further confirmation of the miracle and of their faith, the fleece might be the only thing that received no moiſture, whilſt all the ground round about it was wet. This was alſo granted at his requeſt [c], and Gideon, thus aſſured of a complete victory, led his ſmall army againſt the enemy, and encamped over againſt them. It conſiſted but of 32000 men, which were but a poor handful, compared to thoſe confederate forces of Midian, Amalek, and of the Arabians [d]; but God, who deſigned to take away all occaſion, both from the ungrateful Jews and their enemies, to attribute the ſucceſs to their number or valour, commanded Gideon to make a proclamation through his army, and to diſband all that were faint-hearted; upon which 22000 of his daſtardly troops were immediately diſmiſſed. Gideon by this time thought probably, that his army was ſufficiently reduced; when he was again commanded to lead it to the water ſide, and there ſeparate thoſe who went down upon their knees to drink, from thoſe who lapped the water out of the hollow of their hand. There were found but 300 of the latter, and God promiſed him the victory by them (C), and ordered the reſt to

[c] Ver. 36. & ſeq. [d] See Ch. vii. 12.

(C) It is not eaſy to gueſs, from this different manner of their quenching their thirſt, whether the 300 were choſen for any particular virtue which this action did indicate, or for the reverſe. Some authors think, that the 9700 who kneeled down, gave a token

to be ſent away. For a further confirmation, Gideon was commanded to go into the Midianitiſh camp, attended only by a ſervant, and there he would be informed what notion his enemies had of him, upon his coming, he heard one ſoldier telling a dream to another of a barley cake tumbling into their camp, and overturning a tent down to the ground, and the other interpreting it of Gideon's ſword diſcomfiting the confederate hoſt. Gideon delayed not to verify the omen, he returned to his 300 men, commanded them to take every man a horn in one hand, a pitcher with a light concealed in it in the other, and led them into the enemies camp about the dead of the night. Here he divided them into three bands, and ſent them to give the alarm at three ſeveral quarters, by ſounding their horns, breaking their pitchers, and diſcovering their glaring lights at the ſignal given which, was crying out *The ſword of the Lord and Gideon*, and which was to be anſwered by all the reſt. The ſucceſs of this ſtratagem was the total defeat of the confederate army †, and Iſrael gaining, with their freedom, an immenſe quantity of the richeſt ſpoil.

Gideon, reſolving to make the beſt advantage of this victory, ſummoned ſeveral tribes to purſue after the enemy, and to ſecure the fords of Beth-bara, and Jordan; and

† See vol. ii. p. 142.

token of their courage, in that they were not afraid of the nearneſs of their enemy, but choſe to drink at their eaſe; whilſt the others betrayed their cowardice, by being contented with taking a handful of water running, and that God made choice of them to make the victory appear more miraculous (4). Others, on the contrary, think, that thoſe that were weak and diſheartened kneeled down, and the couragious and ſtrong took the water up with their hand (5). It is hard to decide which is in the right; but the Jews have gone further for a reaſon why theſe 300 were preferred; namely, that there was a ſtatue of Baal on the other ſide of the water, ſo that they ſcrupled to kneel down to drink, leſt they ſhould be thought to pay any worſhip to the idol; whilſt the others, more concerned for their eaſe than for the honour of God, were ſet aſide, as unworthy to have a ſhare in ſo ſignal a victory (6). But the reader may chuſe whether he will take their word for their being really any ſuch idol in the way.

(4) Ita Joſeph. Ant. lib. v. c. 8. Rabbin. aliq. Toſtat. & al. (5) De Lyr. Montan. Corn. a Lap. & al. (6) Vid. Munſt. in loc. & ſup. p. 170. not. F.

and the cowardly 22000, who dared not look the enemy in the face, began now to take courage, when they ſaw them flying, and to purſue them one way, whilſt himſelf and his 300 men went after another flying party another way. Theſe laſt went over Jordan, and by that time Gideon and his men were come to Succoth, they found themſelves ſo faint and tired, that he was forced to ſend to demand ſome refreſhment for them out of that city, that he might continue his purſuit after the princes of Midian, Zebah and Zalmunah; but he had the mortification to be denied by the inhabitants, who ſent him word, that it would be time enough for him to exact ſuch a ſupply of proviſion, when he brought thoſe two princes priſoners with him. Gideon contented himſelf, for the preſent, with threatening to puniſh the inſolent Succothites in the ſevereſt manner, and continued his journey with his men, faint as they were, till he came to Penuel, where he again ſent the ſame meſſage, and received the ſame repulſe that he had done at Succoth. Whether the deſire of revenge, or hearing that the two princes, he was in purſuit of, were in the neighbourhood of Korkor with 15000 men, the poor remains of an army of 120000, inſpired him with freſh vigor, he ſtopped not his pace till he was come upon them unawares, and had ſecured the two princes, and routed the reſt of their men.

In the mean time, the Ephraimites had overtaken and ſlain Oreb and Zeeb, two other princes of Midian, and brought their heads to Gideon, as he was returning from Korkor with his two royal priſoners; and whether their ſucceſs had made them arrogant, or whether they envied their judge's glory, they accoſted him with an inſolent demand, Why he had not ſummoned their tribe to the war againſt Midian? Gideon, inſtead of repreſſing their ill-timed arrogance, contented himſelf at preſent with extolling their atchievement above his own, telling them, that the gleanings of Ephraim's laurels did vaſtly outweigh the vintage of his own tribe[c]; and having pacified them with his ſoothing anſwer, went to diſcharge his reſentment againſt thoſe who had more richly deſerved it, the cities of Succoth and Penuel. Conſidering the fatigue which he had undergone all that day and the night before, one would expect,

[c] Judg. viii. 1, & ſeq.

expect, that he would have allowed himſelf ſome reſpite, before he went upon ſo ſevere an enterpriſe; but the remembrance of the cruel uſage he had received from thoſe two places, and of what he and his men had ſuffered for want of their aſſiſtnace, would not ſuffer him to let the ſun go down (D), before he had made them ſuffer the puniſhment which he had vowed againſt them. In his way to Succoth he met with a youth of that place, who gave him the name of ſeventy ſeven of its chief magiſtrates and elders, and when he entred into the city, after having reproved the inhabitants for their brutiſh inſolence, he cauſed thoſe ſeventy ſeven men to undergo a very ſevere correction as a determent to the reſt (E), and at the ſame time he commanded thoſe of Penuel to be all put to the ſword, and their tower to be demoliſhed to the ground [f]. He then examined his two priſoners concerning ſome men, whom they had ſlain at mount Tabor, and underſtanding, by the deſcription they gave of them that they were his own brethren, he ſet aſide all thoughts of mercy towards them, and put them to death on the ſpot [g].

THE

[f] Ver. 13. ad. 17. [g] 18, & ſeq. See vol. ii. p. 143.

(D) The text is ſomewhat obſcure in this place, ſo that it is not eaſy to determine, whether the words, before the ſun (7), mean before its going down on that day, or its riſing on the next morning. Our verſion underſtands it in the latter ſenſe, but the Jews and the generality of Chriſtian interpreters in the firſt. And indeed it is ſcarce credible, that Gideon and his men could continue a whole day and two nights in action; and if we remember, that it was about mid-night when he put the enemies camp to the rout, he had time enough the next day to perform all the reſt.

(E) What this puniſhment was, is not clearly deſcribed in the text. The literal ſenſe, in the place where he threatens it, is, *I will thraſh your fleſh with thorns of the wilderneſs*; and where he executes it, it ſays, that *he made them feel the thorns*. The antient Jews think, that he cauſed their naked bodies to be flung among thorny buſhes, and to be trampled to death (8). Others think, that he cauſed them to be whipt to death, or to have their fleſh torn with thorns; but this laſt is ſcarce probable, if we conſider that thoſe of Penuel, who were in the ſame offence, were all put to death.

(7) Judg. viii, 13. (8) Vid. Targ. Jonath. & Munſt in loc.

THE Iſraelites, being thus delivered from their cruel ſlavery, and loaden with the ſpoil of their enemies, began to think they could not ſhew their gratitude to their brave deliverer, nor ſecure their new-gotten freedom more effectually, than by offering to ſettle the ſupreme authority upon him and his poſterity; and Gideon, who had threeſcore and ten ſons by ſeveral wives, might eaſily have been tempted to accept it, had he not been ſo lately convinced, that their greateſt ſecurity did chiefly depend upon their obedience to their divine protector; he therefore adviſed them not to put their confidence in their own ſtrength, or in their generals valour, but in God; and to make ſure of his protection by a ſtricter obedience to his laws. One would hardly think that a ſpeech ſo full of modeſty, piety, and diſintereſtedneſs, ſhould be the prelude to an action, which ſullied both it and all his other glories; and yet he had no ſooner modeſtly refuſed their offer but he deſired them, as an acknowledgment of his late ſervices, to preſent him with what golden ear-rings they had gotten from their enemies. His requeſt was readily complied with, and a garment being ſpread upon the ground, was preſently covered with thoſe ornaments, amounting to 1700 ſhekels, or 150 ounces of gold, beſides collars, chains, and other ornaments of the ſame metal (F), and ſome purple and other coſtly garments, of which they had ſtripped the confederate princes. With theſe the Jewiſh general cauſed an ephod (G) to be made, which he ſet up in his own city Ophrah;

(F) We need not wonder at this great quantity of golden plunder, we remember that all thoſe eaſtern nations were fond of ſuch ornaments, and that the Midianites in particular not only wore them themſelves, but decked the necks of their camels with them, of which they brought vaſt droves into the field (9).

(G) We have already taken notice of two prieſtly garments, called by that name from the Hebrew אפד Aphad, to tye, becauſe they were tyed about with a girdle; the one was a plain linen veſt, ſuch as not only the prieſts, but even young Samuel wore when he miniſtered at the altar (10), and David when he marched before the ark (11); the other which was a much richer one, was peculiar to the high-prieſt. Some learned men have indeed affirmed, though without any foundation, that the Jewiſh kings were

(9) Vid. Judg. vii. 12, & ſup. p. 143. (10) 1 Sam. ii. 18. (11) 2 Sam. vi. 14.

Ophrah; and the text adds, that *it proved a snare both to him and to his house, because it became the occasion of a new kind of idolatry to the Israelites.* As for Gideon, he returned to his own inheritance, and judged Israel forty years; during which, none of their enemies dared to molest them; and as to the Midianites, they received so total an overthrow from him, that they never made any attempt against Israel from that time. Gideon died in a good old age, and was buried with his ancestors (H). As for the Israelites, whom

Year of the Flood, 1763. Year before Christ 1236.

were allowed to wear them, when they consulted the Lord by Urim (12); but this we have confuted elsewhere †, so that there can be no ground for supposing, that Gideon had this made for the same end, as being head of Israel; neither indeed could such a garment, how rich soever, have taken up so great a quantity of gold. Some authors therefore think it to have been an idol (13); others only a kind of trophy in memory of that signal victory (14). Some antient fathers (15), followed by many moderns, believe it to have been some such trophy or monument; and add, that it was made in imitation of the complete habit of the high-priest, by which he only designed to perpetuate the memory of their miraculous deliverance, without dreaming that the Israelites would go a whoring after it; so that according to them, he was only the innocent cause of their idolatry, as Moses was when he made the brasen serpent, which came afterwards to be worshipped. We need not observe the disparity between these two, and that Gideon did that of his own accord, which Moses was commanded to do and upon a different account: We shall only observe, that the words, and it became a מוקש Mokesh, a snare or stumbling block to Gideon and his family, seems to imply something worse than a monumental trophy, whatever be meant here by the word Ephod; concerning which we can have nothing certain. This may be one reason, though not the only one, why Josephus has carefully omitted it, as well as that judge's severity against the men of Succoth and Penuel (16).

(H) Gideon, being also sirnamed Jerubaal, is supposed to be the Jerombal whom Sanchoniathon makes priest of the god Jao: but that author's work is now so universally cried down, as a piece of forgery under his name, and as written on purpose to discredit the sacred books of the Jews, that we shall lay no other stress upon

(12) Spencer. tr. de Urim & Thum. Cunæ. Rep. Hæbr. l. 1. c. 14. † Sup. p. 33. note (C). (13) Procop. & al. ap. Tostat. (14) Catejan. N. Delyr. Jun. Munst. (15) August. Theodoret. & al. (16) Vid. antiq. lib. v. c. 8.

whom he left in a peaceful and flouriſhing condition, they forgot both God and him in a very little time. They adopted Baalim, and Baal-berith (I), and other new gods, and

upon this conjecture, than that it proves, that the author, whoever he was, had got ſome knowledge of the Jewiſh writings, and did intermix their hiſtory with the antiquities and fables of the Phœnicians (17).

Jerubaal is by David called Jeruboſheth (18), becauſe, by that time, Baal's name was had in horror by the Jews, ſo that in all the names that ended with it, they ſubſtituted that of Boſheth, which ſignifies ſhame; as Iſh-boſheth for Iſh-baal, and the like.

(I) We have already mentioned this deity out of biſhop Cumberland from Sanchoniathon, in ſome other parts of this work (19); but it will not be amiſs to ſubjoin to what we have obſerved in the laſt note, concerning that author, that this place is the only one in ſcripture in which the name of Baal-berith occurs, which ſignifies the Lord of the covenant, and that the ſeptuagint, vulgate, and ſome of the Jewiſh interpreters render the words not as ours do; they made Baal-berith their god, but bound themſelves to the ſervice of Baal by covenant, or by an oath. It is true, we find in the very next chapter mention made of the houſe of the temple of Baal-berith, which was in Shechem (20), but as every Baal had a kind of ſirname, as Baal-peor, Baal-zebub, &c. to diſtinguiſh the one from the other, or rather, perhaps, the Baal of one place from that of another, might not the Shechemites ſirname theirs from the Berith, or covenant, by which they had bound themſelves? and might not the pretended Sanchoniathon from thence make him the Baal-berytos, to make it appear of Phœnician extraction.

For our part, we think the moſt natural etymology the beſt; and that Baal-berith might ſignify the god that preſided over contracts, covenants, and oaths, and puniſhed the breakers of them. It is certain, that the binding the former by the latter was not only a very antient cuſtom, but alſo the greateſt ſecurity that could be inſiſted upon by the parties, which could only be owing to the received notion, that the deity, which was ſo ſolemnly called as a witneſs to them, was bound in juſtice to puniſh the breach of them. Hence came the Jupiter the witneſs, or the faithful of the Greeks and Romans.

(17) De Sanchon. vid. Ant. Vandal. Dupin. Bibliot. Ext. Dodwell Diſſertat. Fabric. Bibl. Græ. Cumberland, Journal de Trevoux, Jan. 1714, & al.
(18) 2 Sam. xi. 21.
(19) Vid. vol. i. p. 391. note (H). vol. ii. p. 340, & alib.
(20) Vide Munſt. in loc.

and repay'd Gideon's services with the blackest ingratitude. He had left, besides his other children by his wives, a natural son whom he had by a concubine [h]; and he it was who succeeded his father by the most horrid treachery, even by the destruction of his father's whole race.

Abimeleh's usurpation and cruelty.

His name was Abimelech: he seems to have been a man of a base and intriguing genius, full of ambition and cruelty. The first step he took after his father's death, was to go to Shechem, where his and her kindred dwelt, and to prevail upon them, by their insinuations, to inspire the Shechemites with some terrible jealousies against the sons of Gideon. He was indeed so far from being able to bribe them with gifts, that he wanted to be assisted by them with money; but he made use of other motives equally prevalent, though, it is likely, promises were not wanting to draw them to his party. What he mostly insisted upon was, whether it were better for Israel to have one master or seventy, and whether it were more for the interests of the the Shechemites to have their city, or that of Ophrah, to be the seat of the supreme judge? By these and such insinuations, he obtained from them a sum of seventy shekels of gold, out of the treasury of Baal-berith, with which he hired a number of profligate fellows, capable of the wickedest enterprise, and led them directly to Ophrah, where having surprised his brethren, the seventy sons of Gideon, he murdered them all, except the youngest, upon the spot. This unnatural parricide, which ought to have made him abhorred by all men, but especially by those who had the least grateful remembrance of Gideon, did immediately bring all the Shechemites, and those of Millo, into his interest, who went and proclaimed him king, in some conspicuous part of the plain of Shechem (K), in hopes, that all the rest of the nation would follow their example.

In

[h] Judg. viii. ad fin.

(K) The original has אלון מוצב אשר בשכם Alon Mutzab Asher be-Shechem, the oak of the statue, or pillar, that is in the territory of Shechem. The Hebrews, however, translate Alon a plain instead of an oak, and affirm, that there was some statue or pillar erected in it (20). It is plain, that there

(20) Vide Munst. in loc.

In the interim, Jothan, the only ſurviving ſon of Gideon, took that time to get upon mount Gerizim, which was near the place of this tumultuous aſſembly, and being within their hearing, and out of their reach, made uſe of the following pathetic apologue, to diſſuade them from their raſh and unjuſt enterpriſe [i]; The trees, once upon a time, aſſembled to make choice of a king: they offered that dignity to the olive-tree, which anſwered, that it could by no means diveſt itſelf of its oyl and fatneſs, ſo acceptable to God and men, to reign over them; they then invited the fig-tree, which did alſo refuſe them on account of its ſweetneſs; the vine being applied to, preferred her juice, which affords gladneſs to gods and men, to the empire over them. At length, the bramble, being invited to accept of that dignity, anſwered, that if they really meant to make him king over them, they ſhould come and ſhelter themſelves under its ſhadow, if not, let fire come out of the bramble and devour the cedars of Lebanon.

His deſign was plainly to inſinuate, that the happineſs of a private life was ſo far preferable to the cares that attend on the ſupreme authority, that the perſon who exchanged the one for the other, muſt either do it from a generous deſire of ſerving his country, or from a baſe one to enſlave it. Some interpreters ſuppoſe, that by the olive, the fig-tree, and the vine, he alludes to Othniel, Deborah, and Gideon, who were with difficulty prevailed upon to accept of the dignity of judge, and refuſed to have it intailed on their poſterity [k]; but whether it be ſo or not, it

[i] Jud. ix. ver. 7. ad 21. [k] N. De Lyr. & al.

there was both an oak and a ſtatue, or monument, and that the latter was erected by Joſhua, a little before his death, in memory of the new covenant which the Iſraelites had made with God at that place (21); ſo that it ſeems to be thus circumſtantially recorded to aggravate the crime of the Shechemites, in chuſing ſo remarkable and ſacred a ſpot of ground, to be the ſcene of their tumultuous aſſembly, and unlawful election.

As for the houſe of Millo, which joined with the Shechemites, it is ſuppoſed to have been all the kindred of Abimelech's mother, whom Joſephus calls Druma (22), and Millo himſelf is ſuppoſed to have been her father. The ſeptuagint and vulgate do render it the city of Millo, but we do not read of any city of that name in all the land of Paleſtine.

(21) Joſh. xxiv. 20. 22) Ant. l. 5. c. 9.

it is plain from his own application, that the bramble alluded to the traitor Abimelech, who was so far from being able to protect the Shechemites, that he must unavoidably prove the occasion of a bloody war, which like a consumeing fire, would end in their utter ruin: For, added he, I appeal to you, whether your choice of Abimelech, preferably to any of the sons of Gideon, your late benefactor and deliverer, be either grateful or just; or rather, indeed, whether the murdering of all his children, for the sake of the son of a slave, be not an instance of the blackest cruelty and ingratitude? if you think it is not, I wish you joy of your new king, and him of his new dignity; but if it is, may he prove a curse to Shechem and Millo, and you to him (L).

After

(L) We cannot forbear observing here, that this is the first instance we have of this way of speaking by parables. We do not indeed take upon us to attribute the invention of it to the Hebrews, because we do not know how far they might have learnt it elsewhere; though if that were the case, one may justly wonder, that Moses, who was so well versed in all the learning of his time, and had so much occasion for this excellent way of instruction and reproving his stubborn and rebellious nation, should yet never make use of it in all the forty years of his being their leader. Not that it was not in use by other nations in his time, since he mentions those who record the overthrow of Sihon and of his metropolis in proverbs, and Balaam, uttering his prophecies in some such proverbial speeches *. But if we may judge of them at this distance, by the short specimen he has given us of them, they were, if not crude and uncouth, at least vastly inferior in elegance and energy to this of Jothan, and others, which were used by the Jews; so that these may be justly said, at least, to have been the improvers, or rather perfecters of this parabolic way. But be that as it will, nothing is more palpable than the vanity of the Greeks, who boast themselves the authors of it, when it was in a greater perfection among the Jews, before they were civilized from the lowest degree of ignorance and barbarity, than ever they raised it to, after they had arrived to the greatest pitch of polite learning; an evident proof of which, we have not only in this speech of Jothan, but in that excellent one by which the prophet Nathan made David pronounce a severe sentence of condemnation against himself, for a crime, which it would have been dangerous so much to have mentioned in any other way (23). We find it also

* Vid. Num. xxi. 27, & seq. xxiii. 7, & seq. (23) 2 Sam. xii. 1, & seq.

AFTER ſo bold and ſevere a ſpeech, Jothan did not think it adviſeable to expoſe himſelf to Abimelech's reſentment, but

alſo frequently uſed, not by prophets only, but by courtiers, politicians, and ſoldiers, (24) in the old teſtament, and by our Saviour in the new.

And here we beg leave to vindicate our divine Maſter from a moſt unnatural and unjuſt expreſſion, which not only ours, but moſt verſions make him frequently uſe, *that he ſpake to the people in parables, that ſeeing they might not perceive, and hearing they might not underſtand, leſt they ſhould be converted and be ſaved*——*becauſe Iſaiah had ſaid, He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their hearts leſt they ſhould ſee*——*and underſtand, and be converted, and I ſhould heal them* (25). The momentouſneſs of the ſubject will, we hope, atone for the length of the note, ſince ſuch expreſſions can hardly be read without horror, or, at leaſt, without conceiving ſome very unworthy ideas, both of the Godhead and of that compaſſionate Redeemer, who ſo often bewailed, even with tears, their ſtupidity and hardneſs of heart: What part muſt he be ſuppoſed to have acted, who could expreſs ſo much concern at their unbelief, if his deſign were to confirm them in it? To what purpoſe was his three years preaching to them, and his reproving them for their ſlowneſs of belief, if his unintelligible way of ſpeaking made it unavoidable to them?

We need not obſerve here, how contrary this was likewiſe to the nature and deſign of parables, which is to reach down to the meaneſt capacities, by borrowing ſuch examples and expreſſions, as are beſt underſtood by them; at leaſt it is certain, that all thoſe which our Saviour uſed were of this kind, whatever thoſe of the Egyptians, Pythagoreans, and other philoſophers might be. So that it is abſurd to ſuppoſe, that he would have made choice of ſuch a plain and ſimple way of teaching, if his deſign had been to have confirmed them in their ignorance; neither need we ſay how oppoſite it is to his profeſſed deſign of coming into the world to ſave ſinners, that none might periſh, but have eternal life, nor of his working ſo many miracles, to give the greater ſanction to his doctrine.

We have already obſerved, that the writers of the New Teſtament did conſtantly quote the ſeptuagint verſion (26), which had tranſlated that paſſage of Iſaiah, and many others of the like nature, in an active ſenſe, which, in the original, implied only a bare permiſſion; and it plainly appears, that both our Saviour

(24) Ibid. xiv. 1, & ſeq. 1 Kings xx. 38, & ſeq. xxii. 19, & alib. (25) Matth. xiii. 13, & ſeq. Mark iv. 11. & alib. (26) Vid. vol. ii. p. 558. not. D. & 605. ſub. fin. not. X.

but fled to Beer, a city in the tribe of Judah not far from Jebus

Saviour and his apoſtles never underſtood them in any other ſenſe, from that petition, *lead us not into temptation* (27), and that expoſition of St. James, *Let no man ſay, that he is tempted of God, for God tempted no man* (21). We may further obſerve, that whatever language they ſpoke, they ſtill intermixed the Hebrew or Syriac phraſe with it, ſo that the Greek of the New Teſtament is beſt explained either by itſelf, or by the Syriac idiom.

Now if we ſeek from either of theſe for the true meaning of the text in queſtion, *that ſeeing they might not ſee*, &c. we ſhall find that the particle, which ſome of the evangeliſts render by *ἱνα*, and we by to the end that, is not only capable of ſeveral other ſenſes leſs oppoſite to the nature of parables, and the deſign of the goſpel, ſuch as, though, ſo as, wherefore, and the like (29), but even of ſuch a one as is exactly agreeable to it, and that it may and ought properly to be rendered, *becauſe ſeeing they do not ſee, and hearing they do not underſtand*; ſo that their groſs and carnal underſtanding required the plaineſt preaching. And if this were the caſe, we hope any impartial reader, will rather think, that they uſed it in this ſenſe, than in that abſurd one which the verſions give it. The only two particles which both the Hebrew and its derivatives have to expreſs *ἱνα*, or to the end that, is either כִּי Ki, or לְמַעַן Lemahan; and both do equally ſignify becauſe, wherefore, and the like, and nothing but the analogy of the context can fix it; but the tranſlators have often fallen upon the wrong. As to the firſt, they have rendered it becauſe, where it plainly ſignifies though, or wherefore, as where it is ſaid that Eli's *ſons did not hearken to him becauſe* [inſtead of *wherefore it pleaſed the Lord to ſlay him* (30), for it were blaſphemy to ſuppoſe that God did force them to diſobedience that he might deſtroy them for it. As for the ſecond, it is plain to all that have any knowledge of thoſe tongues, that it ſignifies as often becauſe as to the end that; and here we need not quote the authority of lexicons or parallels, ſince St. Matthew tranſlates it here ὁτι *becauſe*, where the others render it *ἱνα that*. To his diſciples therefore, whoſe heart had been already prepared for the more ſublime truths of the goſpel, Chriſt ſays, it was given to underſtand the myſteries of the kingdom of heaven; but to the reſt whoſe hearts were ſtill groſs, carnal and incapable of them, he ſpake in parables, that is, as our Dr. Sam. Clark obſerves (31), in ſuch a way as beſt ſuited their capacity, was moſt

(27) Matt. vi. 10. (28) Jam. i. 13. (29) Vid. Le Scene. Eſſay on a new verſ. p. ii. ch. 5. (30) 1 Sam. ii. 25. vid. de part. Ki. Buxtorf. Lexic. Hæbr. Nold. concord. part. hæb. Worſt. Alſtad. Amam. & al. (31) in Mark iv. 33.

Jebus or Jeruſalem, where he continued all the time of his reign, which, according to his prediction, proved both thorny and ſhort-lived; for, beſides his mortification in not being acknowledged by any of the tribes, the text ſays, that God ſent an evil ſpirit, that is, cauſed a ſpirit of jealouſy to be ſown between the Shechemites and him, which ended in a full reſolution to expiate their folly by his death. But God ſuffered him to eſcape for the preſent, that he might ſhortly become the inſtrument of a more ſevere chaſtiſement againſt them. Gaal, informed of the hatred which they had conceived againſt their new-made king, came to Shechem, with a full deſign to blow it into an open rupture, but Zebul, whom Abimelech had intruſted with the government of that city, a fit ſervant for ſuch a maſter, failed not to acquaint him with it, whilſt in outward appearance, he ſided with Gaal and his party. At length, after ſeveral pickerings on both ſides, Gaal perceived Abimelech marching towards the town, and went out with his men to oppoſe him, but was repulſed, and when he would have re-entered into Shechem, Zebul drove him back. What became of him and his party, the text doth not ſay, but upon Abimelech's entering the town, the frighted inhabitants retired into the temple of Baal-berith, as into a ſanctuary, where they were ſoon made ſenſible, to their coſt, what a god they had preferred to that of Iſrael. Abimelech commanded a party of men to follow his ſteps into the next wood, where every one, after his example, cut down a bough of a tree, and having piled them round the temple and ſet fire to them, they were all ſmothered to death, being about a thouſand men and women. He then cauſed the city and tower to be razed to the ground, and to be ſtrewed with ſalt; and thus was the firſt part of Jothan's prophecy fulfilled, *and the fire from the bramble burnt up the cedars of Lebanon.* Abimelech, fifth judge.

THE next part followed ſoon after, and Abimelech, fluſhed with his ſucceſs, march againſt Thebez, a city of Judah, which had alſo taken up arms againſt him, and there met

moſt taking with, and profitable to them, becauſe, as he elſewhere has it (32), parables are examples, or compariſons, taken from things known and familiar, and are here put in oppoſition to myſteries, or truths of a ſuperior nature. The reader may ſee this point more fully demonſtrated by the authors above quoted, and many more (33).

(32) in Mark iii. Whitby, Pelling.

(33) Vid. Le Scen & Eſſay ubi ſup.

met with an ignominious death, where he expected a new conquest. The citizens, repulsed by his victorious troops, retired into a tower, where he thought to have burnt them alive, when a woman flung down a stone, which lighted upon his head, and delivered her people from his fury. Abimelech, finding death approaching, and being more ashamed of the hand that gave it, than of his own parricide and tyranny, chose rather to die a second death, than to fall by the hands of a woman, and commanded his servant Zebul to dispatch him, which he immediately did [l]. This was the exemplary end of Abimelech, whose ambition made made him aspire to a dignity, which has justly branded his memory, and sullied the list of the judges; he being the only one that usurped and abused that dignity. It lasted about three years, after which God made choice of a more worthy one to succeed him.

Tholah sixth judge.

THOLAH, the son of Phuah, the son of Dodo (M), of the tribe of Issachar. The text mentions nothing particular of him, except that he dwelt at Shamir upon mount Ephraim, where he was buried, after he had judged Israel twenty-three years [m].

HE was succeeded by Jair, a wealthy man, of that part of the tribe of Manasseh which dwelt on the other side of Jordan, and possessed a vast territory in the land of Gilead, in which were thirty cities, which he gave to his thirty sons; whence they were called Havoth, or hamlets of Jair [n]. He judged Israel twenty two years, and was buried in the city of Camon in the same land. The text adds, as a then mark of their wealth and greatness, that they all rode upon asses colts; which is likewise observed of several others in the same book [o].

THE

[l] Judg. ix. per tot. [m] Ibid x. 1, 2. [n] Judg. x. 3. vid. & Num. xxxii. 41. Deut. iii. 14. [o] Vid. Judg v. 12.

(M) The Greek and Latin versions take the word Dodo, not as a proper name but in a grammatical sense, and from דוד Dod, uncle, with the ו affixed, and render it his uncle, meaning Abimelech's, mentioned in the beginning of the verse, whence they suppose Tholah's father, to have been Gideon's brother. The Hebrew, indeed, will bear them out in it; but there is one difficulty against them, namely, that Gideon was of the tribe of Manasseh, and Phuah of that of Issachar; so that they could at the best be but uterine brothers, nor even so without supposing, that their mother had married first in one tribe, and then in the other.

THE ungrateful Iſraelites returned, ſoon after, to their idolatry, and even multiplied the number of their gods, which brought a fifth thraldom upon them of eighteen years, under the Philiſtines and Ammonites. Here they had recourſe again to prayer and profeſſions of repentance; but they were bid to go and cry to thoſe deities they had adopted, for deliverance. This anſwer, and the preſſing danger they were in from the Ammonites, who had already paſſed the Jordan, and were going to fall upon Judah and Benjamin [p], brought them to ſuch a ſenſe of their folly, that they put away all their ſtrange gods, and began to ſerve the Lord in earneſt; upon which God was pleaſed to give them a promiſe, that they ſhould be ſpeedily delivered. They aſſembled themſelves at Mizpeh, to ſtop the career of the children of Ammon; but as God had not now nominated a judge or general, as at other times, they found themſelves at a loſs for an experienced leader; and not finding one among them, either that would take that charge upon him, or whom they dared to intruſt with the command of their army, they were forced to ſend an invitation to the valiant Jephthah to accept of it, and with it of the place of judge or general during his life.

Jephthah was the ſon of Gilead, but by a concubine, for which reaſon he was thruſt out by his brethren, whom his father had by a lawful wife, and forced to retire into the land of Tob (N), where he became chief of a band of fugitives and idle perſons, and ſignalized himſelf more by his valour than by his honeſty, he therefore received their meſſage with ſome miſtruſt, and did not accept of their offered dignity, till it was confirmed to him by an oath [q]. As ſoon as he had put himſelf at their head, he ſent an expoſtulatory meſſage to the Ammonites †; but finding them Jephthah.

[p] Ibid. x. 9. [q] Ibid. xi. 10. † Vid. vol. ii. p. 122.

(N) This land is on the moſt northern part of Manaſſeh's lot, on the other ſide of Jordan. It is called Toby, and its inhabitants Tobinians, or Tubinians, in the firſt and ſecond books of the Maccabees (34). As for Jephthah's brethren driving him out of the inheritance, he could not juſtly complain of it, becauſe it paſſed into a conſtant law ever ſince Abraham's time, and was founded on the command which God gave him, to caſt out the ſon of the concubine (35).

(34) 1 Macc. v. 13. 2 Macc. xii. 17. (35) Gen. xxi. 10. & ſeq.

them stiffly bent upon conquest, rather than parley, he ran over the land of Gilead and Manasseh; and having got a sufficient army, marched directly against them. Before he ventured to engage them, either his fear or superstition put a strange expedient into his head, to make sure of the divine assistance: he made a vow that if God would but bless him with an entire victory, he would sacrifice to him the first living creature that came out of his house to meet him at his return; and this inconsiderate promise robbed him at once of the glory and pleasure of the ensuing action. The Ammonites were indeed totally defeated, and the Israelites laden with their spoil, as we have seen above; but his daughter a virgin, and his only child, and if we may credit the Jews, a person of exquisite beauty and virtue, proved the unhappy victim of his rash vow. The welcome news of her father's success had brought her out, at the head of a company of maidens, to congratulate him with timbrels, and dances, and other expressions of filial joy; so that she proved the unhappy object upon which he cast his eyes, and which he had vowed to destruction. As soon as he saw her, he rent his cloaths, and discloſed the secret to her, with most lively expressions of grief. She heard it with a constancy, which one would hardly have expected in a person of her tender years, and only begged for a respite of two months, during which she would retire with some of her companions into the mountains, to bewail her virginity, it being esteemed a great misfortune for a daughter of Israel to die unmarried. Her request being granted, she absented herself during that short space, and, at the end of it, returned to her father, who did to her according to his vow; that is, according to the generality of Jewish and christian interpreters[r], he offered her up for a burnt-offering: from which came that custom mentioned in the text, for the daughters of Israel to go yearly to lament Jephthah's daughter four days in a year[s]; or, according to others, he consecrated her to God, and condemned her to perpetual virginity; so that those yearly visits were payed to her, as compliments

His rash vow

[r] Joseph, Antiq. lib. v. chap. 9. Rabbin. fer. omn. Chald. paraph. Jonath. in loc. Just. Mart. Ambros. de off. l. iii. c. 12. Hieron. cont. Jovinian, lib. i. & alib. August. quæst. in judic. 49. Chrysost. homil. 14. ad pop. Antioch. Theodoret. quæst. in judic. 20. Serar. Salian. Genebrard. Cajet. & al mult. vid. & Lud. Capell, & D. Calmet. dissertat. de voc. Jeph. [s] Judic. xi. ver. ult.

compliments of condolence for it, as ſhe was the daughter of an Iſraelitiſh judge [t] (O).

THIS

[t] Pagnin. Arr. Montan. Tremel. Munſt. Drus. Grot. N. De Lyr. & al. in loc. Le Scen. Eſſay on a new verſ. ch. vii.

(O) It will be ſcarcely doubted, that the fable of the ſacrifice of Iphigenia had its birth from this; eſpecially if we remember that the taking of Troy, happened ſoon after the time of Jephthah. There is indeed this difference, that ſome of the wiſer heathen authors who relate it, have introduced the goddeſs Diana interpoſing herſelf, to prevent ſo horrid a ſacrifice being offered to her; whilſt the far greater part of the Jews, even Joſephus, Philo, and the Chaldee paraphraſt, acknowledge Jephthah to have been ſuffered by God, by the high-prieſt, and the whole people, to offer the fruit of his own body, an innocent young virgin, an only child, and a dear and dutiful one, the only object of his preſent comfort and future hopes, in a burnt-offering unto the Lord, who had ſo often declared his utter abhorrences againſt all ſuch abominations, and rejected the Canaanites upon that very account. Some even add, that her life was ſacrificed rather to a punctilio of honour, her father thinking it beneath him to go to the high-prieſt, to be abſolved from his unlawful vow; and the latter being above doing of it, unleſs he were applied to by him. It ſeems indeed wonderful, that ſo many of the antient fathers have too implicitly followed the Jews, in believing, that ſhe was really ſacrificed, notwithſtanding the apoſtle to the Hebrews ranking Jephthah among the faithful Jewiſh worthies. But here it muſt be remembered, that they had no means of being ſet right, for want of being acquainted with the original, and conſequently of knowing that the text was capable of two different ſenſes, and that the Jews had choſen the leaſt reaſonable of the two. But what is moſt ſurprizing of all is, that ſo many learned interpreters ſhould ſtill adhere to it, ſince a better underſtanding of that tongue has opened the way to the other ſenſe, which is moſt agreeable both to reaſon and to the tenor of ſcripture. However, as what has been urged on both ſides of the queſtion is too copious, and would ſwell this note too much, to give our readers even a ſhort abſtract of it; we chuſe to refer them to thoſe learned moderns, who have wrote on that ſubject (36), while we content ourſelves with juſtifying

(36) Vid. Pagnin. Montan. Munſt. Vatabl. Drus. Grot. Cleric. Lyran. Marian. Capel. Marſham. Canon Ægypt. ſæc. ix. § 3. Saubert. de ſacrific. c. 21. Sobed. de diis German. lib. 2. & al. mult.

THIS dear-bought victory was like to have proved fatal to him

fying the latter ſenſe, as far as the original will bear us out in it. For we doubt not, but if we make it appear to be capable of it, our readers will readily abſolve the Hebrew judge from ſo horrid and unnatural a ſacrifice under pretence of religion, though contrary to, and plainly forbidden by it, even when the text expreſly ſays, that the ſpirit of God came upon him about the time when he made this vow, (37); rather than to fancy, with ſome of the fathers (38), that God ſuffered him to offer up his daughter in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, to deter men for the future from making any ſuch raſh vows. What has miſled all the antient fathers is, that the Septuagint and the Vulgate render the words of Jepthah, *whatſoever cometh forth to meet* me, in the maſculine, as if he had ſaid, whoſoever, or what perſon ſoever, cometh forth; whereas the original is here undeterminate. Again, they did not know that the particle, Vau may be properly enough taken in this disjunctive ſenſe, or, inſtead of the conjunctive, and. This is what ſome judicious critics, both Jews and chriſtians, have ſince clearly ſhewn to be the right ſignification, both here and elſewhere (39). So that Jephthah's words ſhould be rendered *ſhall ſurely be the Lord's, or*, not *and, I will offer it up for a burnt-offering*; that is, if it be a human creature, he, or ſhe, ſhall be conſecrated to the ſervice of God, as ſome ſort of Nazarens were *; or if a beaſt, it ſhall be offered up for a burnt-offering, if it be fit for it, or, if not, be exchanged for another, that is ſo. What confirms this ſenſe of the vow is, 1. That there were but three ſorts of creatures that could be fit for a burnt-offering, according to the Moſaic law; whereas any other creature might as well chance to come out of his doors, as any of theſe three. 2. It might chance to be an unclean one, ſuch as a dog, an aſs, or a hog; which could not be in any way offered to the Lord, but muſt be exchanged or redeemed. 3. That human ſacrifices of any kind, except what was vowed to extermination of the nations condemned by God to it †, (and theſe could not be ſaid to be offered up in burnt-offerings) were expreſly forbidden (40). And, 4. That there was an expreſs redemption for vows relating to human creatures, and the price of it

(37) Judg. ii. 20. (38) Vid. int. al. Chryſoſt. Homil. ad pop. Antioch. xiv. Juſtin. Mart. Theodoret, qu. xx. in Judic. (39) Vid. Jos. & Dav. Kimchi. R. Levi. Ben. Gers. Solom. Ben. Melech. & auct. Chriſt. ſup. citat. * Vid. ſup. p. 249, 250. † Vid. ſup. p. 245. & ſeq. 40) Deut. xii. 21, & alib.

him from another quarter, which he had no reaſon to expect

it appointed by God (41). It were therefore abſurd to ſuppoſe, either that Jephthah would have vowed to offer the firſt creature indifferently that came out of his houſe, a burnt-offering unto God, without diſtinction of clean and unclean, fit and unfit, or if he had, that the prieſts would have ſuffered him to put it in execution, when the victim vowed proved an unlawful and redeemable one, and would have been an abomination to God, as well as a ſcandal to all the world. For theſe plain reaſons we think, with thoſe learned men above quoted, that the words ought rather to have been rendered thus: *Then the ſpirit of the Lord came unto Jephthah—and he vowed a vow unto the Lord, and ſaid, If thou ſhalt without fail deliver the children of Ammon into my hands, it ſhall be, that whatſoever cometh forth of the doors of my houſe, to meet me when I return in peace,—ſhall ſurely be the Lord's, or, I will offer it up for a burnt-offering.—And Jephthah came to Mizpeh to his houſe, and his daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and dances, and ſhe was his only child.—And when he ſaw her he rent his cloaths, and ſaid, alas, my daughter, thou haſt brought me very low, thou art one of thoſe that trouble me; for I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and I cannot go back.—And ſhe ſaid unto him, if thou haſt opened thy mouth unto the Lord, do to me according to thy vow—only, let this thing be done for me; let me—bewail my virginity two months.—And it came to paſs at the end of two months, that ſhe returned to her father, who did with her according to his vow, and ſhe never knew man; that is, ſhe continued a virgin.* And it became a ſtatute or cuſtom in Iſrael, that the daughters of Iſrael came four days in the year לְחַנּוֹת Lethanoth, to condole or converſe with the daughter of Jephthah.—

Here then Jephthah's vow is taken in the firſt ſenſe, *ſhall be the Lord's*; that is, the vowed thing, proving to be his only daughter, he conſecrated her to the ſervice of God. For this reaſon it is added, וְהוּא לֹא יָדְעָה אִישׁ Vehi lo yadhah iſh, and, ſo, ſhe did not know man; that is, from that time to her death. For it would have been ſuperfluous to have added that circumſtance, if he had ſacrificed her as ſoon as ſhe came from bewailing her virginity. As for the verb תָּנָה Thanah, which ſo many verſions render to bewail, were it capable of no other ſignification, yet would it not imply the bewailing of her death, but her being condemned to perpetual virginity, which was reckoned one of the greateſt misfortunes that could happen to an Iſraelitiſh maid. But it is plain, that it ſignifies alſo to condole,

(41) Levit. xxvii. 1. & ſeq.

pect it from. He was ſcarce returned to his own houſe, when the

to converſe with, to declare, or extol. In this laſt ſenſe, the reader will find it uſed in the ſame book, chap. v. ver. 11. where it is ſaid, that they יִתְּנוּ Jithanu *ſhall rehearſe, or extol the righteous acts of the Lord.* So that here the Iſraelitiſh maids might go, either to condole her for being ſecluded from man, or to extol her piety and conſtancy in ratifying her father's vow.

There are but two things objected againſt this ſenſe of the text; the firſt is, that the Moſaic law did not allow parents a power to oblige their children to a ſingle life. But, beſides that the argument is much ſtronger againſt their power of ſacrificing them to the flames, we find that the children, when of age, might conſent to the vow; and this ſeems to be the reaſon why the text adds, that ſhe readily ratified it (42). But it is plain, moreover, that parents had a very great power, to impoſe ſevere and grating laws, not only on their children, but alſo on their poſterity; as when the ſon of Rechab forbid all his deſcendants the drinking of wine, dwelling in houſes, and the like (43). Though were it not ſo one could only ſay, that Jephthah, as a judge, ſtretched his power beyond what he might do as a father, though without ſuch a degree of barbarity, as if he had offered her up in the other ſenſe.

The next thing that is objected is, that the grief, which Jephthah expreſſed at the ſight of his daughter, ſeems to imply ſome heavier fate, than a bare doom to perpetual virginity. But it ought to be remembred, that he thereby deprived an only child, and a dear one, of the greateſt happineſs of life; for ſuch was marriage, eſpecially when bleſſed with children, eſteemed in Iſrael; and himſelf of all hopes of any poſterity. Where is then the wonder, that he ſhould uſe ſuch expreſſions of grief, when his only child was condemned to ſuch a reproachful and uncomfortable life, and himſelf excluded thereby from the proſpect of having the Meſſiah to come of his ſeed (44)?

Since then the original is capable of ſo much fairer and more natural a ſenſe, it were abſurd to prefer the other, which is both contrary to reaſon, nature, the Moſaic law, and the analogy of faith; and has been the ſource of endleſs diſputes and ſuperfluous inquiries, how far this inhuman ſacrifice was, or was not, juſtifiable, commendable, and pleaſing to God; and how far Jephthah's barbarous faith entitled him to be ranked among the Hebrew worthies (45). Concerning all which, the reader may conſult thoſe

(42) Judg. xi. 26. vid. & Num. xxx. paſſ. (43) Vid. Jerem. xxxv. 6. & ſeq. (44) Vid. Le Scene, & Eſſay on a new verſ. ch. vii. § 9. (45) Hebr. xi. 32.

the turbulent Ephraimites ſurrounded it, and in a tumultuous manner threatened to ſet it on fire, and to burn him and all he thoſe antient fathers above quoted, and ſeveral others (46); for whom there is only this to be ſaid, that they had no verſion, but the Greek and Latin to ſteer by, backed with the teſtimony of the antient Jews. A late commentator (47), however, has ſince endeavoured to vindicate the notion of Jephthah's daughter being really ſacrificed according to the letter, and the opinion of the fathers; though without pretending to juſtify, either the vow or the execution of it. In order to which, he inſiſts ſtrenuouſly, 1. that he did not vow the firſt thing, but the firſt perſon that came out of his houſe. But we have already proved the contrary above; and it is a wonder, that he, who ſeems well verſed in the Hebrew, ſhould not have been ſenſible of it. He next inſiſts upon an expreſs text, in the law concerning vows (48), that whatſoever is vowed unto the Lord of men, ſhall not be redeemed, but ſhall ſurely be put to death. But if this be the purport of that command, there is at once an end of all enquiry, concerning the lawfulneſs both of Jephthah's vow, and of all other human ſacrifices. Had our author conſulted the learned Selden (49), he would have found it fully proved, not only againſt Capellus and others, that the parents had no ſuch power over their children, but even againſt the Jews, that maſters had it not over their ſlaves; and that the queſtion in this law is not about things, or men vowed for burnt-offerings, which was abſolutely forbidden, but about ſuch as were devoted by חרם Cherem, Anathema, to utter extermination, of which kind were the inhabitants, and all the plunder of Jericho (41), of the Amalekites, of king Arad and his people, of the inhabitants of Jabeſh Gilead (42), and of the ſeven nations of Canaan. But of this the Cherem we have had occaſion to ſpeak already, and ſhall dwell no longer upon it †. It is plain therfore, that thoſe two places are nothing to our author's purpoſe, and that the whole tenor of the ſcriptures is againſt it; ſo that we ſee no reaſon to depart from the contrary opinion.

(46) Vid. Auguſt. quæſt. 49. in Judic. Hieron. lib. i. cont. Jovinian. & Epiſt. ad Julian. Ambros. lib. iii. de offic. c. 12. Th. Aquin. ſecund. § 2 qu. 88. (47) Calmet. Diſſert. de vot. Jeph. com. in Judic. & Dict. ſub. voc Jephte. (48) Levit. xxviii. 29. (49) De Jur. Nat. & Gent. ſeq. diſcipl. Hæb. c. 4. & ſeq. (41) Joſh. vi. paſſ. & alib. (42) Num. xxi. 2. Judg. xxi. 9. 10. † Vide ſup. p. 245. vid. & Seld. ubi ſup. Patric. Grot. Le Clerc. & al. in Levit. xxviii. 28, 29.

he had, for having dared to engage the Ammonites, without ſummoning them to arms. Jephthah who was not of ſo gentle a diſpoſition as his predeceſſor Gideon, did not think it worth the while to ſooth their pride with a flattering ſpeech; on the contrary, he upbraided them with their baſeneſs, in not anſwering his ſummons, and leaving him to bear the brunt of the enemy. Theſe reproaches ſtung them ſo to the quick, that they ſcrupled not, in the height of their reſentment, to call the Gileadites a pack of ſpurious fugitives, a kind of mongrels, between Ephraim and Manaſſeth. There wanted nothing more to exaſperate the Gileadites, who were of that half tribe of Manaſſeh, which was ſeated on the other ſide of Jordan. A bloody fight enſued, in which thoſe of Ephraim were diſcomfited with a great loſs, and the Gileadites, having ſeized the fords of Jordan, ſuffered none of thoſe who had eſcaped from the ſlaughter to live. Their method was, to examine all that offered to croſs that river whether they were Ephraimites; which was eaſily done, by making them pronounce the word Shibboleth; which ſignifies an ear of corn, and which thoſe of that tribe were known to pronounce Sibboleth; ſo that as many as were caught by that ſnare, were immediately knocked on the head; and this unhappy contention occaſioned the loſs of 42,000 Ephraimites. As for Jephthah, we read no more of him, except that he judged Iſrael ſix years; by which is only meant that part of it which was on the other ſide of Jordan; and that he was buried in (one of) the cities of Gilead [u]. This has given birth to two Jewiſh fables, very oppoſite to one another; the firſt is, that he was ſmitten with a ſore diſeaſe, as a puniſhment for his impious vow, which rotted all his limbs one after another; ſo that there was hardly one city in the land of Gilead in which he did not drop one of them. The other is, that the Gileadites, in memory of the great deliverance they obtained by him, diſſected his body, that every city might have ſome part, to keep as a monument of it.

Ibzan. JEPHTHAH was ſucceeded by Ibzan, whom the Jewiſh rabbies will have to be the ſame with Boaz, who married Ruth the Moabiteſs [x], but without any foundation. This was their 10th judge, a native of Bethlehem; but whether that which belonged to the tribe of Zebulun [y], or that which

[u] Jud. xii. 7. & ſeq. Matth. i. 5. [w] Vid. Munſt. in loc. vid. Munſt. in Jud. xii. 8. [x] Ruth. iv. 8. [y] Joſh. xix. 15.

which belonged to that of Judah, is not certain. He is only recorded for his numerous poſterity, namely, thirty ſons and as many daughters, whom he lived to ſee all married; ſo that he had 120 ſons and daughters and ſons and daughters-in-law, beſides grandchildren. This was looked upon as a great bleſſing in Iſrael. He judged ſeven years [z], and was ſucceeded by

ELON, of the tribe of Zebulun, who judged Iſrael ten years [a]. He was buried in Aijalon, in his own tribe, and ſucceeded by Elon.

ABDON, who was the ſon of Hillel, of the tribe of Ephraim, and native of Pirathon in the mount of the Amalekites in the ſame tribe, where he was buried, after having judged Iſrael eight years. He is recorded for his numerous iſſue, having left behind him forty ſons and thirty grandſons, who rode on as many aſſes colts, after the manner of the great men in Iſrael [b]. Abdon.

WE read of no ſlavery, war, or defection, during the life of theſe three laſt judges; whether it were, that the ſwords of Gideon and Jephthah had too far weakened their enemies, or that their own valour did both intimidate them, keep the Iſraelites from running into thoſe idolatries, which were attended with the loſs of peace and liberty. The latter ſeems indeed the moſt probable, becauſe we find, that after the death of the laſt of theſe, they relapſed, and ſuffered a heavy yoke of forty years under the Philiſtines [c].

THIS ſixth ſlavery began about the ſeventh month after Eli join'd, in his own perſon, the dignity of judge to that of high-prieſt [d]. He was of the family of Ithamar, the younger branch of Aaron's houſe; and the high-prieſthood had been tranſlated into it from the elder one of Eleazar (P). It is indeed ſurpriſing, that the people ſhould have Eli.

continued

[z] Judg. xii. 8. & ſeq. [a] Ibid. ver. 11. [b] Ibid. ver. 13, 14. [c] Judg. xiii. 1. [d] *Vide* Uſſer. *Ann.* ſub A. M. 2848. and the chronolog. index at the end of our Bibles. Year before Chriſt 1256.

(P) This thraldom is computed by the chronologers cited above, not to have ended till ſeven months after Eli's death, when the ark was brought back from the land of the Philiſtines.

We

continued so long free from defection, during the lives of their lay judges, and fall into idolatry under the government of an high-priest. But Eli is particularly recorded for his indolence and remissness, especially towards his two sons, whom he suffered to run into the greatest excesses of debauchery and irreligion, to the great scandal of all Israel [e]. However, he was the only ruler the Israelites had during this long thraldom; and seems to have been chosen by God, as the propereſt judge for them at that time; for as he was known to be incapable of undertaking any thing for their deliverance, he was the fittest to withdraw their usual confidence in an arm of flesh, and to make them look up to heaven for relief. Accordingly, when the severity of their thraldom had brought them to a better sense, God sent them a deliverer, who was altogether wonderful from his conception to his death.

Samson. He was the miraculous son of old age and barrenness. His birth and prowess had been foretold by an angel, first to his mother, then to Manoah his father, a native of Zorah in the tribe of Dan, with a strict charge to the mother, that she should abstain both from wine and strong drink, and from all unclean meats, during her pregnancy; and that no rasor should come on the child's head all his life, because he was to be a Nazarite from his birth. Samson, for that

[e] 1 Sam. ii. 12. & seq.

We have already spoken in another place ‡ of this translation of the high-priesthood, from the elder to the younger branch of Aaron's family. We need only take notice here, that though we find no mention of any other high-priest of the elder branch from Joshua to Samson, that is during 300 years, except Phineas, the son of Eleazar; yet the book of the Chronicles mentions (43) three others namely, Abishua, Bukki, and Uzzi; called by Josephus (44), Abiezer, Boccejas, and Ozies. It is uncertain how long any of them lived; but by the dignity being transferred to Eli about the year before Christ 1156, it is reasonably supposed to have passed from Uzzi to him, rather than from his son Merajoth.

It

‡ See before, p. 253. & note (S).

(43) 1 Chron. vi. 4, 5, & 50.

(44) Ant. lib. 5. c. ult.

that was the name which his parents gave him (Q), began to give ſome early marks of extraordinary courage and ſtrength; and the text ſays, that the ſpirit of the Lord began to move him at times in the camp of the Danites, between Zorah and Eſhtaol [f], the place of his abode.

How he plagued the Philiſtines during his twenty years government, and was at length betrayed into their hands by a treacherous harlot, ſhorn, and bereaved of his ſtrength and eyes, become the object of their ſcorn and revenge, and how, after near a year's miſerable ſervitude, he buried, with himſelf, all the Philiſtine nobles, under the ruins of a magnificent ſtructure; we have ſeen in the hiſtory of that nation †. The text adds, that he deſtroyed a greater number of his enemies by his death, than he had done in his life-time; and that his friends and relations, hearing it, came, and fetched his body away, and buried it in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors [g] (R).

THOUGH

[f] Judg. xiii. paſſ. † See vol. ii. p. 240. & ſeq. [g] Judg. xvi. 30, 31.

(Q) It is not eaſy to divine into the etymon of this name; that which comes neareſt to it is ſtill ſomewhat forced, being derived from שמש Shemeſh, the ſun, and the feminine Syriac pronoun ? An their, their ſun; which, as ſome pretend, prognoſticated the riſing of the Hebrews, and ſetting of the Philiſtines (45). Others derive it from the Chaldee שמש Shameſh in piel, which ſignifies to miniſter or ſerve, as the ſun doth to all the world. Joſephus ſays, that Samſon ſignifies robuſt (46); by which it is plain, he knew nothing of Hebrew, or its derivatives. However, we have obſerved more than once, that there is ſo little credit to be given to etymologies, eſpecially when they are ſo far fetched as this is, that it is not worth a further enquiry.

Our arch-biſhop Uſher places Samſon's birth in the ſecond year of their thraldom, and gives this ſubſtantial reaſon for it, that he is ſaid to have avenged the Iſraelites twenty years (47), and that he can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to have entered into this office before the 18th year of his age (48).

(R) Joſephus places the hiſtory of Ruth after the death of Samſon (49),

(45) Vid. vocabul. Hæbr. & St. Philip. in vit. Samſon. (46) Ant. lib. 5. c. 10. (47) Judg. xv. ver. ult. (48) Vid. Uſſer. ſub. A. M. 2849.

THOUGH this extraordinary ſlaughter of the Philiſtine nobility did not put an end to their ſlavery, yet it inſpired the Iſraelites with freſh courage, to attempt the regaining of their liberty. But their horrid wickedneſs proved an invincible obſtacle to their ſucceſs. Eli, their judge, was almoſt an hundred years old [h]; and his two ſons, Hophni and Phinehas, who acted under him, took the advantage of his extreme weakneſs, to commit the greateſt abominations. The ſcripture brands them with ſome of the vileſt characters; ſuch as, that they were *ſons of Belial*; that *they knew not the Lord*; that they committed ſuch *infamous irregularities in the ſervice of the tabernacle, as cauſed the people to abhor the offering of the Lord*; that *they debauched the women that aſſembled at the door of the tabernacle, and that their crimes were very great* [i]: by all which one may eaſily gueſs to what exceſs of wickedneſs a people, ſo naturally prone to it, muſt have run under ſuch profligate governors. Eli was not ignorant of all this; and yet inſtead of inflicting ſome exemplary puniſhment upon his ſons, or at leaſt of diſcarding them from their office, and beſtowing it upon perſons of more zeal and integrity, he contented himſelf with giving them a gentle reproof; ſo gentle, indeed, that he ſeems not to have had the courage to tell them, that their actions were vile and abominable, but only that they were not good [k]. No wonder then, if ſuch an expoſtulation

Hophni and Phinehas.

[h] 1 Sam. iv. 15. [i] Ibid. 12. & ſeq. [k] Ibid. ver. 24.

(49), contrary to the greater part of the Jews (50), who think Boaz to have been the ſame with Ibzan the 10th judge of Iſrael, as we hinted above, becauſe he was of Bethlehem, and that there is ſome conformity in their names. But they are both palpably out of all chronology. Some of our chronologers place it in the time of Deborah (51); others under Gideon; but the moſt probable opinion is that, which places it in the time of Shamgar, the third judge, about 120 years after Joſhua (52).

As for the book itſelf, it is plain, it was not written before David's time, becauſe he is named in the genealogy of Boaz (53), though the ſtory appears to have happened in the time of ſome one of the judges, by the very firſt verſe of it.

(49) Ant. lib. 5. (50) Targ. in Ruth. Talm. Hieroſ. RR. Sall. Kimchi. Levi. Ben. David. Abr. Zaccut. & al. (51) Toſtat. Tremel. De Lyr. Genebr. & al. (52) Uſſer. (53) Ruth. ch. ult. ver. ult.

lation made ſo little impreſſion on thoſe two profligate young men. (S).

THIS remiſſneſs, in a high-prieſt and a judge, was ſo diſpleaſing to God, that he ſent a prophet to upbraid him with his ingratitude, and to aſſure him, that the high-prieſthood ſhould be taken from his houſe; that his two ſons ſhould be cut off in one day; and that the ſurvivors of his family ſhould pine away with utmoſt poverty and miſery [l]. This heavy ſentence was again confirmed by God to young Samuel in a viſion, and by him related unto Eli.

Samuel was the child of age and barrenneſs, obtained by the prayers of his mother, dedicated to God by a ſolemn vow, and entered into his ſervice at the age of three years [m]. As he grew up, he was appointed to miniſter to Eli in the holy functions, girded with a linen ephod, and to open and ſhut the doors of the tabernacle. One morning, before break of day, as he lay in his bed near unto Eli's chamber, he heard himſelf called, and ran to him, ſuppoſing it had been he that had called him. Eli bad him return to his bed this time, and the next; but upon his coming the third time, he began to think, that there was ſomething extraordinary in that voice, and directed young Samuel what anſwer to make, if he ſhould be called again, as he was accordingly ſoon after. It was then that God

[l] Ibid. ver. 27. ad. fin. [m] 1 Sam. i, ii, & iii. paſs.

(S) Were we to follow the ſenſe of our own and ſome other verſions, we ſhould be apt to attribute their incorrigibleneſs to what is ſaid in the 25th verſe of the 2d chapter, that they hearkened not to the voice of their father, becauſe the Lord would ſlay them. Would not any one be apt to conclude from thence, that it was with deſign to deſtroy them, that God thruſt them headlong into this diſobedience? We therefore beg leave here to remind our readers, that the conjunction כי Ki, which is rendered becauſe, doth often ſignify, and ought, both here and in ſeveral other places (54), to have been tranſlated wherefore, or though; ſo that the ſenſe will be, they did not hearken to their father, wherefore it pleaſed the Lord to ſlay them; or, they hearkened not——though the Lord threatened to ſlay them for their diſobedience (55).

(54) Int. al. Gen. viii. 21. Jerem. vii. 10. Pſ. lxxviii. 19.
(55) Vid. Buxtorf. Lexic. Hæbr. Nold. Concord. part. Hebr. Amam. Grammat. Hebr. Alſted. Vorſt. Leſcen. & al.

God revealed to him the heavy judgments he had denounced againſt Eli's houſe. Samuel was fearful of diſcloſeing the dreadful purport of the viſion, till ſtrictly charged and abjured to it by him, after which he became known, from one end of the kingdom to the other, to be a prophet of the Lord, and to be eſtabliſhed judge in Iſrael in Eli's ſtead [n] (T).

Not

[n] 1 Sam. iii. 1. & ſeq.

(T) Samuel was of the tribe of Levi, of the branch of Kohath; but becauſe he exerciſed ſeveral prieſtly functions, ſuch as anointing Saul and David, offering up a ſacrifice even out of the tabernacle, his wearing a linen ephod, and being named by the Pſalmiſt with Moſes and Aaron, the prieſts of the Lord (56), ſome antient fathers have thought him to have been of the race of Aaron, and to have performed the function of high-prieſt after the death of Eli and his two ſons (57). Joſephus ſeems to hint ſomething like it, when he ſays that Saul knew him to be Samuel, when he appeared to the witch of Endor in a prieſtly veſt (58), though he calls his father a plain Levite, where he ſpeaks of his birth (59); but it appears from the Chronicles, that he was of the branch of Kohath, the ſecond ſon of Levi (60), and as for his wearing of an ephod, David did the ſame (61); and Gideon, Manoah, Saul, Elijah, and others, who were neither prieſts nor levites, have ſacrificed upon particular occaſions; and ſome prophets, and even their diſciples, have anointed kings (62). As to the paſſage in the Pſalms, he is only mentioned there *among them that call upon the Lord*; by which may be meant, either the levites in general, whoſe office it was; or elſe, as is more likely, from the next verſe, *among them that called to God effectually, ſo as to be heard by him*, as Moſes and Aaron did; but who did officiate in the high-prieſt's function after Eli's death, is neither eaſy, nor of moment to gueſs, but more probably one of the Aaronic race, than a Levite.

One expreſſion, however, in the threatening meſſage of the prophet to Eli, would make one think, that ſome perſon of the elder branch was choſen to the high-prieſthood, even in his life-time, either by reaſon of his inability, being grown almoſt blind with age,

(56) Pſ. xcix. 6. (57) Auguſt. in Pſ. xviii. cont. Fauſt. & alib. Chryſoſt. Ambr. & al. vid. Mendez. in 1 Reg. ii. (58) Ant. lib. vi. c. 15. (59) Ibid. lib. v. c. 11. (60) 1 Chron. vi. 22. & ſeq. (61) 2 Sam. vi. 14. (62) Vid. int. al. 2 King ix. 1, & ſeq.

Not long after this, the Iſraelites, being repulſed in an attempt againſt the Philiſtines, with the loſs of 4000 men, took it into their heads to bring the ark of God into their camp, in hopes at leaſt, that it would ſtrike a terror into their enemies, and inſpire the people with more than ordinary courage; but the conſequence of this wild project was, that they loſt both the battle and the ark †, and the two ſons of Eli, that bare it, their lives all in one day. The old prieſt who waited with impatience to hear of the ſucceſs of the battle, had ſeated himſelf on a bench in the high-way to Shiloh, being under the greateſt concern for the ark of God; and as ſoon as he heard the news of its being taken by the enemy, he fainted away, and, falling backward from his ſeat broke his neck, and died. His daughter-in-law likewiſe, Phinehas's wife, being then near her time, fell in travail upon her receiving all theſe dreadful news, and teſtified the exceſs of her grief by calling the child ſhe was delivered of I-chabod, to ſignify, that the glory of Iſrael was departed, and expired immediately after [o]. Phinehas left another ſon named Ahitub, who is ſuppoſed to have ſucceeded his grand-father Eli in the high-prieſt's office, becauſe we find his ſon Ahiah in that dignity in Saul's time [p]; from whom it paſſed to Ahimelech his his brother, who was killed by that jealous prince [q], and from him to his ſon Abiathar, who was the laſt of Eli's race that enjoyed it. But as to the government, it was given by God to Samuel, a man of uncommon zeal and courage, and fit to reduce the Iſraelites from their abominable defection and idolatry. This was, indeed, what he

† See vol. ii. p. 341.
[o] 1 Sam. iv. 12. to the end.
[p] Ibid. xiv. 3.
[q] Ibid. xxii. 16, & ſeq.

age, or for his remiſſneſs, or both. The words are, *and thou ſhalt ſee an enemy in my habitation, in all that wealth God ſhall give Iſrael* (63); where it is to be obſerved, the word צַר Tzar, which we render an enemy, doth ſignify a rival; and is uſed in that ſenſe in the very beginning of this book (64). Now it is plain, that this rival could be no other than ſome head of the elder branch of Eleazar, from whom the prieſt-hood had been transferred to him; but we will not affirm any thing further about it.

(63) 1 Sam. iii. 32.
(64) Ibid. i. 6.

he applied himſelf to with good ſucceſs, being feared and reverenced by all Iſrael, who knew him to be the choſen prophet of God, and that none of his words fell to the ground.

WHAT betided the ark of the covenant, and thoſe that kept it captive, and its being ſent back, we have already ſeen *. Its wonderful and unexpected return to Bethſhemeſh cauſed an univerſal joy in all the people who came crowding from all the adjacent parts to feaſt their eyes with the ſight of it, it being then the time of harveſt. The field where it ſtopt had in it a large ſtone, upon which the prieſts and levites offered up the two milch-kine that brought it for a burnt-offering. This was accompanied with ſeveral others, which the inhabitants of the place ſacrificed there; after which the ark and treſpaſs-offering were depoſited upon the ſame ſtone. But their joy was ſoon after happily turned into mourning, through the irreverence of the Bethſhemeſhites, whom an imprudent curioſity enticed to look into the ſacred ſymbol of the divine preſence, and for which fifty thouſand and ſeventy men were puniſhed with immediate death (V). This terrible ſlaughter ſtruck ſuch a terror into

* See vol. ii. p. 343, & ſeq.

(V) This is what ours, and moſt other veſions, make the original to ſay, for which reaſon we have not dared to depart from it, though we own, with the learned Bochart, that we can neither conceive, how there could be ſuch a multitude of people in a village on the borders of Judea, or how it could be conſiſtent with the goodneſs of God, to make ſuch a ſlaughter of thoſe men, who came with joy to receive the ark, ſuppoſing ſuch a number could really have all looked into it.

But we beg leave to obſerve here, that the original is capable of a two-fold ſenſe, beſides this in our verſion, both which do greatly leſſen that number and remove the difficulty. The firſt is that of Bochart above-mentioned (65), who ſhews, that it ought to have been rendered fifty men of a thouſand, inſtead of fifty thouſand, that is in all ſeventy; becauſe, as he obſerves rightly after St. Jerom (66), it is not uſual in the Hebrew to make the thouſands go before the inferior numbers when they make up a total ſum, but they conſtantly begin with the leſſer number and end with the greater. Joſephus has took it in the ſame ſenſe (67), and reckons but ſeventy ſlain. The

(65) Phaleg. ſup. Bethſhemiſh, vid. & Le Scen. eſſay on a new verſ. part 2. ch. 6. § 4. (66) in hebdom. Dan. (67) Ant. l. vi. c. 2.

into them, that they ſent to the inhabitants of Kirjath-jearim, a city in the neighbourhood of Bethſhemeſh, and in the tribe of Judah, deſiring, that they would fetch the ark away from them [r], which they accordingly did, and placed it in the houſe of one Abinadab, which ſtood on the higheſt part of the city, where it continued till David's time, that is about ſeventy years, and conſecrated his ſon Eleazar to be the keeper of it (W).

It may indeed be juſtly wondered, why the ark was not either ſent back to Shiloh, where the tabernacle and its ſacred utenſils ſtood, or that theſe, at leaſt, were not brought to Kirjath-jearim. But whatever be the reaſon of this irregularity, Samuel, who acted by this time both as prophet and judge, took occaſion, from the people's aſſembling in great multitudes before the ark, to lament their not yet recovered liberty, to perſuade them to put away Aſhtaroth and their other ſtrange deities from among them, and to ſerve the Lord alone; upon which condition only, he could promiſe them a ſpeedy deliverance from the Philiſtine yoke. The people readily complied, and afterwards aſſembled themſelves at Mizpeh according to his appointment, where they faſted, and prayed, and expreſſed all the tokens of a lively repentance. This unuſual meeting gave an umbrage to the Philiſtines, who immediately took up arms, and came up againſt

[r] 1 Sam. vi. p. tot.

The other ſenſe is, that there were ſlain ſeventy men בעם Baham of the common people, חמישים אלף איש Chamiſhim eleph iſh, fifty of the heads or captains of the people; for the word אלף ſignifies alſo a leader, or captain. This ſeems to have been the opinion of Junius, though he has retracted it ſince, or Tremellius for him, to adhere to the vulgar one, though without giving any reaſon for his ſo doing (68). In memory of the mourning, which their death cauſed among the people, the ſtone, or rock, upon which the ark reſted, when they looked into it, was called אבן אבל Eben Abel, the ſtone of mourning.

(W) Some have fancied, that this Abinedab was of the race of Aaron, or at leaſt a levite, though without any viſible grounds, or indeed any neceſſity; ſince he was to be but a bare keeper of the ark, and that perhaps no longer, than till ſome proper prieſts and levites were ſent for from Shiloh to miniſter before it.

(68) Vid. Trem. in loc.

againſt them; but Samuel, having offered up a ſucking lamb for a burnt-offering, did by his prayers obtain ſuch a ſtorm of thunder and lightning, as quite diſcomfited their enemies, whom the Iſraelites purſued with a great ſlaughter unto Beth-car. In memory of this ſignal victory, Samuel cauſed a great ſtone to be erected between Mizpeh and Sen, which he called Eben-ezer, or the ſtone of help; and from that time to Samuel's death, the Philiſtines were ſo far from making any further attempt againſt Iſrael, that they ſuffered them to recover all the cities and fortreſſes which had been taken from them, from Ekron even unto Gath, and the territories about them †. At the ſame time, the Iſraelites were at peace with the Amorites, ſo that the land enjoyed a profound peace all the time of Samuel's government: whilſt he, to make it eaſier to the people, left Ramah, his uſual reſidence and the place of his nativity, once a year to circuit round Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh, to adminiſter judgment; and then returned to his own city, where he had built an altar unto God, and whither the people might reſort unto him at all other times ſ (X).

By this time Samuel had judged Iſrael twenty years, with great integrity and applauſe, he had the mortification to hear that his two ſons, Joel and Abiah, whom he had, in his latter days, made judges at Beerſheba (Y), did not follow

† Sup. ibid.

ſ 1 Sam. vii. to the end.

(X) It appears from thence, that Samuel left Shiloh ſoon after the death of Eli, and the taking of the ark, and that they never returned thither, at leaſt to dwell. It is indeed probable, that the ark being removed from thence, all kind of religious ceremonies had ceaſed there; for which reaſon it is ſaid, that he built an altar at Ramah, the place of his reſidence, that the people might reſort to him, either for judgment, or to offer ſacrifices to God. This thing, however, was far from being according to the Moſaic law; but it ſeemed a caſe of neceſſity, becauſe the ark being at one place, and the tabernacle in another, neither, of them could be properly reſorted to for ſacrificing, or any other part of public worſhip.

(Y) This Samuel had probably done, either to try how they would behave themſelves in that important poſt, or perhaps for the convenience of thoſe who lived at too great a diſtance from Ramah; Beerſheba being at one extremity of Iſrael, as Dan was on the other. Joſephus adds, that he appointed the eldeſt to keep his reſidence at Bethel, and the other at Beerſheba, and ordered

low their father's ſteps, but ſuffered themſelves to be bribed to pervert judgment; upon which account, he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by the elders of Iſrael, who deſired him, that he would appoint to them a king who might be a judge over them, and that they might be like other nations, ſince his ſons were not worthy to ſucceed him in his office. Such a propoſal could not but be highly diſpleaſing to him, who plainly foreſaw the danger of ſuch horrid ingratitude, and that, by caſting off the government of God over them, they would make themſelves unworthy of his protection. He expoſtulated with them, he upbraided them with their ingratitude, and forwarned them of their danger, among other diſſuaſives, he laid before them all the miſchiefs and grievances they were likely to ſuffer from a king, in the moſt lively terms. In a word, he omitted nothing that could poſſibly divert them from their deſign; but all to no purpoſe, till God commanded him to hearken to them, and to ſet ſuch a king over them, as he ſhould direct. Whereupon Samuel, having promiſed to comply with their demand, diſmiſſed them for the preſent [t], and Saul was ſoon after appointed by God to be the firſt king of *Iſrael*.

SECT. VII.

The hiſtory of the Jews, under their monarchical Government.

SAUL was the ſon of Kiſh, of the tribe of Benjamin; he was a very comely youth, well-ſhaped, and taller by the head and ſhoulders than the common ſize. He had been ſent with a ſervant, about the time of the Iſraelites defection, to ſeek after ſome ſtrayed aſſes; and after three days uſeleſs ſearch, his man adviſed him to go to Ramah, near unto which they were then come, and enquire of the prophet

Saul firſt king of Iſrael.

Year of the Flood, 1904. Year before Chriſt, 1095.

[t] Ibid. ch. viii. 1, & ſeq.

dered them to take a yearly circuit at proper places, ſo as that each ſhould have one half of Iſrael to his ſhare (69); but the text ſays nothing of it.

(69) Ant. l. vi. c. 3.

prophet Samuel, what he ſhould do next. Samuel who knew him to be the perſon appointed by God to the regal dignity, and was then going to bleſs a ſacrifice which was held in that city, took that opportunity to introduce him to the feaſt, where he ſet him in the higheſt place, and diſtinguiſhed him from all the other gueſts, by a particular diſh of meat ſet before him above the reſt. He detained him all that night, and on the morrow early he called him up to receive his directions, and accompanied him ſome part of the way; and having commanded his ſervant to go on before [u], he poured the oyl upon his head, and ſaluted him king of Iſrael. Saul behaved, during all this ceremony, with extraordinary modeſty, alledging the ſmallneſs of his tribe and family, as an argument of his being unfit for ſo high a dignity; but the prophet aſſured him, that he ſhould find himſelf endowed with ſuch a ſuperior portion of God's ſpirit, as would give him a new heart, and a new diſpoſition, ſo that he would ſhortly feel himſelf quite another man. He then gave him ſome further directions relating to the occaſion of his journey, and his return home, and, taking his leave of him for that time, left him to overtake his ſervant. Among other things that Samuel told him, ſhould befal him in his way home, one was, that he would be met by a company of prophets, and that he would then receive the ſpirit of prophecy, and propheſy with them. This, as well as the reſt, came to paſs accordingly, and the ſurpriſe with which thoſe of his acquaintance beheld it, occaſioned that ſaying, which paſt afterwards into a proverb, *Is Saul alſo among the prophets* [x]! Soon after this, Samuel called all the heads of Iſrael to Mizpeh, and cauſed them to preſent themſelves by their tribes before the Lord; and as they paſſed in their order, that of Benjamin was taken; then were the families of it called, and that of Matri was taken, and next to that the ſon of Kiſh [y].

Whilst this was doing, Saul who knew where the lot would fall, had hid himſelf ſo well among ſome houſhold lumber, that they could not find him, till they were directed to him by the Lord; and as ſoon as he was brought out, Samuel preſented him to the people, as the perſon whom God had choſen to be their head, and immediately the air rang with the peoples ſhouts Long live the king. Here Samuel, who, at their firſt tumultuous meeting, had forewarned them of

[u] Ch. ix. p. tot. [x] x. 11. [y] Ver. 21.

of all that a king might do in the plenitude of his power, and what they had to fear from him, did now think it neceſſary to inform him, before the aſſembly, of what he ought to do, and what to avoid. He therefore read to them the laws which had been preſcribed before, by God himſelf to Moſes: laws, which were equally levelled againſt tyranny and anarchy; and to which he perhaps added ſome others, as he was a prophet; becauſe it is added, that he cauſed them to be written, and depoſited by the ark [z], where thoſe, we read in Deuteronomy concerning the duty of a king, had been before laid up by Moſes. Saul being thus proclaimed and anointed king of Iſrael, Samuel diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and the new king returned to his houſe in Gibeah, whither a number of brave honeſt men of Iſrael followed him; whilſt another company of looſe fellows, who deſpiſed his youth and comelineſs, and thought him unfit for ſuch a government, refuſed to acknowledge him, or to bring him any preſents, as the reſt did.

But it was not long before he had an occaſion to give them an earneſt of his courage, and to let them ſee how well he could uſe his new authority. The inhabitants of Jabeſh Gilead were ſtraitly beſieged by the Ammonites, and upon the brink of loſing not only their liberty, but their right eye, as a laſting reproach to the whole nation; when, having obtained a reſpite of ſeven days from the Ammoniti ſh king; they ſent an account of their diſmal ſtate to the elders of Iſrael. Saul was then in the fields with his cattle, when theſe heavy tidings came, and, at his return, found the people all in tears, and being informed of the occaſion of it, he immediately took a yoke of oxen, and cauſed them to be hewed in pieces, and diſpatched with the utmoſt ſpeed through all the tribes, with this threatening meſſage, that whoſoever refuſed to follow him to the relief of their brethren of Jabeſh Gilead, his cattle ſhould undergo the ſame fate. The people, alarmed with theſe news, did immediately repair to Bezek, to the number of three hundred thouſand, beſides thirty thouſand of the tribe of Judah; and Saul, having ſent the beſieged word, that he would come to their reſcue by the next morning, marched all that night; and as ſoon as he came near the enemy, he divided his army into three bodies, and fell upon them by break of day with ſuch fury, that they were forced to raiſe the ſiege,

[z] Ver. 25.

and to fly with the utmoſt precipitation, and a very conſiderable loſs *. The people, elevated with this ſignal victory, were for putting to death all that had refuſed to acknowledge Saul for their king; but he generouſly withſtood it, alledging, that it was not fit to ſtain the beginning of his reign with the ſlaughter of their brethren, after God had wrought ſo great a ſalvation in Iſrael. This moderate anſwer pleaſed the people ſtill more, and Samuel, who had accompanied him to the battle, invited now the people to Gilgal, there to confirm the kingdom unto Saul by an univerſal conſent, ſince he had ſhewed himſelf ſo worthy of it. This was accordingly done, and the ceremony was accompanied with joy, and acclamations, and with peace offerings, which were there offered unto the Lord [a].

Before Samuel diſmiſſed this numerous aſſembly, he took that opportunity to juſtify his conduct, during the whole time of his adminiſtration, as judge. This was indeed a proper time, becauſe his authority, being devolved upon Saul, who was then preſent, could be no longer a check to any of them from exhibiting their complaint, if any ſuch they had againſt him. He therefore challenged them, as he was now old, and ready to leave the world, to accuſe him openly before their new king, if he had committed any fraud, injuſtice, or oppreſſion againſt any of them, that he might now make them reſtitution before he died; and he had the ſatisfaction of being anſwered, by the general voice, that he had neither wronged nor oppreſſed them in any caſe. He was not content with this ample teſtimony, but made them take God to witneſs that they ſpoke from their heart, which they readily did. Samuel ſeems to have had a double deſign in this expoſtulation, beſides that of clearing his own character; the firſt was, to ſhew young Saul a pattern to copy after, and the other, to make the people ſenſible of their ingratitude to God, in deſiring to be governed in a different way than he had hitherto appointed, and that, unleſs they proved more obedient for the future, their new form of government would be of little benefit to them, ſince neither that, nor any other, could preſerve them from their enemies, without the divine bleſſing, which if they forfeited by their obſtinate wickedneſs, would bring infallible ruin upon their king and themſelves. To convince them of this, he recapitulated to them all the grievous thraldoms which

* Vid. vol. ii. p. 123.

[a] Ch. xi. p. tot.

which their idolatry and diſobedience had drawn upon them, ſince their being ſeated in that land; and the many ſignal deliverances which God had wrought for them upon their repentance, without the help of a king; and to add a ſtill greater weight to his words, and to aſſure them that they did not proceed from any reſentment for their having been ſo preſſing for a king, even in his life-time, but becauſe God was highly diſpleaſed at it; he reminded them, that it was then the time of harveſt, when the air is generally ſerene, and free from clouds and ſtormy rains (Z); but he told them, that he would by his prayers obtain ſuch an extraordinary ſtorm of thunder and rain, as ſhould convince them, that God had been highly provoked by their ungrateful demand. He did ſo accordingly, and the people were frighted into a confeſſion of their wickedneſs, and of this particular aggravation of it, their aſking him for a king. They deſired him, that he would uſe his prayers to avert the impending ſtorm and danger; which he readily complied with, and then aſſured them, that he would continue his good offices to them as long as he lived, and that if they and their king did but continue ſtedfaſt in their obedience to God, inſtead of confiding in their vain and deceitful idols, every thing would go well with them; but that if they relapſed, both he and they muſt expect to feel the effects of the divine diſpleaſure [b].

ALL theſe things were tranſacted in the firſt year of Saul's reign; on the next he diſmiſſed his numerous army, thinking perhaps, that his late victory had ſufficiently ſecured him from

[b] 1 Sam. xii. p. 101.

(Z) This Samuel juſtly calls *the great thing which the Lord would do before their eyes* (70); and the people could not but eſteem it ſuch, becauſe that country was obſerved to be entirely free from ſuch ſtormy weather all the time of harveſt, and to have the former and latter rain before and after it; but whether this was really miraculous, or whether the prophet by ſome way or other, foreſaw it gathering, it anſwered his purpoſe, and wrought the deſired effect upon that incredulous and head-ſtrong people, and prevented them applauding their choice of a kingly government, or attributing their late or any future victory to that extraordinary piece of politicks.

(70) 1 Sam. xii. 16.

from any attempt againſt Iſrael; and reſerved to himſelf only three thouſand men, two thouſand of whom he put into the gariſons of Michmaſh and Bethel, and the other thouſand he left at Gibeah of Benjamin, under his ſon Jonathan. But this young prince, willing perhaps to atchieve ſomething worthy the ſon and ſucceſſor of Saul, went and ſmote a Philiſtine gariſon at Geba; the news of which, having alarmed that nation, obliged his father to blow the trumpet, and to let Iſrael know, that the Philiſtines were coming againſt them with a numerous hoſt. They had indeed 30000 chariots and 6000 horſemen, beſides an innumerable multitude of foot, with which they came and encamped againſt Michmaſh, eaſtward of Beth-Aven (A). The ſight of ſo vaſt an army injected an univerſal terror in Iſrael, inſomuch, that, forgetting their late victory, and the valour which their new-made king had ſhewn upon that occaſion, a great part of that daſtardly people hid themſelves in caves, dens, ſaw-pits, or any lurking holes; whilſt another part fled to the other ſide of Jordan for ſafety, leaving their country open to their enemies frequent and deſtructive incurſions, and their king to make the beſt of the puſilanimous remains of the people that ſtuck cloſe unto him. One misfortune, however, attended them, which may, in ſome meaſure, excuſe their defection, which was, that the Philiſtines had taken care to ſtrip them of all kind of weapons, and even of the inſtruments with which they uſed to ſharpen their rural tools, leaſt they ſhould uſe them inſtead of arms. They had neither ſmith nor forge, and ſo naked were they at this time, that there was neither ſword nor ſpear, but thoſe which Saul and his ſon had [c], when he came to muſter his little army (B). Saul, however, continued with them at Gilgal,

[c] Ch. xiii. 19, & ſeq.

(A) Concerning this prodigious number of chariots, we have already given our opinion in the hiſtory of that people, to which we refer the reader, where he will ſee an account of the whole ſucceſs of this war, with the reflection of a late learned critic upon it †.

(B) The reſt of this ſmall body were armed, as one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, with ſuch weapons as they could make without the

† Vid. vol. ii, p. 246. not. I.

Gilgal, expecting Samuel's coming according to his appointment; but after he had waited ſeven whole days, and found, that Samuel neither came nor ſent, and that his little army was almoſt dwingled away to a ſmall handful, reſolved nevertheleſs to make a brave reſiſtance, in caſe he ſhould be attacked by the enemy; and afraid, leſt he ſhould be ſurpriſed by them, before he had implored the protection of God in the uſual way of ſacrifices; he ventured, on the ſeventh day, to offer up ſome peace-offerings and a burnt-offering. He had ſcarce made an end of ſacrificing, when Samuel came, and blamed him highly for what he had done (C). Saul

the ſmith's help, ſuch as ſlings, flails, clubs, ſtaves, wooden prongs, ſtaves hardened in the fire, and other rural tools, the firſt of theſe the ſlings, in which they were very expert, they might all uſe at the firſt onſet, and the others when they came to cloſer engagement.

(C) It is not eaſy to divine what Saul's crime was, which drew upon him ſuch a ſevere ſentence from the prophet. The Jews indeed accuſe him, 1. Of not having waited the full time for him, and 2. Of having preſumed to infringe upon the prieſtly office, by offering up ſacrifices to God with his unhallowed hands (71). Joſephus ſeems to ſay much the ſame thing, though not in plain terms; but he adds, that Saul had ſent for Samuel to adviſe with him, who ſent him word back, that he ſhould continue where he was, and get ſacrifices in readineſs againſt he came to him; which would be at the end of ſeven days, when he would come and offer them up unto God.—Saul, adds he, waited out his time, but moſt unhappily failed in another article of his commiſſion, for the prophet he found delayed his coming, and his men perpetually deſerting him, ſo that he offered up the ſacrifice without waiting any longer for Samuel (72). As for the firſt of theſe, his not waiting the whole time, it appears of too ſmall a nature, conſidering the ſtreight he was in through the conſtant deſertion of his army, to have deſerved a total rejection; and as to the laſt, it is ſcarcely probable, becauſe he had the high-prieſt Ahiah with him to perform that office for him, or to have hindered him from doing it, if he had gone about it. Some authors think (73) therefore, that there is a tranſpoſition of chapters, and that the crime for which he was rejected, was his not deſtroying the king of Amalek and all the plunder; according

(71) Vid. Munſt. in loc. (72) Ant. l. vi. c. 7.
(73) Vid. Tremel. in loc.

Saul excuſed himſelf upon the preſſing neceſſity he was in; but whether the prophet took it as a preſage of his future diſobedience and want of faith, and deſigned only to intimidate and forewarn him, or whether his rejection had been already revealed to him; he told him, that he had done a very fooliſh action, and that his diſobedience to God's command, would cauſe the kingdom to be transferred from him to a more worthy and faithful perſon. As ſoon as Samuel was departed from him to go to Gibeon, or valley of Benjamin, Saul and his ſon followed him thither with his little army, conſiſting only of ſix hundred unarmed men. There they beheld, with ſorrow the Philiſtines, who were ſtill incamped in Michmaſh, making a three-fold incurſion in Iſrael, and committing

ding to God's command, the ſtory of which we have in the next chapter, wherein Samuel reproves him in the moſt ſevere terms, for his diſobedience, and tells him plainly, that the Lord had rejected him from being king (74); but it is more likely, that in the former of theſe places, the prophet only threatens him with what he muſt expect, unleſs he took more heed of what God commanded him. For it is plain, that Saul was ſo far from being abſolutely rejected, that he not only was bleſſed with a great and almoſt miraculous victory, immediately after Samuel had left him, but that he was likewiſe very ſucceſsful againſt ſeveral other nations, and above all, received that freſh command from the ſame prophet, to fight and deſtroy the Amalekites with a promiſe of victory. As for what is ſaid, *That the Lord hath ſought him a man after his own heart*, and — *ſhall command him to be head over his people* (75); thoſe who are acquainted with the genius of the original know, that it may as well be taken in the future tenſe, *the Lord ſhall ſeek*, and ſo on; however, as to the words of the prophet, *the Lord would have eſtabliſhed thy kingdom upon Iſrael for ever*; It is plain, they cannot be underſtood in a literal ſenſe, becauſe the ſcepter was promiſed to the tribe of Judah, and to no other (76), and accordingly was ſoon after given to David who was of that tribe.

Upon the whole therefore, we think, that Saul was only threatened here by the prophet, for having acted fooliſhly, but in the chapter following, he is abſolutely rejected for his diſobedience, in ſparing Agag and the beſt of the plunder, contrary to God's expreſs command; for which reaſon Samuel charges him not with bare folly, but with downright rebellion, which he there compares to idolatry and witchcraft (77).

(74) 1 Sam. xv. 16, & ſeq. (75) Ibid. Ch. xiii 14.
(76) Gen. xlix. 10. (77) 1 Sam. xv. 23.

committing great depredations; one detachment towards Ophrah, another towards Beth-horon, and the third towards the valley of Zeboim [d].

THEY were in this diſmal ſituation, when Jonathan, moved by ſome divine impulſe, ventured, unknown to his father, or to any one but his armour-bearer, who accompanied him, to climb up on his hands and feet through a couple of cragged rocks, and to fall upon one of the enemy's out-guards, where he killed twenty of their men, and put the reſt to flight, who ran into the camp and ſpread ſuch a pannic terror through the hoſt, that it was eaſily perceived by Saul and his men; who, finding that Jonathan was miſſing, eaſily gueſſed him to be the author of it. Saul had with him the ark of God, and Ahiah the high-prieſt, the great grand-ſon of Eli, and was going to deſire him to enquire of the Lord whether he ſhould fall on the enemy, when the noiſe and confuſion increaſed ſo far, as to aſſure him, that they were put to the rout. He bid then Ahiah to hold his hand, and with his few men fell on the flying Philiſtines, his army ſtill increaſing, as well from a number of Hebrew captives, who took that opportunity to turn tail to their oppreſſors, as from a greater number of thoſe who, obſerving from their lurking holes the ſucceſs of their brethren, came and joined themſelves to their king.

THIS victory, great as it was, *, might have been more complete, had not Saul unadviſedly adjured his army not to ſtop their purſuit to take ſome convenient refreſhment. This raſh curſe was like to have had ſeveral fatal conſequences, for beſides that it hindered his weary ſoldiers from making ſo great a ſlaughter of the enemy as they might have done, and put too ſpeedy an end to their purſuit; by that time it came to be evening, they were ſo famiſhed, that they fell greedily upon the ſpoil, and would have eaten ſome of the cattle with the blood, had not the king timely prevented it, but what was like to have proved worſe than all the reſt was, that Jonathan, knowing nothing of his father's imprecation, and being quite ſpent with that day's toil, had refreſhed himſelf with a little honey which he met with in his way, ſo that, when his tranſgreſſion came to be found out by Urim, Saul would infallibly have condemned him to die, had not the whole army oppoſed it with one conſent, and ſworn, that not a hair of his head ſhould be hurt, in

[d] Ibid. p. 101.

* See vol. ii. p. 247.

in consideration of the signal deliverance which he had been the chief cause of. After this Saul returned home, and put himself in a condition of pursuing his conquest, not only against the Philistines, but also against the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, and the kings of Zobah and Amalek. His head general was Abner, the son of his uncle Ner; he had also two sons besides the brave Jonathan, and next to that of his army his care was to have a guard about him, made up of the valiantest and stoutest men he could find in his dominions [e].

The sacred history gives us no particular account of any of these wars, that against Amalek excepted, of which we have spoken in its proper place †; neither is it easy to guess at what periods of Saul's reign any of them happened. All that we can know is, that he reigned forty years [f]; that he was a valiant and successful prince, continually at war with some neighbouring state or other; and that he very much curbed the strength of all his enemies round about. So that had he not been unmindful of God's command with respect to the king of Amalek and the plunder of his subjects, he might, in all likelihood, have reigned all his life without a rival [g]. But here he acted very unlike himself, not only in disregarding the divine anathema which had been pronounced against that nation ever since their coming out of Egypt [h], and the prophets charge in pursuance of it [i], but likewise in that poor pretence he made to Samuel, that he had fulfilled his command, when every thing about him shewed him, that he had acted quite contrary to it [k]; and next to this, in meanly excusing his fault, by throwing one part of it upon the people's zeal to sacrifice the best of the cattle to the Lord [l], and part upon his own fear of restraining them from it [m]. No wonder then, if Samuel could not, without some indignation, hear a king of Israel betray so much meanness of soul to palliate an unjustifiable action; nor at the severity with which he reproves him for it, when he was authorised by God to denounce unto him the loss of his kingdom.

This

[e] 1 Sam. xiv. pass. † See, vol. ii. p. 178.
[f] Acts xiii. 21. [g] See what has been said in the last note. [h] Exod. xvii. 14. [i] 1 Sam. xv. 1, & seq. [k] Ibid. ver. 13. 14. & 20. [l] Ver. 15.
[m] Ver. 24. 30, & seq. to the end.

THIS ſentence, in which his crime was painted in the deepeſt colours, made a deep impreſſion upon Saul: he owned the charge, and begged of him, for decency ſake, and to prevent a defection of the people, that he would ſtill ſhew ſome regard to him, and accompany him, whilſt he went and paid his adoration to God; which the prophet complied with; and afterwards, having cauſed the proud Amalekitiſh king to be put to death (D), whoſe deſtroying ſword had bereaved ſo many mothers of their children, he returned to Ramah, the place of his abode; and from that time he never came more to Saul, but continued mourning for him [n], till he was reproved for it by God, and commanded to go to Bethlehem, and anoint one of the ſons of Jeſſe in his room.

Samuel was forced to colour his journey with the pretence of offering up a ſacrifice there; and accordingly took a young heifer with him, both to avoid giving any ſuſpicion to the jealous king, and to diſperſe the fears of the elders of Bethlehem at his unexpected arrival. As ſoon as he came to Jeſſe's houſe, he ordered all his ſons to paſs before him in order, and when he beheld the eldeſt of them, whom the hiſtory ſhews to have been a man of valour, he preſently ſuppoſed him to be the perſon choſen to be Saul's ſucceſſor; but God did ſoon let him ſee, that he judged quite otherwiſe, by rejecting him, as he did alſo the other ſix in their turns.

[n] Ch. xvi. paſſ.

(D) The text ſays, that Samuel himſelf put him to death (78); but the Hebrew idiom imports no more than his commanding it to be done. And indeed beſides that Samuel is not recorded to have been a ſwords-mans, he was then too old to perform ſuch an execution. An antient author (79) tells us, that Agag having been reprieved, at his deſire, till the next morning; his wife, who came to ſee him that night, conceived by him that very Amalekite who did afterwards kill Saul, as a puniſhment for his ſparing that monarch's life; but it is plain, that Saul was not ſo much as wounded, till he fell upon his own ſword and killed himſelf, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place; and that the young Amalekite, who brought the news of his death to David, did only pretend that he had killed him, in hopes to ingratiate himſelf to him, though it fell out otherwiſe.

(78) Ibid. ver. 33. (79) Phil. Bibl. vid. St. Phil. Monarch. Hebr. in vit. Saul.

turns. Samuel being surprised at it, asked their father whether these were all the sons he had? who answered, that he had one more, a strippling, who was then keeping his sheep, and was the youngest of all. He was bid to send for him; and as soon as David came in, Samuel was ordered to anoint him in the presence of his brethren; and from that minute the spirit of the Lord came upon him (E). Samuel then made a feast to Jesse's family, and to the elders of the city, and returned to Ramah, and David to his flocks.

Not long after this, the spirit of the Lord having forsaken Saul, he began to feel himself tormented by an evil one, or by a deep melancholy; to dispel which, he was advised to get young David to play on the harp before him, who by this time had gained the reputation, not only of an expert musician, but of a sober, discreet, and valiant youth. He was sent for accordingly, and the ruddiness of his complexion, and comeliness of his person, joined with the sweetness of his music, won Saul's heart so far, that he made him his armour-bearer, and obtained of his father that he might still continue near his person. Whenever, therefore, Saul's distemper came upon him, David was ordered to divert him with his music, which never failed to give him ease [n]; after which he returned home, and went about

(E) It is hardly to be supposed, that Samuel did then explain the whole mystery of his anointing David; which might have had some fatal consequence, had it come to Saul's ears: but as it was usual to anoint men to the office of prophet, as well as to the regal dignity, it is more likely, that he left them to suppose the former; which they might naturally enough do, both because David was but a strippling, not much above fifteen years of age, and too smug and tender to be taken for a promising wariour; and because the spirit of the Lord is said to have come upon him, as it used to do upon the prophets, after they were anointed. Josephus says, that Samuel only whispered the secret into David's and his father's ear, and concealed it from the rest. And indeed, had his brethren known, or even suspected, that he had been anointed to the regal dignity, though we dare not say how far their envy might have induced some of them to have betrayed the secret to Saul, it is scarce credible, they would have used him with such roughness and ill manners as they did, when their father sent him to them to Saul's camp (80).

(80) 1 Sam. xvii. 28.

about his uſual occupation. At leaſt it appears by the ſequel [o], that he ſtayed at Bethlehem during Saul's lucid intervals, one of which ſeems to have been ſo long, that when he came back to court, neither Saul, nor Abner his general, could tell who he was, as we read in the very next chapter [p] (F).

SAUL

[o] Ib. xvii. 15. [p] Ib. ver. 55, to the end.

(F) This circumſtance has given interpreters ſome difficulty to reconcile; ſome have thought this interval to have been ſo long, that David was quite altered, his beard grown, features and ſhape become more manly, ſo that he might not be eaſily known again (81), Some, think, that Saul, not having ſeen him, but when he was in his melancholy moods, and as it were out of his ſenſes, could retain no idea of him (82). But this is by no means probable, becauſe Saul is ſaid to have loved him exceedingly, when he was recovered from his paroxyſms. Some others, and among them Junius, think, that there is here alſo a tranſpoſition of chapters, and that David had killed Goliah ſome time before he was ſent for to play before Saul, becauſe he is recommended to him as a man of valour, as well as a muſician (83). But we can by no means come into that notion upon ſuch ſlight grounds. David might have acquired the character of a valiant youth upon ſome other account, particularly for reſcuing ſome of his flock out of the jaws of wild beaſts (84). And as to his being forgot at court, it may be eaſily accounted for, if to the growth of his ſhape, beard, &c. mentioned under the firſt head, we add, that when he played before Saul, he appeared in a dreſs ſuitable, and that he was now in his plain ſhepherd's habit, and juſt come from a journey; ſo that the king and his court, who had ſeen ſuch variety of faces ſince his departure, might not eaſily call him to mind.

As for the wonderful effects which his muſic had upon Saul, we need not have recourſe to miracles to account for it, as ſome commentators have done (85), who think, that he joined ſome pſalms or prayers with the melody of his harp, which were a kind of exorciſm againſt the evil ſpirit that troubled him. Every one may be ſenſible of the power of good muſic upon a melancholy per-

(81) Tornel. Cajet. & al. (82) Theodoret. Procop. in loc. (83) Vid. Jun. & Tremel. in loc. (84) 1 Sam. xvii. 34, & ſeq. (85) De-Lyr. Toſtat. Ferrar. Cornel. a Lapid. & al.

Saul and his army were then encamped by the valley of Elah, in order to make head againſt the Philiſtines, who had by this time recovered themſelves from their defeat, and had perhaps alſo taken freſh courage at the news of Saul's diſtemper. They had pitched their camp at Ephez-dammim over-againſt them, which place was between Shochoth and Azekah in the tribe of Judah. A valley parted the two armies, which had contented themſelves with looking upon one another, without ſtriking a blow, during the ſpace of forty days, ſaving the daily challenges of the vapouring Goliah. But that which had chilled the hearts of all the Iſraelites did work a contrary effect upon young David, who was juſt arrived into the camp, being ſent thither by old Jeſſe with proviſions for his three eldeſt brothers, who were then in Saul's army. As ſoon as he heard the news of this gigantic champion's having defied the army of the God of Iſrael, he drew a ſure omen from it, that God would deliver *him* into his hands; and though Saul's promiſing his daughter, as a reward to the man that ſhould ſlay him, had not been able to induce one Iſraelite to engage him, during that whole time, yet was not this young ſhepherd at all diſcouraged from offering himſelf to the combat. At his firſt preſenting himſelf to the king, all that beheld him did indeed judge him altogether unequal to ſuch an exploit; but he gave them ſuch proofs both of his valour and conduct, but eſpecially of his faith in God, that Saul ordered him to be armed cap-a-pe with his own armour. But David was ſoon forced to put it off, not being able to ſtir himſelf under the weight of it; and, with no other weapon than his ſling and a few pebble ſtones in his ſhepherd's pouch, ſallied forth againſt this mighty enemy; and in few minutes after brought his head and ſword, and laid it at the feet of Saul, who had by that time ſo far forgot him, that perſon; which we take to be Saul's caſe. And as for its being called an evil ſpirit ſent from the Lord, we take it to mean no more, than that God ſuffered him to fall into that diſmal diſtemper, as a puniſhment for his diſobedience. And this is ſo far from being our particular opinion, that it is at preſent the moſt received, and, as we think, the moſt agreeable to the genius of the original (86).

(86) Vid. Grot. Cajetan. Genebr. Le Clerc. & al. mult.

that he was forced to inform him afreſh, that he was David the youngeſt ſon of Jeſſe [q].

WHAT effect this victory had over the amazed Philiſtines, we need not repeat here †. But David's behaviour wrought ſo much on the generous Jonathan, Saul's eldeſt ſon, that it gave birth to the moſt intimate friendſhip between them, inſomuch, that the text ſays, *their ſouls were knit together* [r]; and David elſewhere tells us that it *exceeded by far the love of women* [s]. But it ſoon after made a much different impreſſion upon Saul, though at firſt he ſeemed charmed with his conduct, and gave him a conſiderable poſt in his army. What inſpired that prince with the firſt ſentiments of jealouſy againſt him, was the indiſcretion of a company of women, who came to meet them at their return from the battle, with vocal and inſtrumental muſic, and in their ſongs compared David to him, and ſaid, that Saul had killed his thouſands, and David his ten thouſands; which made him complain, that they would give him the kingdom next. From that time he looked upon him as a dangerous enemy, and himſelf unſafe till he had cut him off. His diſeaſe encreaſed his fear of him, or rather ſeemed to be wholly turned into jealouſy, of which David became the ſole object, and often narrowly eſcaped becoming the victim of it; for even on the very day after this noble exploit, whilſt David was endeavouring to eaſe his preſent fit, he threw a javelin at him with ſuch force, that it ſtuck againſt the wall. He attempted the ſame a ſecond time, but David eſcaped them both.

AT length, Saul obſerving how well David behaved, and was beloved by all the people, though he dreaded him the more for it, he ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of acting more cloſely againſt him, by raiſing him to a higher poſt, and expoſing him to freſh dangers, in hopes to ſee him fall by the hand of the enemy. He promiſed him, at the ſame time, his eldeſt daughter, as a reward of his next victory; but David had the mortification to ſee her given to another preſently after. The next trap Saul laid for him was, to get ſome of his ſervants to tell him, that the king, who deſigned in earneſt to give him his ſecond daughter, would accept of 100 Philiſtines foreſkins inſtead of a dowry. But here David came off again victorious, and brought him double

[q] 1 Sam. xvii. p. tot. † See vol. ii. p. 249, & ſeq. [r] Ibid. xviii. 1. [s] Ibid. p. tot.

double that number; so, that Saul, having no pretence left to excuse himself from his promise, gave him Michal in in marriage, whose sincere affection, joined to that of her brother Jonathan, proved afterwards very serviceable to him, by defeating their father's bloody attempts against his life, even at the hazard of their own. David had again gained a signal victory over the Philistines, and was scarce returned to court, before he was in danger of being struck to the wall with another javelin. This made him retire to his own house, whither Saul pursued him, causing the house to be beset by some of his servants, where he would have been infallibly murdered by the next morning, had not his faithful wife contrived his escape, by conveying him privily out at a window in the dead of night, resolved to give her husband time to go far enough before he was pursued, and at any rate to bear the brunt of her father's resentment, rather than be wanting in conjugal affection. When therefore the men came on the next morning to kill him; she sent them away, and told them, that he was very ill, and confined to his bed, shewing them at the same time the figure of a man, which she had conveyed into it, and covered up with bed-cloaths to prevent discovery (G). As soon as Saul heard of his being sick, he sent back the men, with orders to bring him alive in his bed, that he might have the pleasure of stabbing him with his own hand; and it was then, that Michal's stratagem being discovered so exasperated her angry father, that she was forced to make him believe, that it was to save her own life, that she had consented to it.

David, thus happily escaped, went to Ramah to acquaint Samuel with the unwelcome news; and both of them went down to Najoth, which was not far from Ramah, and where was a school of prophets. It was not long before Saul heard of it, who sent immediately some messengers to fetch him. But they were no sooner come within sight of Samuel and the prophets, than they fell a prophesying likewise, and so returned without him. He sent others a second and a third

(G) Josephus gives a more refined account of this stratagem, and carefully avoids the teraphim mentioned in the text: but we have already confuted that subtle evasion in another place (87), and we need no fresh proofs here of the author's partiality to his nation.

(87) Vid. vol. ii. p. 443, not. (B).

third time, with the ſame ſucceſs, and at length reſolved to go himſelf; and when he came, he propheſied likewiſe, till he came to the place, and there he caſt off his cloaths, and laid down uncovered (H) all that day and night, and gave thereby an opportunity to David to get off [t], and to have a private interview with Jonathan, wherein they ſwore to each other perpetual friendſhip. In this interview David obtained likewiſe a promiſe from him, that he would excuſe him to his father, on the two following days, which were the feaſt of the new moon, and in which he was to have ſat at the king's table, when he ſhould be obſerved to be miſſing, and to let him know, whether he reſented his abſence, or was ſatisfied with the excuſe. Accordingly, Saul miſſed him on the very firſt day, but imputed it to ſome accidental pollution, which made him unfit to appear; but when he ſaw him not on the next day, and was told by Jonathan, that he had begged leave to go to a feaſt which was held in his family at Bethlehem, Saul was ſo inraged, that he upbraided him in the bittereſt terms, with puſillanimous treachery; alledging, that he muſt never expect to ſit on his throne, till David was dead, and therefore ordered him to be immediately fetched to him. Here Jona-

[t] Ch. xix. paſſ.

(H) The words in the original ſay, that he lay naked; but it were abſurd to underſtand it in a literal ſenſe, God having ſtrictly forbidden all ſuch indecencies (88), in oppoſition to the heathen prieſts, who were not aſhamed to appear naked at ſome of their feaſts (89). It is more than probable therefore, that the words mean no more than the caſting off that looſe upper garment which they uſed to throw over them when they went abroad *, and having nothing upon him but the tunic that was next the ſkin. Which manner of ſpeaking was alſo common to the Greeks and Latins (90).

(88) Exod. xx. ver. ult. & alib. (89) Vid. Tit. Liv. & al de Lupercal. &c. * Vid. ſup. p. 416. not. (H). (90) Vid. Gisbert. Cuper. Obſerv. lib. 1. cap. 7. Ant. Barreman. Dialog. lit. de poet. & proph. Fuller. Miſcel. Theol. Heins. Grot. Hammond. Le Clerc. Le Scene. Eſſ. on a new ver. pt. ii. c. 9. § 1.

Jonathan ventured to plead for him, but he alſo narrowly eſcaped being killed by his father. Seeing then that his friend's death was reſolved, he went to the ſtone Ezel, a place appointed by them, and, at the ſignal given, David came out to him, and being fully informed how dangerous it was for him to ſtay any longer within the reach of his implacable enemy, they took a melancholy farewel of one another [u], and David haſted to the land of Nob, where Ahimelech, the then high-prieſt, had his reſidence.

David was forced to diſpel the ſurprize the high-prieſt was in at his unexpected arrival, with a pretence of being ſent by the king, upon ſome private buſineſs of importance; but having obſerved there one Doeg an Edomite, and one of Saul's ſhepherds, by whom he foreſaw he ſhould certainly be betrayed if he made any ſtay, he told Ahimelech, that his buſineſs was urgent, and begged, that he would give him ſome refreſhment for himſelf and the young men that were with him. There was then none but the ſhew-bread that came off the holy table, which the prieſts alone were allowed to eat; but David, being afraid to ſtay the baking of ſome of the common ſort, prevailed upon him to overlook that ſcruple, aſſuring him, that both he and they were free from carnal defilement, and had been abſent from their wives above three days. As ſoon as they had refreſhed themſelves, David aſked him, whether he could not furniſh him with ſome ſwords, or ſpears; and was anſwered, that there was no weapon there but the ſword which he took from Goliah, which he deſired might be brought to him; and having girt it on, he took his leave of the high-prieſt, and fled to Achiſh king of Gath. He made but a ſhort ſtay with that prince; for his ſervants who had not forgot what had been ſo lately ſung by the Iſraelitiſh women, that Saul *had ſlain his thouſands, and* David *his ten thouſands*, did not fail to remind him of it; which when David underſtood, the fear he was in of Achiſh, made him reſolve, if poſſible, to change his hatred either into pity or contempt. His ſtratagem ſucceeded according to his wiſh, and he acted the madman ſo well, that Achiſh, thinking him to be really ſo, was glad to be rid of him [w]; and David went and hid himſelf in the cave of Adullam.

In

[u] Ch. xx. paſſ. [w] Ch. xxi. paſſ. See vol. ii. p. 252.

In the mean time, Saul, vexed at his heart to find that he was gone out of his reach, was ſtorming at Jonathan and his own ſervants, as if they had all conſpired with the ſon of Jeſſe againſt him; when Doeg, the Edomite, came and acquainted him with what had paſſed at Nob, and how Ahimelech had furniſhed David with proviſions and weapons, and had enquired of the Lord for him. This news put him into ſuch a rage, that, without giving himſelf leave to conſider, how far that high-prieſt might be ignorant of this unhappy difference between David and him, as it is plain from the text he really was; he ordered him and all his kindred to be brought immediately to him; and after many bitter invectives againſt them, for having leagued themſelves with his treacherous ſon-in-law, as he expreſſed it, he ſwore they ſhould all be put to death. Ahimelech ſtrove in vain to convince him, that they were all really ignorant of David's having any ſiniſter deſign, whoſe behaviour had always been ſo commendable and upright, that they really believed him to have been ſent upon ſome important deſign by him. The exaſperated king would give no credit to them, but ordered his ſervants that ſtood about him to cut them all in pieces. However, as they ſaw he expreſſed an uncommon reluctancy againſt ſtaining their hands with the blood of ſo many helpleſs prieſts, he commanded Doeg to perform that cruel office, which he immediately did. Saul, not contented to ſee fourſcore and five innocent perſons butchered at his feet, ordered a detachment to go and put the whole city of Nob to the ſword, men, women, children, and cattle, and this was alſo executed with ſuch barbarous ſpeed, that none but Abiathar, one of Ahimelech's ſons, had the good fortune to eſcape. He went immediately to David, and acquainted him with the diſmal news; which was no more, he told him, than he foreſaw what would happen, when he obſerved the Edomitiſh Doeg there. He ſaid all he could to comfort him, and deſired him to ſhare his fortune; promiſing that, as ſoon as he was in a condition, he would raiſe high to the him-prieſt-hood; till when, he would be his ſafeguard, as long as he was able to defend his own life.

Among thoſe who followed David, were his father, mother, brethren, and other relations, with the prophet Gad, who were probably forced to fly to him for ſhelter

from Saul's fury. Beſides theſe, there joined themſelves to him multitudes of debtors, and diſtreſſed and diſcontented perſons, to the number of 400. But the prophet Gad having told him, that it was no longer ſafe for him to abide in that place, he took his parents into the land of Moab, and left them under the protection of the king, whilſt his affairs continued in that deſperate condition †; and himſelf and his men went into the foreſt of Hareth in the land of Judah. However, he ſtayed no longer there than he reſcued the city of Keilah from the Philiſtines; for he heard ſoon after, that Saul, thinking himſelf ſure of him there, was coming againſt him with all ſpeed; and and being afraid leſt the inhabitants of that place ſhould deliver him into his hands; and having had his fears confirmed by the high-prieſt, he removed from thence into the wilderneſs of Ziph with his own men, who were by this time increaſed to 600. Whilſt he was lurking about the rocks and caves of this place, Jonathan heard of it, and came to ſee him there. The deſign of this dangerous interview was to make ſtill ſurer of David's friendſhip, and to obtain a promiſe from him, that when he had gained the kingdom from his father, which he frankly told him he was well aſſured he would, himſelf might be the next in dignity to him; and that in caſe he died before that time, David ſhould ſhew the ſame friendly regard to his children, as he had done to him. This covenant was ratified with a freſh oath on both ſides, and Jonathan returned to his own houſe.

Not long after this, Saul was informed by the Ziphites, that David lay concealed in their neighbourhood; and was ſo tranſported with joy at the news, that he could not forbear bleſſing them, as the only people that ſhewed compaſſion for him. He deſired that they would go and watch him as narrowly as they could; for he told them, that he was a ſubtle enemy, and aſſured them, that himſelf would come, with ſufficient force, to fetch him out of his lurking holes. But David, having got ſome intelligence of it, was by that time removed to the wilderneſs of Maon, on the ſouth of the plain Jeſſimon. Saul was ſoon told of it, and purſued him thither, and pitched over againſt him, with

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 111.

with a deſign to ſurround him; but as he was about it, news was brought him, that the Philiſtines had made a freſh incurſion into the land, ſo that he was forced to go back to put a ſtop to their progreſs *; leaving his enemy to recover himſelf of his fright, and to provide for his own ſafety. In memory of this deliverance, David called the rock where he then was, Selah Hammahlekoth, or the rock of diviſions; and preſently after removed with his little army to Engedi, and concealed himſelf among the ſtrong holds of that place x. Here Saul, who had ſoon drove away the Philiſtines, found him out again, and came againſt him with 3000 men; but, whilſt he was in ſearch of him, an urgent occaſion obliged him to retire, for decency ſake, into the cave where David lay concealed (I). David was immediately ſurrounded by his men, who told him, that this was now the time, in which God had promiſed to deliver his enemy into his hand, and that he had it now in his power to put a final end, with one blow, to this unnatural war, and to free himſelf and them from all their miſery. David made as if he had liſtened to their advice, and, without telling them what he deſigned to do, roſe up, and ſtole ſoftly near Saul, and cut off the ſkirt of

David's generoſity to Saul.

* Ibid. vol. ii. p. 255. x 1 Sam. xxiii. paſſ.

(I) עין גדי Hen gadi, ſignifies the fountain of wild goats, and the city of that name was ſo called, from the multitude of goats and ſheep which were kept in the rocky parts that were in the neighbourhood of it. Theſe abounded with ſheep-coats, and caverns, into which cattle uſed to ſhelter themſelves during the heat of the day. It was in one of them that providence ſeems to have conducted Saul, to give David an opportunity, both of clearing himſelf from any treacherous deſign againſt him, and to give an inſtance of the greateſt generoſity that is to be met with in hiſtory, though at the hazard of becoming the victim of his men's reſentment, for refuſing the only opportunity of ridding himſelf of his enemy, and putting himſelf in a condition of rewarding their ſervices; for which he had all the cauſe in the world to fear, either being forſaken, or, perhaps, even betrayed by them into Sauls hands.

of his robe (K) and gave him thereby an opportunity of escaping alive, whilst he appeased his men's resentment, with representing to them, how heinous a crime it was to stretch forth a hand against their lawful prince and the Lord's anointed. He expressed even an uncommon remorse at that which he had done, esteeming it an indignity, or at least, a want of respect to the regal dignity; though he meant no more by it, than to give his father an irrefragable proof of his innocency and filial duty y. As soon, therefore, as Saul was got out of the cave, he called after him in the tendereſt manner, begged of him not to entertain such unworthy *suspicions* of him, nor to listen to the whispers of slandering tongues, since he had now given him so signal a proof, how much his heart abhorred the crimes for which he was so unjustly persecuted. This humble and affecting speech, backed with the infallible testimony of the piece of his robe, melted Saul into tears of tenderness and sorrow: he acknowledged his son's superior virtue and merit in sparing his life, and in the conclusion owned, that he alone was worthy to sit on the throne of Israel, which, he told him, he was now satisfied he would shortly do; and therefore, as a further proof of his unexampled generosity and filial affection, he desired him to swear to him, that he would not revenge the father's injuries upon any of his children, but that he would shew the same pity to the one, as he had now done to the other. David did readily give him that satisfaction, and after

y Ch. xxiv. ver. 5.

(K) The text says, that David and his men harboured in the sides of the cave (91); or, as the original imports, in crags and holes of it, so that Saul coming into it from the broad day-light, could not perceive them; whilst they, who had been there some time, might easily discover him, and know who he was, from his first entering into the place; so that it was easy for David to cut off a piece of his robe unperceived, especially, if we suppose it to have been the skirt of his upper garment, which, it is likely, they used to throw by, at a small distance, upon such occasions.

(91) 1 Sam. xxiv. 3.

ter mutual embraces, Saul returned to Gibeah, and David and his men to their ſtrong hold [z] (L).

[z] Ibid. paſſ.

(L) It appears by this ſpeech of Saul, that he had by that time, ſome certain knowledge, that David was the perſon whom God had choſen to be king in his ſtead, and perhaps alſo of his having been anointed by Samuel. So then his crime was not the bare perſecuting of an innocent perſon, or hunting after a flea, as David words it (92), but an impious deſire of fruſtrateing the deſign of providence by cutting him off, in order to ſecure the crown to his own poſterity. It was therefore natural for him to intreat him for the ſafety of his own children, when he ſaw into what dangers his prepoſterous folly brought him, and that nothing but David's virtue could ſecure them from total exciſion.

(92) Ibid ver. 14.

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